

AN  
ANSWER  
TO A CHALLENGE  
MADE BY A IESUITE  
in *IRELAND*.

WHEREIN  
THE IVDGEMENT OF  
ANTIQUITY in the points questioned  
is truly delivered, and the Novelty of the  
now ROMISH doctrine  
plainly discovered

By IAMES VSSHER *Bishop of Meath.*

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MATTH. 19. 8.

*From the beginning it was not so.*

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DUBLIN,  
Printed by the Societie of Stationers. 1624.



ANSWER

TO A COMMISSIONER

OF THE LAND OFFICE

IN RESPONSE TO A

LETTER OF THE 17TH INSTANT

RELATIVE TO THE

PROPOSAL FOR THE

CONVEYANCE OF



Printed by the Society of Stationers, 1801



TO HIS MOST  
SACRED MAIESTIE,  
JAMES  
BY THE GRACE OF  
God King of great BRITAIN,  
FRANCE, and IRELAND, De-  
fender of the Faith, &c.

*Most Gracious and Dread Sovereigne.*



Ee finde it recor-  
ded for the ever-  
lasting honour of  
*Theodosius* the yon-  
ger, that it was his  
use<sup>a</sup> to reason with<sup>a Socrat.lib.</sup>  
his Bishops of the things contained<sup>7.hist.cap.</sup>  
22.



## *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

b. Euthym.  
Zigaben. in  
Praefat. Dog-  
matica Pano-  
plia.

c. Io. Brere-  
ley, in his E-  
pistle before  
S. Augu-  
stines Reli-  
gion.

in the holy Scriptures, as if he him-  
selfe had beene one of their order :  
and of the Emperour *Alexius* in lat-  
ter dayes ; that <sup>b</sup> whatsoever time  
hee could spare from the publike  
cares of the Common-wealth, hee  
did wholly employ in the diligent  
reading of Gods booke, and in con-  
ferring thereof with worthy men, of  
whom his Court was never empty.  
How little inferiour, or how much  
superiour rather, your Majestie is to  
either of these in this kind of praise,  
I neede not speake : it is acknow-  
ledged even by such as differ from  
you in the point of Religion, as a  
matter that hath <sup>c</sup> added more than  
ordinary lustre of ornament to your  
Royall estate ; that you *doe not for-  
beare so much as at the time of your bodi-  
ly repast, to have for the then like feeding  
of*

---

## *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

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*of your intellectuall part, your Highnesse  
table surrounded with the attendance and  
conference of your grave and learned  
Divines.*

VVhat inward joy my heart conceived, as oft as I have had the happinesse to be present at such seasons, I forbear to utter: onely I will say with *Job*; that <sup>d</sup> *the eare which heard* <sup>d Job 29.</sup> *you blessed you, and the eye which saw* <sup>11.</sup> *you, gave witnesse to you.* But of all other things which I observed, your singular dexteritie in detecting the frauds of the Romish Church, and untying the most knotty arguments of the Sophisters of that side, was it (I confesse) that I admired most. especially where occasion was offered you to utter your skill, not in the word of God alone, but also in the Antiquities of the Church: where-  
in



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## *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

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in you have attained such a measure of knowledge as (with honour to God, I trust I may speake it, & without flatterie to you) in a well studied Divine we would account verie commendable, but in such a Monarch as your selfe almost incredible. And this is one cause (most Gracious Sovereaigne) beside my generall duty, and the many speciall obligations wherby I am otherwise bound unto your Majestie, which hath emboldned me to intreat your patience at this time, in vouchsafing to be a spectator of this combate, which I am now entred into with a Iesuite, who chargeth us to *disallow many chiefe articles, which the Saints and Fathers of the Primitive Church did generally hold to be true; and undertaketh to make good, that they*  
of

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*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

---

of his side doe not disagree from that holy Church, either in these, or in any other point of Religion.

Now true it is, if a man doe only attend unto the bare sound of the word, (as in the question of *Merit*, for example) or to the thing in generall, without descending into the particular consideration of the true ground thereof (as in the matter of *Praying for the dead*) he may easily be induced to beleeve, that in divers of these controversies the Fathers speake cleerely for them and against us: neither is there any one thing that hath wonne more credit to that religion, or more advanced it in the consciences of simple men, than the conformitie that it retaineth in some words and outward observances with the ancient

b

Church



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*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

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Church of *Christ*. Whereas if the thing it selfe were narrowly looked into, it would be found that *they* have onely the shell without the kernell, and *we* the kernell without the shell: they having retained certaine words and rites of the ancient Church, but applied them to a new invented doctrine; and we on the other side having relinquished these words and observances, but retained neverthelesse the same primitive doctrine, unto which by their first institution they had relation.

The more cause have I to count my selfe happy, that am to answer of these matters before a King that is able to discern betwixt things that differ, and hath knowledge of all these questions. *before whom*  
*therefore I may speake boldly: because*  
*of*

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*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

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*I am perswaded that none of these things are hid from him. For it is not of late daies that your Majestie hath begun to take these things into your consideration : from a childe have you beene trained up to this warfare ; yea before you were twenty yeeres of age, the Lord had taught your hands to fight against the man of sinne, and your fingers to make battell against his Babel. Whereof your Paraphrase upon the Revelation of S. John is a memorable monument left to all posterity : which I can never looke upon, but those verses of the Pöet runne alwaies in my minde :*

*Cæsaribus virtus contigit ante diem, Ovid.  
Ingenuum cœleste suis velocius annis  
Surgit, & ignavæ fert mala damna  
mora.*



## *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

How constant you have beene  
ever since in the profession and  
maintenance of the truth: your late  
protestation, made vnto both the  
houses of your Parliament, giveth  
sufficient evidence. So much  
whereof as may serve for a present  
antidote against that false and scan-  
dalous<sup>e</sup> Oration spread amongst  
fornainers under your Majesties sa-  
cred name: I humbly make bold to  
insert in this place, as a perpetuall  
testimony of your integrity in this  
behalse.

*e. Merc. Gal-  
lobelgic. ann.  
1623.*

*Y His Maje-  
sties Answer  
to the Peti-  
tion of the  
Parliament  
touching  
Recusants,  
23. April.  
1624.*

*WHAT my religion is my bookes  
doe declare, my profession and my be-  
haviour doe shew: and I hope in God, I  
shall never live to be thought otherwise;  
sure I am, I shall never deserve it. And  
for my part I wish that it might be writ-  
ten*

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## *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

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*ten in Marble and remaine to posteritie, as a marke upon me, when I shall swerve from my Religion. for he that doth dissemble with God, is not to be trusted by man. My Lords, I protest before God, my heart hath bled, when I have heard of the increase of Popery: and God is my Judge it hath beene so great a griefe unto me, that it hath beene like thornes in mine eies and prickes in my sides; so farre have I beene and ever shall be, from turning any other way. And my Lords and Gentlemen, you all shall bee my Confessors; if I knew any way better than other to hinder the growth of Poperie, I would take it: and he cannot be an honest man, who knowing as I doe and being perswaded as I am, would doe otherwise.*

*As you have so long since begun, and happily continued, so goe on*



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*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

---

(most renowned King) and still  
shew your selfe to be a *Defender of  
the faith*. fight the Lords battells  
couragiously, honour him ever-  
more, and advance his truth. that  
2 Tim. 4. 7, 8 when you have fought this good  
fight, and finished your course, and  
kept the faith; you may receive the  
Crowne of righteousness, reserved  
in heaven for you. for the obtai-  
ning of which double blessing, both  
of *grace* and of *glory*, together with  
all outward prosperitie and happi-  
nesse in this life; you shall never  
want the instant praiers of

*Your Majesties most faithfull*

*subject and humble servant,*

I A. M I D E N S I S.





## TO THE READER.



*I* is now about six yeeres ( as  
I gather by the reckoning laid  
downe in the 25<sup>th</sup>. page of this  
booke ) since this following  
Challenge was brought unto  
me from a Iesuite ; and recei- [W. B.]  
ved that generall Answer, which now serveth to  
make up the first chapter only of this present  
worke. The particular points, which were by  
him but barely named, I meddled not withall at  
that time : conceiving it to be his part ( as in the  
34<sup>th</sup> page is touched ) who sustained the person  
of the Assailant, to bring forth his armes and  
give the first onset, and mine, as the Defendant,  
to repell his encounter afterwards. Only I then  
collected certaine materials out of the Scriptures  
and writings of the Fathers, which I meant to  
make use of for a second-conflict, whensoever this  
Challenger

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## To the Reader.

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*Challenger should be pleased to descend to the handling of the particular articles by him proposed; the truth of euery of which he had taken upon him to prove, by the expresse testimonies of the Fathers of the primitiue Church, as also by good and certaine grounds out of the sacred Scriptures, if the Fathers authoritie would not suffice.*

*Thus this matter lay dead for diuers yeeres together: and so would still haue done, but that some of high place in both Kingdomes, having beene pleased to thinke farre better of that little which I had done than the thing deserved, advised me to goe forward, and to deliver the iudgement of Antiquitie touching those particular points in controversie, wherein the Challenger was so confident that the whole current of the Doctours, Pastors and Fathers of the Primitiue Church did mainly run on his side. Hereupon I gathered my scattered notes together, and as the multitude of my employments would give mee leave, now entred into the handling of one point and then of another: treating of each, either more briefly or more largely, as the opportunitie of my present leisure would give me leave. And so at last, after many interruptions, I have made up in such manner as thou seest, a kinde of a Doctrinall*



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## To the Reader.

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Originall History of those severall points, which the Iesuite culled out, as speciall instances of the consonancie of the doctrine now maintained in the Church of Rome, with the perpetuall and constant iudgement of all Antiquitie.

The doctrine that here I take upon me to defend, (what different opinions soever I relate of others) is that which by publike authoritie is professed in the Church of England, and comprised in the booke of Articles agreed upon in the Synod held at LONDON in the yeere 1562. concerning which I dare be bold to challenge our Challenger and all his complices, that they shall never be able to prove, that there is either any one article of Religion disallowed therein, which the Saints and Fathers of the Primitive Church did generally hold to be true, (I use the words of my challenging Iesuit) or any one point of doctrine allowed, which by those Saints and Fathers was generally held to be untrue. As for the testimonies of the Authors which I alledge, I have beene carefull to set downe in the margent their owne words in their owne language (such places of the Greeke Doctores only excepted, whereof the originall text could not be had) as well for the better satisfaction of the Readers (who either cannot come by that variety of

A

bookes,

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## To the Reader.

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bookes, whereof use is here made, or will not take the paines to enter into a curious search of every particular allegation ) as for the preventing of those trifling quarrels that are commonly made against translations. for if it fall out, that word be not everie where precisely rendred by word ( as who would tie himselfe to such a pedanticall observation ? ) none but an idle caviller can object, that this was done with any purpose to corrupt the meaning of the Author ; whose words he seeth laid downe before his eies, to the end he may the better judge of the translation and rectifie it where there is cause.

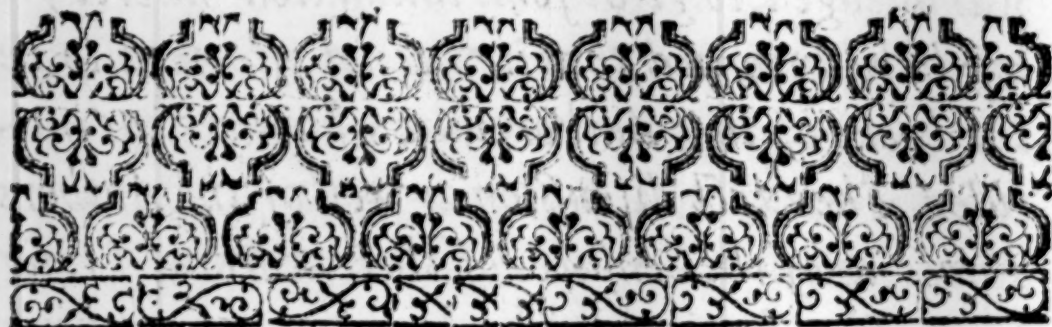
Againe, because it is a thing very materiall in the historicall handling of controversies, both to understand the Times wherein the severall Authors lived, and likewise what bookes be truly or falsely ascribed to each of them : for some direction of the Reader in the first, I have annexed at the end of this booke, a Chronologicall Catalogue of the Authors cited therein ( wherein such as have no number of yeeres affixed unto them, are thereby signified to be Incertitemporis ; their age being not found by me, upon this sudden search, to be noted by any : ) and for the second, I have seldome neglected in the worke it selfe, whensoever a doubtfull or supposititious writing was



## To the Reader.

was alleaged, to give some intimation whereby it might be discerned that it was not esteemed to be the booke of that Author, unto whom it was intitled. The exact discussion as well of the Authors Times, as of the Censures of their workes, I refer to my Theological Bibliotheque: if God hereafter shall lend me life and leasure, to make up that worke, for the use of those that meane to give themselves to that Noble study of the doctrine and rites of the ancient Church.

In the meane time I commit this booke to thy favourable censure, and thy selfe to Gods gracious direction: earnestly advising thee, that whatsoever other studies thou intermittest, the carefull and conscionable reading of Gods booke may never be neglected by thee. for whatsoever becometh of our disputes touching other antiquities or novelties: thou maiest stand assured, that thou shalt there finde so much by Gods blessing, as shall be able to make thee wise unto salvation, and to 2 Tim. 3. 15. build thee up, and to give thee an inheritance Acts 20. 32. among all them that are sanctified. Which next under Gods glory, is the utmost thing ( I know ) that thou aimest at: and for the attaining whereunto I heartily wish, that the word of Coloss. 3. 16 Christ may dwell in thee richly, in all wisdom.

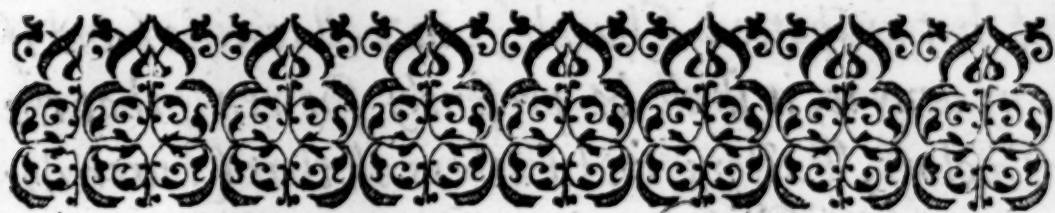


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# THE IESVITES CHALLENGE.

How shall I answer to a Papist, demanding  
this Question?



Our Doctors and Masters graunt  
that the Church of Rome for 400  
or 500 years after Christ, did hold  
the true Religion. First then would  
I faine knowe, what Bishop of  
Rome did first alter that Religion, which you com=  
mend in them of the first 400 yeares? In what  
Pope his dayes was the true Religion overthrowne  
in Rome?

Next, I would faine know, How can your Re=  
ligion be true, which disalloweth of many chiefe ar=  
ticles, which the Saints and Fathers of that primi=  
tive Church of Rome did generally hold to be true?

For they of your side, that have read the Fathers

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## The Iesuites Challenge.

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of that unspotted Church, can well testifie (and if any deny it, it shall be presently shewen) that the Doctors, Pastors, and Fathers of that Church doe allow of Traditions; that they acknowledge the real presence of the body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar: that they exhorted the people to confesse their sinnes unto their ghostly Fathers: that they affirmed, that Priests have power to forgive sinnes: that they taught, that there is a Purgatory: that prayer for the dead is both commendable and godly: that there is Limbus Patrum, and that our Saviour descended into Hell, to deliver the ancient Fathers of the Old Testament; because before his Passion none ever entred into Heaven: that prayer to Saints, and use of holy Images was of great account amongst them: that man hath free-will, and that for his meritorious works he receiveth, through the assistance of Gods grace, the blisse of euerlasting happinesse.

Now would I faine know whether of both haue the true Religion, they that hold all these abovesaid points, with the Primitive Church; or they that doe most vehemently contradict, and gaine-say them? They that doe not disagree with that holy Church, in any point of Religion; or they that agree with it but in very few, and disagree in almost all?

Will



## The Iesuites Challenge.

Will you say, that these Fathers maintained these opinions, contrary to the word of God? why you know that they were the pillars of Christianitie, the champions of Christ his Church, and of the true Catholike Religion, which they most learnedly defended against diverse heresies; and therefore spent all their time in a most serious studie of the holy Scripture. Or will you say, that although they knew the Scriptures to repugne, yet they brought in the aforesaid opinions by malice and corrupt intentions? Why your selves cannot deny but that they lived most holy and vertuous lives, free from all malicious corrupting, or perverting of Gods holy word, and by their holy lives are now made worthy to raigne with God in his glory. In so much as their admirable learning may sufficiently crosse out all suspicion of ignorant error; and their innocent sanctitie freeeth us from all mistrust of malicious corruption.

Now would I willingly see what reasonable answer may be made to this. For the Protestants graunt, that the Church of Rome for 400 or 500 yeares, held the true Religion of Christ: yet do they exclaime against the abovesaid Articles, which the same Church did maintaine and uphold, as may bee shewen by the expresse testimonies of the Fathers of the same Church; and shall be largely laid down,

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## The Iesuities Challenge.

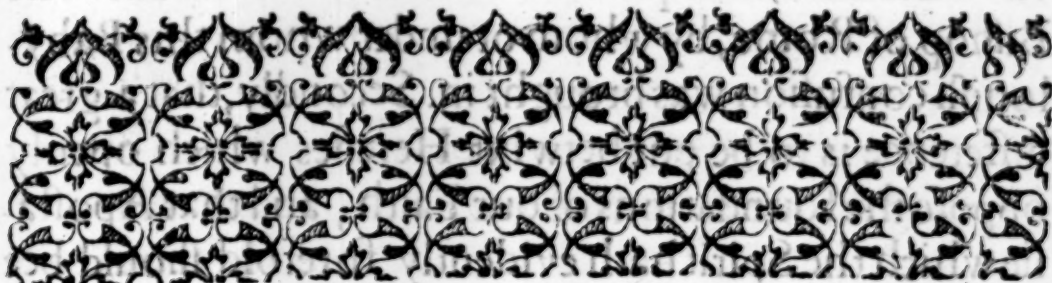
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*if any learned Protestant will deny it.*

*Yea, which is more, for the confirmation of all the aboue mentioned points of our Religion, wee will produce good and certaine grounds out of the sacred Scriptures, if the Fathers authority will not suffice. And we do desire any Protestant to alleage any one Text out of the said Scripture, which condemmeth any of the aboue written points: which wee hold for certaine they shall never be able to doe. For indeed they are neyther more learned, more pious, nor more holy then the blessed Doctors and Martyrs of that first Church of Rome, which they allow and esteeme of so much, and by which we most willingly will be tryed, in any point which is in controversie betwixt the Protestants and the Catholicks. Which wee desire may be done with christian charity and sincerity, to the glory of God, and instruction of them that are astray.*

**W. B.**





# AN ANSWER TO THE FORMER CHALLENGE.



O uphold the Religion, which at this day is maintained in the Church of Rome, and to discredit the truth which we professe: three things are here urged, by one who hath vndertaken to make good the Papists cause against all gainers. The first concerneth the originall of the errors wherewith that part standeth charged: the Author and time whereof, he requireth us to shew. The other two respect the testimonie, both of the *Primitive Church*, & of the *sacred Scriptures*: which, in the points wherein we varie, if this man may be believed, maketh wholly for them, and against us.

*First then would he faine know, what Bishop of Rome did first alter that Religion, which wee commend in them of the first 400 yeares? In what Popes dayes was the true Religion overthrowne in Rome? To which I answer, First, that wee doe not hold that Rome was built in a day; or that the great dung-hill of errors, which now wee see in it, was raised in an age: and therefore it is a*

† I.

II.

vaine demand, to require from us the name of anie one Bishop of Rome, by whom or under whom this Babylonish confusion was brought in. Secondly, that a great difference is to be put betwixt Heresies which openly oppose the foundations of our Faith; and that Apostasie which the Spirit hath evidently foretold should bee brought in by such as *speake lyes in hypocrisie.* (1.Tim.4.1,2.) The impietie of the one is so notorious, that at the verie first appearance it is manifestly discerned: the other is a *mysterie of iniquitie* (as the Apostle termeth it, 2.Thes.2.7.) *iniquitas, sed mystica, id est, pietatis nomine palliata*, (so the ordinarie Glosse expoundeth the place) *an iniquitie indeed, but mysticall, that is, cloked with the name of pietie.* And therefore they who kept continuall watch and ward against the one, might sleepe while the seeds of the other were a sowing; yea peradventure might at unawares themselves have some hand in bringing in of this Trojan horse, commended thus unto them under the name of Religion, and semblance of devotion.

III.

Thirdly, that the originall of errors is oftentimes so obscure, and their breede so base, that howsoever it might be easily observed by such as lived in the same age, yet no wise man will meruaile, if in tract of time the beginnings of manie of them should be forgotten, and no register of the time of their birth found extant. Wee<sup>a</sup> read that the Sadducees taught, there were no Angels: is any man able to declare unto us, under what high Priest they first broached this error? The Grecians, Circassians, Georgians, Syrians, Egyptians, *Habassines*, Muscovites and Russians, dissent at this day from the Church of Rome in many particulars: will you take upon you to shew in what Bishops dayes these severall differences did first arise?

<sup>a</sup> Act.23.8.

*Abyssinians*



rise? When the point hath been well skanned, it will be found, that many errors have crept into their profession, the time of the entrance whereof you are not able to designe: and some things also are maintained by you against them, which have not been delivered for Catholick doctrine in the primitive times, but brought in afterwards, your selves know not when.

Such, for example, is that sacrilege of yours, whereby you withhold from the people the use of the Cuppe in the Lords Supper; as also your doctrine of Indulgences and Purgatorie: which they reject, and you defend. For touching the first, <sup>b</sup> *Gregorius de Valentia*, one of your principall Champions, confesseth that the use of receiving the Sacrament in one kinde, began first in some Churches, and grew to be a generall custome in the Latin Church not much before the Councell of Constance, in which at last (to wit, 200 yeres ago) this custome was made a law. But if you put the question to him, as you doe to us, What Bishop of Rome did first bring in this custome? he giveth you this answer, that it *began to be used, not by the decree of any Bishop, but by the very use of the Churches, and the consent of the faithfull*. If you further question with him, *quando primum vigere cepit ea consuetudo in aliquibus Ecclesijs?* When first did that custome get footing in some Churches? he returneth you for answer, *Minimé constat*: it is more then he can tell.

The like doth <sup>c</sup> *Fisher* Bishop of Rochester, & <sup>d</sup> *Cardinall Caietan* give us to understand of Indulgences; that no certaintie can be had, what their originall was, or by whom they were first brought in. *Fisher* also further addeth concerning Purgatorie: that in the ancient Fathers, there is either none at all, or very rare mention of.

<sup>b</sup> *Valent. de leg. us. Euchar. cap. 10.*

<sup>c</sup> *Roffens. Assert. Lutheran. conclus. artic. 18.*  
<sup>d</sup> *Caietan. Opusc. tom. 1. tract. 15. de Indulgent. cap. 1.*

- of it; that by the Grecians it is not beleev'd even to this day; that the Latins also, *not all at once*, but by *little and little* received it: and that, Purgatorie being so lately known, it is not to be mervail'd, that in the first times of the Church there was no use of Indulgences; seeing these had their beginning, after that men for a while had been affrighted with the torments of Purgatorie. Out of which confession of the adverse part, you may observe: 1. What little reason these men have, to require us to set down the precise time wherein all their *profane novelties* were first brought in: seeing that this is more then they themselves are able to doe. 2. That some of them may come in *pedetentim* (as *Fisher* acknowledgeth *Purgatory* did) by little and little, and by very flow steps, which are not so easie to be discerned, as fooles be borne in hand they are. 3. That it is a fond imagination, to suppose that all such changes must be made by some Bishop, or any one certaine author: whereas it is confessed, that some may come in by the tacite consent of manie, and grow after into a generall custome, the beginning whereof is past mans memorie.

And as some superstitious usages may draw their originall from the undiscerned devotion of the multitude: so some also may be derived from want of devotion in the people; and some alterations likewise must be attributed to the verie change of time it selfe. Of the one we cannot give a fitter instance, then in your private Masse, wherein the Priest receiveth the Sacrament alone: which *Harding* fetcheth from no other ground, then *lacke of devotion of the peoples part*. When you therefore can tell us, in what Popes dayes the people fell from their devotion; wee may chance tell you, in what

e. *Hard* answer  
to the first Ar-  
ticle of *Iuels*  
challenge, fol.  
26. b. Edit.  
*Antwerp. Ann.*  
1565.



what Popes dayes your private Masse began. An experiment of the other wee may see in the use of the Latin Service, in the Churches of *Italy, France, and Spaine*. For if wee be questioned, When that use first beganne there? and further demanded, <sup>f</sup>Whether the language formerly used in their Liturgie, was changed upon a suddaine? our answer must be, That Latin Service was used in those countries from the beginning: but that the Latin tongue at that time was commonly understood of all, which afterward by little and little degenerated into those vulgar languages which now are used. When you therefore shall be pleased to certifie us, in what Popes dayes the *Latin* tongue was changed into the *Italian, French, and Spanish* (which we pray you doe for our learning:) wee will then give you to understand, that from that time forward the language, not of the Service, but of the people, was altered. *Nec enim lingua vulgaris populo subtracta est, sed populus ab ea recessit* (saith <sup>g</sup> *Erasmus*;) *The vulgar tongue was not taken away from the people; but the people departed from it.*

<sup>f</sup> *Allen. artic. 11. demand. 9.*

<sup>g</sup> *Erasm. in declarationib. ad censuras Parisiens. sit. 12. sect. 41.*

If this which I have said, will not satisfie you; I would wish you call unto your remembrance, the answer which *Arnobius* sometimes gave to a foolish question, propounded by the enemies of the Christian faith: <sup>h</sup> *Nec si nequivero causas vobis exponere, cur aliquid fiat illo, vel hoc modo, continuo sequitur, ut infecta fiant, quae facta sunt.* And consider, whether I may not returne the like answer unto you. If I be not able to declare unto you, by what Bishop of Rome, and in what Popes daies, the simplicitie of the ancient faith was first corrupted; it will not presently follow, that what was done, must needs be undone. Or rather, if you please, call to mind the Parable in the Gospel, where <sup>i</sup> *the kingdome* <sup>i</sup> *Matth. 13.*

<sup>h</sup> *Arnob lib. 2. contra Gentes.*

of 24, 25.

of heaven is likened unto a man, which sowed good seed in his field; but while men slept, his enemy came and sowed Tares among the Wheat, and went his way. These that slept, took no notice, when or by whom the Tares were scattered among the Wheat; neither at the first rising, did they discern betwixt the one and the other, though they were awake. But <sup>k</sup> when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the Tares: and then they put the question unto their Master; Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares? Their Master indeed telleth them, it was the enemies doing: but you could tell them otherwise, and come upon them thus. You your selves graunt, that the seed which was first sown in this field, was good seed, and such as was put there by your Master himselfe. If this which you call Tares, be no good graine, and hath sprung from some other seed then that which was sown here at first: I would faine knowe that mans name, who was the sower of it; and likewise the time in which it was sown. Now you being not able to shew either the one, or the other: it must needs be, that your eyes here deceive you; or if these be tares, they are of no enemies, but of your Masters owne sowing.

k Ibid. v. 26, 27.

l Apoc. 20. 7.

m Infelix dicitur hoc seculum, exhaustum hominibus ingenio & doctrinâ claris, sive etiam claris principibus & pontificibus. Genebrard. Chron. libr. 4.

To let passe the slumbrings of former times, wee could tell you of an age, wherein men not only slept, but also snorted: it was (if you know it not) the tenth from Christ, the next neighbour to that wherein Hell broke loose. That m Unhappie age (as Genebrard, and other of your owne Writers terme it,) exhausted both of men of account for wit and learning, and of worthy

Princes



Princes and Bishops : In which there were <sup>n</sup> no famous Writers, nor Councells ; then which (if wee will credite Bellarmine) there was never age <sup>o</sup> more unlearned and unhappy. If I bee not able to discover what feates the Divell wrought in that time of darkenesse, wherein men were not so vigilant in marking his conveyances ; and such as might see somewhat, were not so forward in writing bookes of their Observations : must the infelicite of that age, wherein there was little learning, and lesse writing, yea, which for want of Writers (as Cardinal p Baronius acknowledgeth ) hath been usually named the Obscure age ; must this (I say) inforce me to yeeld, that the Divell brought in no tares all that while, but let slip the opportunitie of so darke a night, and slept himselfe for company ? There are other meanes left unto us, whereby we may discerne the Tares brought in by the instruments of Satan, from the good seed which was sown by the Apostles of Christ ; beside this observation of times and seasons, which will often faile vs. *Ipsa doctrina eorum* (saith q Tertullian) *cum Apostolica comparata, ex diversitate & contrarietate sua pronuntiabit, neque Apostoli alicujus auctoris esse, neq; Apostolici.* Their very doctrine it selfe, being compared with the Apostolick, by the diversitie and contrariety thereof, will pronounce, that it had for author, neyther any Apostle, nor any man Apostolicall. For there cannot be a better prescription against Hereticall novelties, then that which our Saviour Christ useth against the Pharisees ; <sup>r</sup> From the beginning it was not so : nor a better preservative against the infection of seducers that are crept in unawares, then that which is prescribed by the Apostle <sup>f</sup> Jude ; earnestly to contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the Saints.

n Bellarm. in Chronol. an. 970 }

o Idem, de Rom. Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 12.

p Baron. Annal. rom. 10. an. 900. sect. 1.

q Tertull. Praescript. advers. Heret. cap. 32.

r Matth. 19. 3.

f Jude, v. 3, 4.

2 Luke 1. 4.

■ Esai. 30. 3.

\* As it was in  
the beginning,  
so now.

2 Ledefm. de  
Scriptur. quæ-  
vis lingua non  
legendis, cap. 17.  
Bellarm. lib. 2. de  
Verbo Dei, cap. 15

Now to the end we might know the certaintie of those things, wherein the Saints were at the first instructed; God hath provided, that the memoriall thereof should be recorded in his owne Booke, that it might remaine <sup>u</sup> *for the time to come, for ever and ever*. He then who out of that Booke is able to demonstrate, that the doctrine or practice now prevailing, swarveth from that which was at first established in the Church by the Apostles of Christ; doth as strongly prove, that a change hath beene made in the middle times, as if hee were able to nominate the place where, the time when, and the person by whom any such corruption was first brought in. In the Apostles dayes, when a man had examined himselfe, hee was admitted unto the Lords Table, there to *eate of that bread, and drinke of that cup*: as appeareth plainly, 1. Cor. 11. 28. In the Church of Rome at this day, the people are indeed permitted to eate of the bread (if bread they may call it) but not allowed to drinke of the cup. Must all of us now shut our eyes, and sing, \* *Sicut erat in principio, & nunc*: unlesse we be able to tell by whom, and when this first institution was altered? By S. Pauls order, who would have all things done to *edification*, Christians should pray with *understanding*, and not in an unknowne language: as may be seene in the fourteenth chapter of the same Epistle to the Corinthians. The case is now so altered, that the bringing in of a tongue not understood (which hindred the edifying of *Babel* it selfe, and scattered the builders thereof) is accounted a good meanes to further the edifying of your *Babel*, and to <sup>x</sup> hold her followers together. Is not this then a good ground to resolve a mans judgement, that things are not now kept in that order, wherein they were set at first by



by the Apostles : although he be not able to point unto the first author of the disorder ?

And as wee may thus discover innovations, by having recourse unto the first and best times : so may wee doe the like, by comparing the state of things present with the middle times of the Church. Thus I finde by the constant and approved practice of the auncient Church ; that all sorts of people, men, women, and children, had free libertie to reade the holy Scriptures. I finde now the contrary among the Papists : and shall I say for all this, that they have not removed the bounds which were set by the Fathers, because perhaps I cannot name the Pope, that ventured to make the first inclosure of these commons of Gods people ? I heare S. y Hierome say : *Iudith, & Tobia, & Macchabeorum libros legit quidem Ecclesia, sed eos inter Canonicas Scripturas non recipit. The Church doth reade indeed the books of Iudith, and Toby, and the Macchabees ; but doth not receive them for Canonickall Scripture.* I see that at this day, the Church of Rome receiveth them for such. May not I then conclude, that betwixt S. Hieromes time and ours, there hath beene a change ; and that the Church of Rome now, is not of the same judgement with the Church of God then : howsoever I cannot precisely lay downe the time, wherein shee first thought her selfe to be wiser herein then her Forefathers ?

y Hieronym.  
Præfat. in libros  
Salomon. Epist.  
115.

But here our Adversary closeth with us, and layeth downe a number of points, held by them, and denied by us : which he undertaketh to make good, as well by the expresse testimonies of the Fathers of the Primitive Church of Rome ; as also by good and certaine grounds out of the sacred Scriptures, if the Fathers authoritie will not suffice. Where if hee would change his order, and

2 Aug. de Pa-  
florib. cap. 14.

Levit. 19. 32.

Dan. 7. 6.

a Matth. 23. 9.

give the *sacred Scriptures* the precedency; hee should therein do more right to God the author of them, who well deserveth to have audience in the first place: and withall ease both himselfe and us of a needlesse labour, in seeking any further authority to compose our differences. For if he can *produce* (as he beareth us in hand he can) *good and certaine grounds out of the sacred Scriptures*, for the points in controversie, the matter is at an end: he that will not rest satisfied with such evidences as these, may (if he please) travaile further, and speed worke. Therefore as S. 2 *Augustine* heretofore provoked the Donatists, so provoke I him: *Auferantur charta humana, sonent voces divina: ede mihi unam Scriptura vocem pro parte Donati.* Let humane writings be removed, let Gods voyce sound: bring mee on the voyce of the Scripture for the part of Donatus. Produce but one cleere testimony of the sacred Scripture, for the Popes part, and it shall suffice: alledge what authority you list, without Scripture, and it cannot suffice. Wee reverence indeed the ancient Fathers, as it is fit we should; and hold it our duty to rise up before the hoare head, and to honour the person of the aged: but still with reservation of the respect we owe to their Father and ours, that *Ancient of dayes, the hayne of whose head is like the pure wooll.* We may not forget the lesson, which our great Master hath taught us: *a Call no man your Father upon the earth; for one is your Father which is in heaven.* Him therefore alone doe wee acknowledge for the Father of our Faith: no other Father doe we know, upon whose bare credite we may ground our consciences, in things that are to be beleevd.

And this wee say, not as if wee feared that these men were able to produce better proofes out of the writings of  
of



of the Fathers, for the part of the Pope, then we can do for the Catholick cause (when we come to joine in the particulars, they shall finde it otherwise: ) but partly to bring the matter unto a shorter triall, partly to give the word of God his due, and to declare what that rocke is upon which alone we build our faith, even the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets; from which no sleight that they can devise, shall ever draw us.

The same course did S. Augustine take with the Pelagians: against whom he wanted not the authority of the Fathers of the Church. *b Which if I would collect (saith he) and use their testimonies, it would be too long a worke, and I might peradventure seeme to have lesse confidence then I ought in the Canonick authorities, from which we ought not to be withdrawn.* Yet was the Pelagian Heresie then but newly budded: which is the time wherein the pressing of the Fathers testimonies is thought to be best in season. With how much better warrant may we follow this president, having to deale with such as have had time and leisure enough to falsifie the Fathers writings, and to teach them the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans? The method of confuting heresies by the consent of holy Fathers, is by none commended more then by Vincentius Lirinensis: who is carefull notwithstanding, herein to give us this caveat. *c But neither alwayes, nor all kindes of heresies are to be impugned after this manner, but such only as are new, and lately sprung: namely, when they doe first arise, while by the straitnesse of the time it selfe they be bindred from falsifying the rules of the ancient faith; and before*

*b Quos si colligere, & eorum testimoniis uti velim, & nimis longum erit, & de canonicis autoritatibus, à quibus non debemus averti, minus fortasse videbor præsumpsisse quam debui.*  
*Aug. de nupt. & concupiscent. lib. 2. cap. 29.*

*c Sed neque semper, neque omnes hæreses hoc modo impugnandæ sunt, sed novitæ recētesq; tantummodo, cum primum scilicet exoriantur; antequam infalsare veteris fidei regulas, prius temporis verantur*

*angustiis, ac priusquam manante latius veneno majorum volumina vitare conentur. Ceterum dilatata & inveterata hæreses nequaquam hac viâ adgrediendæ sunt, eo quod prolixo temporum tractu longa his furandæ veritatis patuerit occasio. P. n. de Hæres. cap. 39.*

the time that, their poyson spreading farther, they attempt to corrupt the writings of the ancient. But farre-spread and inveterate heresies are not to bee dealt vvithall this way; for as much as by long continuance of time, a long occasion hath lyen open unto them to steale away the truth. The heresies with which wee have to deale, have spred so farre, and continued so long, that the defenders of them are bold to make Vniversality and Duration the speciall markes of their Church: they had opportunity enough of time and place, to put in ure all deceivablenesse of unrighteousnesse; neither will they have it to say, that in coyning and clipping, and washing the monuments of Antiquitie, they have beene wanting to themselves.

*d Aeneas Syl-  
vius, Epist. 288.*

Before the Councell of Nice (as hath beene observed by <sup>d</sup> one, who sometime was Pope himselfe) little respect, to speake of, was had to the Church of Rome. If this may be thought to prejudice the dignity of that Church, which would be held, to have sate as Queene among the Nations, from the very beginning of Christianity: you shall have a craftie merchant (*Isidorus Mercator*, I trow, they call him) that will helpe the matter, by counterfeiting Decretall Epistles in the name of the primitive Bishops of Rome, and bringing in thirty of them in a row, as so many Knights of the Poste, to beare witnessse of that great authority, which the Church of Rome enjoyed before the Nicene Fathers were assembled. If the Nicene Fathers have not amplified the bounds of her jurisdiction, in so large a manner as shee desired: shee hath had her well-willers, that have supplied the Councils negligence in that behalfe, and made Canons for the purpose, in the name of the good Fathers, that never dreamed of such a businesse.

If



If the power of judging all others will not content the Pope, unlesse he himselfe may be exempted from being judged by any other : another<sup>c</sup> Councell, as ancient at least as that of Nice, shall be suborned, wherein it shall be concluded, by the consent of 284. imaginarie Bishops, that *No man may judge the first seat.* and for fayling, in an elder<sup>f</sup> Councell then that, consisting of 300 buckram Bishops of the very selfe same making, the like note shall be sung : *quoniam prima sedes non iudicabitur à quoquam ; The first seat must not be judged by any man.* Lastly, if the Pope do not thinke that the fulnesse of spirituall power is sufficient for his greatnesse, unlesse hee may be also Lord paramount in temporalibus : hee hath his followers ready at hand, to frame a faire donation, in the name of *Constantine* the Emperour, whereby his Holinesse shall be estated, not only in the Citie of Rome, but also in the seigniory of the whole West. It would require a Volume, to rehearse the names of those severall Tractates, which have beene basely bred in the former dayes of darknesse, and fathered upon the ancient Doctors of the Church, who, if they were now alive, would be deposed that they were never privie to their begetting.

Neither hath this corrupting humour stayed it selfe in forging of whole Councils, and intire Treatises of the ancient writers : but hath, like a canker, fretted away diverse of their sound parts, and so altered their complexions, that they appear not to be the same men they were. To instance in the great question of *Transubstantiation* : we were wont to reade in the books attributed unto *S. Ambrose, De Sacramentis, libr. 4. cap. 4.* *Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini Iesu, ut inciperent esse quæ non erant : quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint*  
D quæ

<sup>c</sup> Concil. Roman.  
sub Sylvestr. cap.

20. Nemo enim  
iudicabit pri-  
mam sedem.

<sup>f</sup> Concil. Sinues-  
san. circa fin.

g Apoc. 17. 8.

*quæ erant, & in aliud commutentur ?* If therefore there be so great force in the speech of our Lord Iesus, that the things which were not begun to bee (namely at the first creation:) how much more is the same powerfull to make, that things may still be that which they were, and yet be changed into another thing? It is not unknowne, how much those words, *ut sint quæ erant*, have troubled their braines, who maintaine, that after the words of consecration, the elements of bread and wine be not that thing which they were: and what devises they have found, to make the bread and wine in the Sacrament to be like unto the Beast in the Revelation, *g that was, and is not, and yet is*. But that Gordian knot, which they with their skill could not so readily untye, their masters at Rome (*Alexander-like*) have now cut asunder; paring cleane away in their *Romane Edition* (which is also followed in that set out at Paris, *Anno 1603.*) those words that so much troubled them, and letting the rest run smoothly after this manner: *quanto magis operatorius est, ut quæ erant, in aliud cõmutentur?* how much more is the speech of our Lord powerfull to make, that those things which were, should be changed into another thing?

The author of the imperfect work upon Matthew, homil. 11. writeth thus: *Si ergo hæc vasa sanctificata ad privatos usus transferre sic periculosum est, in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continentur: quanto magis vasa corporis nostri, quæ sibi Deus ad habitaculum præparavit, non debemus locum dare Diabolo agendi in eis quod vult?* If therefore it be so dangerous a matter, to transferre unto private uses those holy vessels, in which the true body of Christ is not, but the mysterie of his body is contained: how much more for the vessels of our body, which God hath prepared for himselfe to dwell in,  
ought



ought not wee to give way unto the Divell, to doe in them what he pleaseth? Those words (*in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur: in which the true body of Christ is not, but the mysterie of his body is contained*) did threaten to cut the very throat of the Papists real presence; and therefore in good policie they thought it fit to cut their throat first, for doing any further hurt. Whereupon, in the Editions of this Worke printed at Antwerpe, *apud Ioannem Steelsum, anno 1537*: at Paris, *apud Ioannem Roigny, anno 1543*: and at Paris again, *apud Ludouenum Parvum, anno 1557*. not one syllable of them is to be seene; though extant in the ancienter editions, one whereof is as olde as the yere 1487. And to the same purpose, in the 19 Homily, in stead of *Sacrificium panis & vini, the sacrifice of bread and vvine*, (which we find in the old impressions) these latter editions have chopt in, *Sacrificium corporis & sanguinis Christi, the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ*.

In the yere 1608. there were published at Paris certaine workes of Fulbertus Bishop of Chartres, \*pertayning as well to the refuting of the heresies of this time, (for so saith the inscription) as to the cleering of the History of the French. Among those things that appertaine to the confutation of the Heresies of this time, there is one especially, fol. 168. laid downe in these words. *Nisi manducaveritis, inquit, carnem filij hominis, & sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. Figura ergo est, dicet hereticus, precipiens Passioni Domini esse cōmunicandum tantum, & suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa & vulnerata sit. Vnlesse (saith Christ) ye eate the flesh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his blood, yee shall not haue life in you. He see-*

\* Quæ tam ad refutandas hæreses huius temporis, quàm ad Gallorum Hist. pertinent.

meth to command an outrage or wickednesse. It is therefore a figure, will the hereticke say, requiring us only to communicate with the Lords Passion, and sweetly and profitably to lay up in our memory, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us. He that put in those words, (*dicet hereticus*) thought hee had notably mer with the hereticke of this time: but was not aware that thereby he made S. Augustine an Hereticke for company. For the Hereticke that speaketh thus, is even S. Augustine himselfe: whose very words these are, in his third booke *de Doctrinâ Christianâ*, the 16. chapter. Which some be-like having put the publisher in minde of: he was glad to put this among his *Errata*, and to confesse that these two words were not to be found in the Manuscript copie which hee had from *Petavius*; but telleth us not what we are to thinke of him, that for the countenancing of the Popish cause, ventured so shamefully to abuse S. Augustine.

Vide Tom. II.  
Bibliotheca Pa-  
trum, edit. Colon.  
pag. 44. b.

In the year 1616. a Tome of ancient Writers, that never saw the light before, was set forth at Ingolstadt by *Petrus Steuartius*: where, among other Tractates, a certaine Penitentiall, written by *Rabanus* that famous Archbishop of Mentz, is to be seene. In the 33. chapter of that booke, *Rabanus* making answer unto an idle question moved by Bishop *Heribaldus* concerning the Eucharist, (what should become of it, after it was consumed, and sent into the draught, after the maner of other meats :) hath these words. (*initio pag. 669.*) *Nam quidam nuper de ipso sacramento corporis & sanguinis Domini non ritè sentientes dixerunt: hoc ipsum corpus, & sanguinem Domini, quod de Mariâ Virgine natum est, & in quo ipse Dominus passus est in cruce, & resurrexit de sepulcro* ----- *cui errori quantum potuimus, ad Egilum Abbatem*



*Abbatem scribentes, de corpore ipso quid veré credendum sit aperuimus.* For some of late, not holding rightly of the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, have said; that the very body and blood of our Lord, which was borne of the Virgin Mary, and, in which our Lord himselfe suffered on the Crosse, and rose againe from the grave \*----- Against which error, writing unto Abbot Egilus, according to our ability, we have declared, what is truly to be beleevéd cōcerning Christs body. You see Rabanus tongue is clipt here for telling tales: but how this came to passe, were worth the learning. Steuartius freeth himselfe from the fact, telling us in his margent, \* that here there was a \* Lacuna hic est in MS exemplari. blanke in the manuscript copy, and we doe easily beleeve him: for Posservine the Iesuite hath given us to understand, that <sup>h</sup> Manuscript bookes also are to be purged, h Ad istos enim quoque purgatio pertinet. Posservin. lib. I. Bibliothecę select. cap. 12. as well as printed. But whence was this Manuscript fetcht, thinke you? Out of <sup>i</sup> the famous Monastery of Weingart; saith Steuartius. The Monkes of Weingart then belike must answer the matter: and they (I dare <sup>i</sup> say) upon examination will take their oathes, that it was no part of their intention to give any furtherance unto the cause of the Protestants hereby. If hereunto we adde, that Heribaldus and Rabanus both, are <sup>k</sup> ranked k Wald. tom. 1. Doctrinal. in Prolog. ad Martinum V. among heretickes by Thomas Walden, <sup>l</sup> for holding the Eucharist to be subject to digestion and voidance, like other meates; the suspition will be more vehement: l Id. tom. 2. cap. 19. & 61. whereunto yet I will adjoine one evidence more, that shall leave the matter past suspition.

In the Libraries of my worthy friends, S<sup>r</sup> Rob. Cotton, (that noble Baronett, so renowned for his great care in collecting & preserving all antiquities) & D<sup>r</sup>. Ward, the learned Mast<sup>r</sup> of Sidney Colledge in Cambridge; I met with an ancient Treatise of the Sacrament (beginning

\* Ant. Possevin.  
Apparat. sac. in  
Berengario  
Turon.

\* al. Elgionem,  
& Helgimio-  
nem.

m De Christian.  
Eccles. success. &  
statu, Edit. ann.  
1613. pag. 45.  
& 198.

thus : *Sicut ante nos quidam sapiens dixit, cujus sententiam probamus, licet nomen ignoremus.* ) which is the same with that in the Iesuites Colledge at Lovaine, blindely \* fathered upon *Berengarius*. The author of this Treatise, having first twited *Heribaldus* for propounding, & *Rabanus* for resolving this question of the voidance of the Eucharist: layeth downe afterward the opinion of *Paschasius Ratbertus*, ( whose writing is yet extant ) *quod non alia plané sit caro qua sumitur de altari, quàm qua nata est de Mariâ Virgine, & passa in cruce, & qua resurrexit de sepulcro, quaque & pro mundi vitâ adhuc hodie offeratur.* That the flesh which is received at the altar, is no other then that which was borne of the Virgin Mary, suffered on the Crosse, rose again from the grave, and as yet is daily offered for the life of the vworld. *Contra quem* (saith he) *satis argumentatur, & Rabanus in Epistola ad \* Egilonem Abbatem, & Ratrannus quidam libro composito ad Karolum regem; dicentes aliam esse.* Against whom both *Rabanus* in his Epistle to Abbot Egilo, and one *Ratrannus* in a booke which he made to King Charles, argue largely; saying that it is another kind of flesh. Whereby, what *Rabanus* his opinion was of this point in his Epistle to Abbot Egilo or Egilus, & consequently what that was which the Monkes of Weingart could not indure in his Penitentiall, I trust is plaine enough.

I omit other corruptions of antiquitie in this same question, which I have touched m elsewhere: only that of *Bertram* I may not passe over, wherein the dishonesty of these men, in handling the writings of the ancient, is laid open, even by the confession of their owne mouthes. Thus the case standeth. That *Ratrannus* who joined with *Rabanus* in refuting the error of the carnall presence, at the first bringing in thereof by *Paschasius*



*chasius Ratbertus*; is he who commonly is knowen by the name of *Bertramus*. The booke which he wrote of this argument to *Carolus Calvus* the Emperour, was forbidden to be read, by order from the Roman Inquisition, confirmed afterwards by the Councell of Trent. The Divines of Doway, perceiving that the forbidding of the booke did not keepe men from reading it, but gave them rather occasion to seeke more earnestly after it: thought it better policy, that *Bertram* should be permitted to goe abroad, but handled in such sort, as other ancient writers, that made against them, were wont to be. Seeing therefore (say they) we beare with very many errors in other of the old Catholike vvriters, and extenuate them, excuse them, by inventing some device oftentimes deny them; and fayne some commodious sense for them, when they are objected in disputations or conflicts with our adversaries: wee doe not see, why *Bertram* may not deserve the same equitie, and diligent reviseall. Least the heretickes cry out, that we burne and forbid such antiquity as maketh for them. Marke this dealing well. The world must be borne in hand, that all the Fathers make for the Church of Rome against us, in all our controversies. When we bring forth expresse testimonies of the Fathers to the contrary; what must then be done? A good face must be put upō the matter, one device or other must be invented to elude the testimonies objected, and still it must be denied that the Fathers make against the doctrine of the Papists. *Bertram*, for example, writeth thus. ° *The things which differ one from another, are not the same. The body of Christ which was dead and rose again, and being made immortall now dyeth*

n Quin igitur in Catholicis veteribus aliis plurimos ferimus errores, & extenuemus, excusamus, excogitato cōmento persæpe negamus, & commodū iis sensū affingamus, dū opponuntur in disputationibus, aut in conflictionibus cū adversariis: non videmus cur non eandē æquitatem & diligentem recognitionem mereatur *Bertramus*. ne hæretici ogganniant, nos anti-quitatem pro ipsis facientem exurere & prohibere. *Index Expurg. Belgic. pag. 5. edit. Antwerp. ann. 1571.* o Quæ a se differunt, idem non sunt. Corpus Christi quod mortuū est & resurrexit, & immortale factū jam non moritur, & mors illi ultra

nō dominabitur, æternū est, nec jã passibile. Hoc autē quod in Ecclesiā celebratur, tēporale est, non æternum; corruptibile est, non in corruptum. *Bertram de corp. & sang. Dom.*

not,

p Secundum  
species Sacra-  
menti corrup-  
tibilis: aut de  
re ipsâ & usu  
sacramenti, qui  
non contingit,  
nisi præsentis in  
sæculo. Index  
expurg. pag. 7.

not, (death no more having dominion over it) is everla-  
sting, and now not subject to suffering. But this which is ce-  
lebrated in the Church, is temporall, not everlasting; it is  
corruptible, not free from corruption. What device must  
they finde out here? They must say this is meant of  
the accidents or *Pformes* of the Sacrament, which are cor-  
ruptible; or of the use of the Sacrament, which continueth  
only in this present world. But how will this shift serve  
the turne, when as the whole drift of the discourse ten-  
deth to prove, that that which is received by the mouth  
of the faithfull in the Sacrament, is not that very bodie  
of Christ which dyed upon the Crosse, and rose againe  
from death? *Non malè aut inconsultè omittantur igitur  
omnia hæc; It were not amisse therefore (say our Popish  
Censurers) nor unadvisedly done, that all these things  
should be left out.*

If this be your maner of dealing with antiquity, let  
all men judge whether it be not high time for us to li-  
sten unto the advice of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, and not be  
so forward to commit the triall of our controversies to  
the writings of the Fathers, who have had the ill hap  
to fall into such hucksters handling. Yet that you may  
see, how confident we are in the goodnesse of our cause:  
we will not now stand upon our right, nor refuse to  
enter with you into this field; but give you leave for  
this time both to be the Challenger, and the appointer  
of your owne weapons. Let us then heare your chal-  
lenge, wherein you would so faine be answered. I would  
faine know (say you) how can your Religion be true, which  
disalloweth of many chiefe articles, which the Saints and  
Fathers of that primitive Church of Rome did generally  
hold to be true? For they of your side, that have read the  
Fathers of that unspotted Church, can well testifie (and if  
any



any deny it, it shall be presently shewen ) that the Doctors, Pastors, and Fathers of that Church doe allow of Traditions, &c. And againe: Now would I faine know, whether of both have the true Religion; they that hold all these abovesaid points with the primitive Church, or they that do most vehemently contradict, and gainsay them? they that doe not disagree with that holy Church, in any point of Religion; or they that agree with it but in very few, and disagree in almost all? And the third time too, for fayling: Now would I willingly see, what reasonable answer may be made to this. For the Protestants graunt that the Church of Rome, for 400 or 500 yeares, held the true Religion of Christ: yet do they exclaime against the abovesaid articles, which the same Church did maintaine and uphold; as may be shewen by the expresse testimonies of the Fathers of the same Church, and shall be largely layd downe, if any learned Protestant will deny it.

If *Albertus Pighius* had now beene alive, as great a Scholer as he was, he might have learned that he never knew before. Who did ever yet (saith he) by the Church of Rome understand the Vniuersall Church? That doth this man (say I) who styleth all the ancient Doctors and Martyrs of the Church Vniuersall, with the name of the Saints and Fathers of the primitive Church of Rome. But it seemeth a small matter unto him, for the magnifying of that Church, to confound *Vrbem & Orbem*: unlesse he mingle also Heaven and Earth together, by giving the title of that unspotted Church, which is the speciall priviledge of the Church triumphant in heaven, unto the Church of Rome here militant upon earth. S. *Augustine* surely would not have himselfe otherwise understood, whensoever hee speaketh of the unspotted Church: and therefore, to prevent all mista-

E king,

—died 1542

q Quis per Romanam Ecclesiam unquam intellexit aut universalem Ecclesiam, aut generale Concilium? *Pigh. Eccles. Hierarch. lib. 6. cap. 3.*

¶ Vbiunque  
in his libris cō-  
memoravi Ec-  
clesiam non  
habentem ma-  
culam aut ru-  
gam; non sic  
accipiendum  
est quasi iam  
sit, sed quæ  
præparatur ut  
sit quando ap-  
parebit etiam  
gloriosa. Nunc  
enim propter  
quasdam igno-  
rantias & infir-  
mitates mem-  
brorum suorum  
habet unde  
quotidie tota  
dicat: Dimitte  
nobis debita  
nostra. *August.*  
*Retractat. lib. 2.*  
*cap. 18.*

king, hee thus expoundeth himselfe in his Retractions. *Wheresoever in these bookes I have made mention of the Church not having spot or wrinkle; it is not so to be taken, as if she were so now, but that she is prepared to bee so, when she shall appeare glorious. For now, by reason of certaine ignorances and infirmities of her members, the whole Church hath cause to say every day: Forgive us our trespasses. Now as long as the Church is subject to these ignorances and infirmities, it cannot be otherwise, but there must be differences betwixt the members thereof: one part may understand that whereof an other is ignorant; and ignorance being the mother of error, one particular Church may wrongly conceive of some points, wherein others may be rightly informed. Neyther will it follow thereupon, that these Churches must be of different Religions, because they fully agree not in all things: or that therefore the Reformed Churches in our dayes must disclaime all kindred with those in ancient times, because they have washed away some spots from themselves, which they discerned to have been in them.*

It is not every spot that taketh away the beautie of a Church, nor every sicknesse that taketh away the life thereof: and therefore though wee should admit that the ancient Church of Rome was somewhat impaired both in beautie and in health too, (wherein we have no reason to be sorie, that we are unlike unto her) there is no necessitie that hereupon presently she must cease to be our sister. *S. Cyprian* and the rest of the African Bishops that joined with him, held that such as were baptized by heretickes, should be rebaptized: the African Bishops in the time of *Aurelius* were of another minde. Doth the diversitie of their judgements in this point,  
make



make them to have been of a diverse Religion? It was the use of the ancient Church to minister the Communion unto Infants : which is yet also practised by the Christians in Egypt and Ethiopia. The Church of Rome, upon better consideration, hath thought fit to doe otherwise : and yet for all that will not yeeld, that either she her selfe hath forsaken the Religion of her ancestors, because she followeth them not in this ; or that they were of the same religion with the Cophites and Habassines , because they agree together in this particular. So put case the Church of Rome now did use prayer for the dead in the same maner that the ancient Church did : (which we will shew to be otherwise :) the reformed Churches that upon better advice have altered that usage, need not therefore graunt that eyther themselves hold a different Religion from that of the Fathers, because they doe not precisely follow them in this, nor yet that the Fathers were therefore Papists, because in this point they thus concurred. For as two may be discerned to be sisters by the likenesse of their faces, although the one have some spottes or blemishes which the other hath not : so a third may bee brought in, which may shew like spots and blemishes, and yet have no such likenesse of visage as may bewray her to be the others sister.

But our Challenger having first conceited in his minde an *Idea* of an unspotted Church upon earth ; then being farr in love with the painted face of the present Church of Rome, and out of love with us, because we like not as he liketh : he taketh a view of both our faces in the false glasses of affection, and findeth her on whom he doeth to answer his *unspotted* Church in all points, but us to agree with it in almost nothing. And

thereupon he would faine know, whether of both have the true Religion? they that doe not disagree with that holy Church in any point of Religion; or they that agree with it but in very few, and disagree in almost all? Indeed, if that which he assumeth for granted, could as easily bee proved, as it is boldly avouched: the question would quickly be resolved, whether of us both have the true Religion? But he is to understand, that strong conceits are but weake proofes: and that the Iesuites have not been the first, from whom such bragges as these have beene heard. *Dioscorus* the hereticke was as peart, when hee uttered these speeches in the Councell of Chalcedon:

Εἶχον μετὰ τῶν  
πατέρων ἐκείνων  
ἐγὼ συνίσταμαι  
τοῖς τῶν πατέρων  
δόγμασιν. ὁ  
παρεβέβηκεν ἐν τοῖς  
ἐκείνων τοῖς χρί-  
σεσιν, καὶ ἀπλῶς,  
ἀλλ' ἐν βιβλίῳ  
ἔχω. Concil. Chal-  
ced. Act. 1. pag.  
97. edit. Rom.

*I am cast out with the Fathers. I defend the doctrines of the Fathers, I transgresse them not in any point: and I have their testimonies, not barely, but in their very bookes. Neither need we wonder, that he should beare us down, that the Church of Rome at this day doth not disagree from the primitive Church in any point of Religion; who sticketh not so confidently to affirme, that we agree with it but in very few, and disagree in almost all. For those few points, wherein hee confesseth wee doe agree with the ancient Church, must either be meant of such articles onely, wherein wee disagree from the now Church of Rome; or else of the whole bodie of that Religion which we professe. If in the former he yeeld that wee doe agree with the primitive Church: what credite doth he leave unto himselfe, who with the same breath hath givē out, that the present Church of Rome doth not disagree with that holy Church in any point? If he mean the latter: with what face can he say, that wee agree with that holy Church but in very few points of religion, and disagree in almost all? *Irenaeus*, who was the Disciple of those which heard *S. Iohn* the Apostle, layeth*



layeth downe the articles of that faith, in the unitie whereof the Churches that were founded in *Germany*, *Spaine*, *France*, the *East*, *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and all the world, did sweetly accord : as if they had all dwelt in one house, all had but one soule, and one heart, and one mouth. Is he able to shew one point, wherein we have broken that harmony, which *Irenaeus* commendeth in the Catholick Church of his time ? But that *Rule of faith* so much commended by him and *Tertullian*, and the rest of the Fathers ; and all the articles of the severall Creedes that were ever received in the ancient Church, as badges of the Catholicke profession (to which we willingly subscribe) is with this man almost nothing : none must now be counted a Catholicke, but he that can conforme his beliefe unto the<sup>u</sup> Creed of the new fashion, compiled by Pope *Pius* the fourth some foure and fiftie yeares ago.

<sup>t</sup> *Irene. lib. 1. cap 23. Epiphani. haer. 31.*

<sup>u</sup> *Forma professionis fidei, in Bulla Pij IV. edit. ann. 1564.*

As for the particular differences, wherein he thinketh he hath the advantage of us ; when we come unto the sifting of them, it shall appeare how farre he was deceived in his imagination. In the meane time, having as yet not stricken one stroake, but threatned only to doe wonders, if any would be so hardy to accept his Challenge ; he might have done very well, to have deferred his triumph, untill such time as he had obtayned the victory. For as if he had borne us downe with the weight of the authority of the Fathers, and so astonished us therewith, that we could not tell what to say for our selves ; he thus bestirreth himselfe, in a most ridiculous maner, fighting with his owne shadow. Will you say that these Fathers (saith he, who hath not hitherto layd downe so much as the name of any one Father) maintained these opinions contrary to the word of God ?

*Why you know that they were the pillars of Christianitie, the champions of Christ his Church, and of the true Catholick Religion, which they most learnedly defended against diverse heresies, and therefore spent all their time in a most serious studie of the holy Scripture. Or will you say that, although they knew the Scriptures to repugne, yet they brought in the aforesaid opinions by malice and corrupt intentions? Why your selves cannot deny but that they lived most holy and vertuous lives, free from all malicious corrupting or perverting of Gods holy word, and by their holy lives are now made worthy to raigne with God in his glory. Inſomuch as their admirable learning may ſufficiently croſſe out all ſuſpition of ignorant errour; and their innocent ſanctity freeth us from all miſtruſt of malicious corruption.*

x 1. King. 20. 11.

y Antiqua ſan-  
ctorum patrū  
conſenſio, non  
in omnibus di-  
vinæ legis  
quæſtiunculis;  
ſed ſolum, certē  
præcipuē, in fi-  
dei regulā  
magno nobis  
ſtudio & inve-  
ſtiganda eſt, &  
ſequenda. Vin-  
centi. contra he-  
reſ. cap. 39.

But, by his leave, hee is a little too haſtie. Hee were beſt to bethink himſelfe more adviſedly of that which he hath undertaken to performe: and to remember the ſaying of the King of Iſrael unto Benhadad; \* Let not him that girdeth on his harnesse, boaſt himſelfe, as he that putteth it off. Hee hath taken upon him to prove, that our Religion cannot be true, becauſe it diſalloweth of many chiefe articles, which the Saints and Fathers of that primitive Church of Rome did generally hold to be true. For performance hereof, it wil not be ſufficient for him to ſhew that ſome of theſe Fathers maintained ſome of theſe opinions: he muſt prove (if hee will be as good as his word, and deale any thing to the purpoſe) that they held them generally, and held them too, not as opinions, but *tanquam de fide*, as appertayning to the ſubſtance of faith and religion. For (as Vincentius Lirinensis well obſerveth) y the auncient conſent of the holy Fathers is with great care to be ſought and followed by us, not in every petty



petty question belonging to the Law of God, but only, or at least principally, in the Rule of faith. But all the points propounded by our Challenger, be not *chiefe articles*: and therefore if in some of them the Fathers have held some opinions, that will not beare waight in the balance of the Sanctuary (as some conceits they had herein, which the Papists themselves must confesse to be erroneous) their defects in that kinde doe abate nothing of that reverend estimation which we have them in, for their great paines taken in the *defence of the true Catholick Religion*, and the *serious studie of the holy Scripture*. Neither doe I thinke that he who thus commendeth them for *the pillers of Christianitie*, and *the champions of Christs Church*; will therefore hold himselfe tyed to stand unto every thing that they have said: sure he will not, if he follow the steppes of the great ones of his owne Societie.

For what doth hee thinke of *Iustin Martyr*, *Irenaus*, and *Epiphanius*? Doth he not account them among those *pillers and champions* hee speaketh of? Yet, saith *Cardinall Bellarmine*, *I doe not see, how we may defend their opinion from error*. When others object, that they have two or three hundred testimonies of the Doctors to prove that the *Virgin Mary* was conceived in sinne: *Salmeron* the Iesuite steps forth, and answereth them, first, out of the doctrine of *Augustine* and *Thomas*, that the argument drawne from authoritie is weake: then, out of the word of God, *Exod. 23. In iudicio, plurimorum non acquiesces sententia, ut a vero devies. In judgement, thou shalt not be ledde with the sentence of the most*, to decline

z Iustini, Irenæi, Epiphaniæ, atque Oecumenii sententiâ non video, quo pacto ab errore possimus defendere. Bellarmine, lib. 1. de Sanctior. Beatiss. cap. 6.

a Primò quidè agunt multitudine Doctorum, quos errare in re tanti mo-

menti non est facilè admittendum. Respondemus tamen ex Augustini libro 1. de Morib. Eccles. c. 2. tum ex B. Thomæ doctrinâ, locum ab autoritate esse infirmum. Salmer. in Epist. ad Rom. libr. 2. disput. 51.

from

b Cūm Donatistæ in autorū multitudine gloriarentur; respondit Augustinus, signū esse causæ a veritatis nervo destitutæ, quæ soli multorum autoritati, qui errare possunt, innitur. *Ibid.*  
 c Tertio argumenta petunt a Doctorum antiquitate, cui semper major honor est habitus, quàm novitatibus. Respondetur, quamlibet ætatem antiquitatis semper detulisse: & quilibet senex, ut quidam Poëta dixit, laudator tēporis acti. Sed illud asserimus: quo juniores, eo perspicaciores esse Doctores. *Ibid.*

d Nam in ce-

leberrimā Parisiorum Academiā nullus Magistri in Theologiā titulo dignus habetur, qui prius etiam iuris iurandi religione non se adstrinxerit ad hoc Virginis privilegium tuendum, & propugnandum. *Ibid.* *Vid. & Laur. Sur. commentar. rer. in orbe gestar. ann. 1501.*

e Nec eam unquam nisi juxta unanimem consensum Patrum accipiam, & interpretabor. *Bulla Pij IV. pag. 478. Bullarj a Petro Matthæo edit. Lugdun. ann. 1588.* f Græci Patres, nec pauci etiam Latinorum Doctorum arbitrati sunt, id quæ in scriptis suis prodiderunt; causam prædestinationis hominum ad vitam æternam, esse præscientiā quam Deus ab æterno habuit, vel bonorum operum quæ facturi erant cooperando ipsius gratiæ, vel fidei quæ credituri erant verbo Dei & obedituri vocationi ejus. *Perer. in Rom. 8. sect. 106.*

from the truth. And lastly telleth them, <sup>b</sup> that when the Donatists gloried in the multitude of authors, S. Augustin did answer them, that it was a signe their cause was destitute of the strength of truth, which was onely supported by the authority of many, who were subject to error. And when his Adversaries presse him, not onely with the multitude, but also with the <sup>c</sup> antiquitie of the Doctors alledged, unto which more honour alwayes hath beene given, then unto novelties: he answereth, that indeed every age hath alwayes attributed much unto antiquity; and every old man, as the Poët saith, is a commender of the time past: but this (saith he) wee averre, that the yonger the Doctors are, the more sharpe-sighted they be. And therefore for his part he yeeldeth rather to the judgement of the yonger Doctors of Paris: <sup>d</sup> among whom none is held worthy of the title of a Master in Divinitie, who hath not first bound himselfe with a religious oath, to defend and maintaine the priviledge of the B. Virgin. Only he forgot to tell, how they which take that oath, might dispense with another oath which the Pope requireth them to take; that <sup>e</sup> they will never under-stand and interpret the holy Scripture, but according to the uniforme consent of the Fathers.

*Pererius* in his disputations upon the Epistle to the Romans, confesseth that <sup>f</sup> the Greeke Fathers, and not a few of the Latine Doctors too, have delivered in their wri-

tings,



things, that the cause of the predestination of men unto everlasting life is the foreknowledge which God had from eternitie, either of the good workes which they were to doe by cooperating with his grace, or of the faith wherby they were to beleieve the word of God, & to obey his calling. And yet he for his part notwithstanding thinketh, that *g* this is contrary to the holy Scripture, but especially to the doctrine of S. Paul. If our Questionist had beene by him, hee would have pluckt his fellow by the sleeve, and taken him up in this maner. Will you say that these Fathers maintained this opinion contrary to the word of God? Why you know that they were the pillars of Christianity, the Champions of Christ his Church, and of the true Catholick religion, which they most learnedly defended against diverse heresies, and therefore spent all their time in a most serious studie of the holy Scripture. He would also perhaps further challenge him, as he doth us: Will you say that, although they knew the Scriptures to repugne, yet they brought in the aforesaid opinion by malice & corrupt intentions? For sure hee might have asked this wise question of any of his owne fellowes, as well as of us, who doe allow and esteeme so much of these blessed Doctors and Martyrs of the ancient Church (as he himselfe in the end of his Challenge doth acknowledge :) which verily we should have little reason to doe, if wee did imagine that they brought in opinions which they knew to be repugnant to the Scriptures, for any malice, or corrupt intentions. Indeed men they were, compassed with the common infirmities of our nature, and therefore subject unto error: but godly men, and therefore free from all malicious error.

Howsoever then we yeeld unto you, that their innocent sanctitie freeth us from all mistrust of malicious cor-

F

ruption:

*g* Sed hoc videtur contrariū divinæ Scripturæ, præcipuè autē doctrinæ B. Pauli. *Jdem ibid. sect. 111.* At enim verò præsciētia fidei non esse rationem prædestinationis hominum, nullius est negotii multis & apertis Scripturæ testimoniis ostendere. *Ibid. sect. 109.*

h Beatus Ambrosius Episcopus, in cuius præcipue libris Romana elucet fides, qui scriptorum inter Latinos flos quidam speciosus enituit, cuius fidē & purissimum in Scripturis sensum, ne inimicus quidem ausus est reprehendere.

i Ecce qualibus & quantis prædicat laudibus, quamlibet sanctum & doctum virum, nequaquam tamē authoritati Scripturæ canonice comparandum. *Aug. de gratia Christi, cont. Pelag. l. b. 1. cap. 43.*

k Solis eis Scripturarum libris, qui iam Canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorē honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum authororem scribendo aliquid er-

rāsse firmissimē credam &c. Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque præpolleant, non idē verū putē, quia ipsi ita senserunt: sed quia mihi vel per illos authores canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod a vero nō abhorreat, persuadere potuerūt. *Aug. ep. 19.*

*ruption: yet you must pardon us if wee make question, whether their admirable learning may sufficiently crosse out all suspicion of error, which may arise either of affection, or want of due consideration, or such ignorance as the very best are subject unto in this life. For it is not admirable learning that is sufficient to crosse out that suspicion: but such an immediate guidance of the holy Ghost, as the Prophets and Apostles were led by, who were the penners of the Canonicall Scripture. But this is your old wont, to blinde the eyes of the simple with setting forth the sanctitie and the learning of the Fathers: much after the maner of your grandfather Pelagius; who in the third of his bookes which hee writ in defence of Free-will, thought he had struck all dead by his commending of S. Ambrose. Blessed Ambrose the Bishop (saith h he) in whose bookes the Romane faith doth especially appeare, who like a beautifull flowre shined among the Latin writers, whose faith and most pure understanding in the Scriptures the enemy himselve durst not reprehend. Vnto whom S. Augustine: Behold with what and how great prayses he extolleth a man, though holy and learned, yet not to be compared unto the authoritie of the Canonicall Scripture. And therefore advance the learning and holinesse of these worthy men, as much as you list: other answer you are not like to have from us, then that which the same S. Augustine maketh unto S. Hierome. k This reverence and honour have I learned to give to those bookes of Scripture only, which now are called Canonical, that I most firmly beleieve none of their authors could any whit erre in writing. But others I so reade, that*

*with*



with how great sanctitie and learning soever they doe excell, I therefore thinke not any thing to be true, because they so thought it : but because they were able to perswade mee, either by those Canonick authors, or by some probable reason, that it did not swarve from truth.

Yet even to this field also doe our challengers provoke us ; and if the Fathers authority will not suffice, they offer to produce good and certaine grounds out of the sacred Scriptures , for confirmation of all the points of their religion which they have mentioned : yea, further, they challenge any Protestant to alledge any one text out of the said Scripture which condemneth any of the above written points. At which boldnesse of theirs wee should much wonder, but that wee consider that Bankrupts commonly doe then most brag of their ability, when their estate is at the lowest : perhaps also, that Ignorance might be it, that did beget in them this Boldnesse. For if they had been pleased to take the advice of their learned Counsell : their Canonists would have told them touching Confession, ( which is one of their points ; ) that <sup>l</sup> it were better to hold, that it was ordained by a certaine tradition of the universall Church, then by the authority of the New or Old Testament. Melchior Canus <sup>m</sup> could have put them in minde , that it is nowhere expressed in Scripture, that Christ descended into Hell, to deliver the soules of Adam, and the rest of the Fathers which were detayned there. And Dominicus Bannes, <sup>n</sup> that the holy Scriptures teach, neither expresse, nor yet impresse & involuté, that prayers are to be made unto Saints , or that their Images are to be worshipped. Or, if the testimony of a Iesuite will more prevayle with them : that Images should be worshipped, Saints prayed unto, Auricular Confession frequented, Sacrifices celebrated

<sup>l</sup> Gloss. in Gratian. de Peniten. dist. 5. cap. 1. In poenitentia. m Can. lib. 3. loc. Theolog. cap. 4.

<sup>n</sup> Bannes, in 2. 2. qu. 1. artic. 10. col. 302.

• *Coster in com-  
pendio a ortho-  
doxa fidei De-  
monstrat. propos.  
3. cap. 2. pag. 162  
edit. Colon. 1777.  
1607.*

both for the quicke and the dead, and other things of this kind; ° Fr. Coster would have to be reckoned among divine Traditions, which be not laid downe in the Scriptures.

Howsoever yet the matter standeth, we have no reason but willingly to accept of their challenge: and to require them to bring forth those *good and certaine grounds out of the sacred Scriptures*, for confirmation of all the articles by them propounded: as also to let them see, whether we be able to alledge any Text of Scripture, which condemneth any of those points. Although I must confesse it will be a hard matter, to make them see any thing, which before hand have resolved to close their eyes; having their mindes so preoccupied with prejudice, that they professe before ever we begin, they *hold for certaine that wee shall never be able to produce any such Text*. And why, thinke you? because, forsooth, *we are neither more learned, more pious, nor more holy, then the blessed Doctors and Martyrs of that first Church of Rome*. As who should say, we yeelded at the first word, that all those *blessed Doctors and Martyrs* expounded the Scriptures every where to our disadvantage: or were so well perswaded of the tenderesse of a Iesuites conscience, that because he hath taken an oath *never to interpret the Scripture, but according to the uniforme consent of the Fathers*, he could not therefore have the forehead to say: *P I doe not deny, that I have no author of this interpretation: yet doe I so much the rather approve it, then that other of Augustines, though the most probable of all the rest; because it is more contrary to the sense of the Calvinists: which to mee is a great argument of probabilitie*. Or as if lastly a man might not dissent from the ancient Doctors, so much as in an exposition of a

Text

p Non nego  
me huius inter-  
pretationis au-  
thorem nemine  
habere: sed  
hanc eò magis  
probo quàm il-  
lam alteram  
Augustini, cæ-  
terarum alio-  
qui probabilis-  
simam; quòd  
hæc cum Cal-  
vinistarū sensu  
magis pugnet:  
quod mihi  
magnum est  
probabilitatis  
argumentum.  
*Maldonat. in lo-  
ban. 6. 62.*



Text of Scripture, but hee must presently make him-  
selfe more learned, more pious, and more holy, then they  
were.

Yet their great *Tostatus* might have taught them,  
q that this argument holdeth not: Such a one knoweth  
some conclusion, that *Augustine* did not know; therefore  
he is wiser then *Augustine*. Because, as a certaine skilfull  
Physician said, the men of our time being compared vwith  
the ancient, are like unto a little man set upon a Giants  
neck, compared with the Giant himselfe. For as that little  
man placed there, seeth whatsoever the Giant seeth, and  
somewhat more; and yet if he be taken downe from the Gi-  
ants neck, would see little or nothing in comparison of the  
Giant: even so we being settled upon the wits and workes  
of the ancient, it were not to be wondred, nay it should be  
very agreeable unto reason, that we should see whatsoever  
they saw, and somewhat more. Though yet (saith he) wee  
doe not professe so much. And even to the same effect  
speaketh *Friar Stella*: that though it be farre from him  
to condemne the common exposition given by the an-  
cient holy Doctors; yet he knoweth full well, that *Pyg-*  
*meis* being put upon Gyants shoulders, doe see further then  
the Gyants themselves. *Salmeron* addeth, that by the in-  
crease of time, divine mysteries have beene made known,  
which before were hid from many: so that to know them  
now, is to be attributed unto the benefite of the time, not  
that we are better then our Fathers were. *Bishop Fisher*,

*firmati super ingenia antiquorum & opera eorum, non esset admirandum, immo foret val-*  
*de rationabile, si videremus quidquid illi viderunt, & insuper plus: licet hoc adhuc non*  
*profitemur. Abulens. 2. part. Defensor. cap. 18. r Bene tamen scimus, Pygmaeos Gigantum*  
*humeris impositos, plusquam ipsos Gigantes videre. Stella, enarrat. in Luc. cap. 10. f Per*  
*incrementa temporum nota facta sunt divina mysteria, quae tamen antea multos latue-*  
*runt: ita ut hoc loco nosse, beneficium sit temporis, non quod nos meliores simus, quam Pa-*  
*tres nostri, Salmeron, in epist. ad Roman. lib. 2. dispnt. 51.*

t Neq; cuiquā  
obscurum est,  
quin postero-  
ribus ingeniis  
multa sint, tam  
ex evangeliis,  
quā ex scrip-  
turis cæteris,  
nunc excussa  
luculentius, &  
intellecta per-  
spicacius, quā  
fuerant olim.

Nimirum, aut  
quia veteribus  
adhuc non erat  
perfracta gla-  
cies, neque suf-  
ficiebat illorum  
ætas, totū illud  
scripturarū pe-  
lagus ad amuf-  
sim expendere:  
aut quia sem-  
per in amplissi-  
mo scripturarū  
cāpo post mes-  
sores quantum-  
vis exquisitissi-  
mos, spicas ad-  
huc intactas li-  
cebit colligere.  
*Reffens confutat.*  
*Affert. Lutheran.*  
*artic. 18.*

ii Nullus itaq;  
detestetur novū  
sacrae scripturae  
sensum ex hoc  
quod dissonat  
a priscis docto-  
ribus; sed ser-  
vetur perspicu-  
ius textum ac

contextum scripturae: & si quadrare invenerit, laudet Deum, qui non alligavit expositionem scripturarum sacrarum priscorum doctorum sensibus. *Caietan. in Genes. 1.*

that it cannot be obscure unto any, that many things, as well in the Gospels as in the rest of the Scriptures, are now more exquisitely discussed by latter wits, and more clearly understood, then they have been heretofore. Either by reason that the yce was not as yet broken unto the ancient, neither did their age suffice to weigh exactly that whole sea of the Scriptures: or because in this most large field of the Scriptures, even after the most diligent reapers, some eares will remaine to be gathered, as yet untouched. Hereupon Cardinall Caietan, in the beginning of his Commentaries upon Moses, adviseth his Reader, *u* not to loath the new sense of the holy Scripture for this, that it dissenteth from the ancient Doctors: but to search more exactly the text and context of the Scripture; and if he find it agree, to praise God, that hath not tyed the exposition of the Scriptures to the senses of the ancient Doctors.

But leaving comparisons, which, you know, are odious (the envie whereof notwithstanding your owne Doctors and Masters, you see, helpe us to beare off, and teach us how to decline:) I now come to the examination of the particular points by you propounded. It should indeed be your part by right, to be the *Affailant*, who first did make the Challenge: and I, who sustaine the person of the *Defendant*, might here wel stay, accepting only your challenge, & expecting your encounter. Yet do not I meane at this time to answer your Bill of Challenge, as Bills are usually answered in the Chancery, with saving all advantages to the *Defendant*: I am content in this also to abridge my selfe of the libertie w<sup>ch</sup> I might lawfully take, & make a further demonstration of my forwardnes in undertaking the maintenance of so good a cause, by giving the first onset my selfe.



## OF TRADITIONS.

TO begin therefore with *Traditions*, which is your forlorne Hope that in the first place we are to set upon: this must I needes tell you before we begin, that you much mistake the matter, if you thinke that *Traditions* of all sorts promiscuously are struck at by our Religion. We willingly acknowledge, that the word of God which by some of the Apostles was set downe in writing, was both by themselves, and others of their fellow-labourers, delivered by word of mouth: and that the Church in succeeding ages was bound not only to preserve those sacred writings committed to her trust, but also to deliver unto her children *vivâ voce* the forme of wholesome words contayned therein. *Traditions* therefore of this nature, come not within the compasse of our controversie: the question being betwixt us *de ipsâ doctrinâ traditâ*, not *de tradendi modo*; touching the substance of the doctrine delivered, not of the maner of delivering it. Againe, it must be remembered that here wee speake of doctrine delivered as *the word of God*, that is, of points of religion revealed unto the Prophets and Apostles, for the perpetuall information of Gods people: not of rites and ceremonies, and other ordinances which are left to the disposition of the Church, and consequently be not of *divine* but of *positive* and *humane* right. *Traditions* therefore of this kinde likewise are not properly brought within the circuit of this question.

But that *Traditions* of men should be obtruded unto us for articles of Religion, and admitted for parts of Gods worship; or that any *Traditions* should be accepted

x 1.Tim.6.11.

y Act.20.27.

cepted for parcels of Gods word, beside the holy Scriptures, and such doctrines as are either expressely therein contayned, or by sound inference may be deduced from thence: I thinke wee have reason to gainsay. As long as for the first wee have this direct sentence from God himselfe; *Matth.15. In vaine doe they worship me, teaching for doctrines, the Commandements of men.* And for the second, the expresse warrant of the Apostle, *2.Tim.3.* testifying of the holy Scriptures, not onely that they *are able to make us wise unto salvation* ( which they should not be able to doe, if they did not containe all things necessary to salvation ) but also that by them *the man of God* ( that is, <sup>x</sup> the minister of Gods word, unto whom it appertaineth *y* to declare all the counsell of God ) may be perfectly instructed to every good worke: which could not be, if the Scriptures did not containe all the counsell of God which was fit for him to learne, or if there were any other word of God which he were bound to teach, that should not be contained within the limits of the Booke of God.

a An autem de aliquâ subiacenti materiâ facta sint omnia, nusquam adhuc legi. Scriptum esse doceat Hermogenis officina. Si non est scriptum timeat V. illud adjicientibus aut detrahentibus destinatum. Tertull. advers. Hermogen. cap. 22.

Now whether herein we disagree from the doctrine generally received by the *Fathers*: we referre our selves to their owne sayings. For Rituell Traditions unwritten, and for doctrinall Traditions written indeed, but preserved also by the continual preaching of the Pastors of the Church successively; wee find no man a more earnest advocate then *Tertullian*. Yet hee, having to deale with *Hermogenes* the hereticke in a question concerning the faith, ( whether all things at the beginning were made of nothing? ) presseth him in this manner, with the argument *ab autoritate negativè*; for avoyding whereof, the Papists are driven to flie for succour to their unwritten verities. <sup>a</sup> *Whether all things were made*



made of any subject matter, I have as yet read no where. Let those of Hermogenes his shop shew that it is written. If it be not written, let them feare that Woe which is allotted to such as adde or take away.

In the two Testaments, saith Origen, <sup>b</sup> every word that appertayneth to God may be required and discussed; and all knowledge of things out of them may be understood. But if any thing doe remaine, which the holy Scripture doth not determine; no other third Scripture ought to be received for to authorize any knowledge: but that which remaineth we must commit to the fire, that is, we must reserve it to God. For in this present world God would not have us to know all things.

Hippolytus the Martyr, in his Homily against the Heresie of Noëtus. <sup>c</sup> There is one God, whom wee doe not otherwise acknowledge (brethren) but out of the holy Scriptures. For as he that would professe the wisdom of this world, cannot otherwise attaine hereunto, unlesse hee reade the doctrine of the Philosophers: so whosoever of us will exercise pietie toward God, cannot learne this elsewhere, but out of the holy Scriptures. Whatsoever therefore the holy Scriptures doe preach, that let us know; and whatsoever they teach, that let us understand.

Athanasius, in his Oration against the Gentiles, toward the beginning: <sup>d</sup> The holy Scriptures given by inspiration of God, are of themselves sufficient to the discovery of truth.

S. Ambrose: <sup>e</sup> The things which we finde not in the

hujus sæculi exercere, non aliter hoc cōsequi poterit, nisi dogmata Philosophorū legat: sic quicumque volumus pietatem in Deū exercere, non aliunde discemus, quā ex Scripturis divinis. Quæcunque ergo sanctæ Scripturæ prædicant, sciamus; & quæcunque docent, cognoscamus. Hippolyt. tom. 3. Bibliob. Pat. pa. 20. 21. edit. Colon. <sup>d</sup> Αὐτὰρ οὗτοι οὐκ ἔχουσιν αἰετὶ καὶ ὅτι αἱ ἁγίας γραφαὶ, περὶ τῶν ἁλῶν ἀποκαλύπτει. Athanas. <sup>e</sup> Quæ in Scripturis sanctis non reperimus, ea quemadmodum usurpare possumus? Ambros. Offic. lib. 1. cap. 23.

<sup>b</sup> In quibus licet at omne verbum quod ad Deum pertinet requiri & discuti; atque ex ipsis omnem rerum scientiam capi. Si quid autem superfuert quod non divina Scriptura decernat, nullam aliam debere tertiam Scripturam ad auctoritatem scientiæ suscipi: sed igni tradamus quod superest, id est, Deo reserve-mus. Neque enim in præsentis vitæ Deus scire nos omnia voluit. Orig. in Levit. hom. 5. <sup>c</sup> Unus Deus est, quem non aliunde, fratres, agnoscimus, quā ex sanctis Scripturis. Quemadmodum enim si quis vellet sapientiam





wherein the seale of the Scripture testimony is to be seene. And accordingly in another booke ( attributed also unto him ) we finde this conclusion made : *o Forasmuch as this is upholden vwith no testimony of the Scripture, as false vve will reject it.*

Thus also S. Hierome disputeth against Helvidius . *p As vvee denye not those things that are written ; so vvee refuse those things that are not vwritten. That God was borne of a Virgin we beleeve, because we reade it : that Mary did marry after shee was delivered, wee beleeve not, because wee reade it not.*

In those things, *q* saith S. Augustine , vvhich are layd downe plainly in the Scriptures, all those things are found which appertaine to faith and direction of life. And againe : *r* Whatsoever ye heare from the holy Scriptures, let that savour vwell unto you ; whatsoever is without them, refuse, lest you wander in a cloud. And in another place : *t* All those things which in times past our ancestors have mentioned to be done toward mankind, and have delivered unto us ; all those things also which we see, and doe deliver unto our posteritie, so farre as they appertaine to the seeking and maintayning of true Religion, the holy Scripture hath not passed in silence.

The holy Scripture, *t* saith S. Cyrill of Alexandria , is sufficient to make them which are brought up in it wise, and most approved, and furnished with most sufficient understanding. And againe : *u* That which the holy Scrip-

*o* Cum id nullo Scripturæ testimonio suffultum sit, ut falsum improbabimus. *lib. de*

*Cognit Dei, citat. ab Euthymio in Panoplia, Tit. 8.*

*p* Vt hæc quæ scripta sunt non negamus; ira ea quæ non sunt scripta re-

nuimus. *Natum*

Deum esse de

Virgine credi-

mus, quia legi-

mus : Mariam

nupsisse post

partum non

credimus, quia

non legimus.

*Hieron. advers.*

*Helvid.*

*q* In iis quæ a-

perté in Scrip-

turâ posita

sunt, inveniun-

tur illa omnia

quæ continent

fidem moresq;

vivendi. *August.*

*de doctrinâ Chri-*

*stian li. 2. cap. 9.*

*r* Quicquid

inde audieritis,

hoc vobis bene

sapiat : quicquid extra est respuite, ne erretis in nebulâ. *Id. in li. de Pastor. cap. 11.* *t* Omnia quæ præteritis tēporibus erga humanū genus maiores nostri gesta esse meminerunt, nobisq; tradiderunt; omnia etiam quæ nos videmus, & posteris tradimus, quæ tamen pertinent ad veram religionem quærendam & tenendā, divina scriptura non tacuit. *Idem, ep 42.* *t* Sufficit divina Scriptura ad faciendum eos qui in illā educati sunt sapientes, & probatissimos, & sufficientissimam habentes intelligentiam. *Cyrl. li. 7. cont. Iulian.* *u* *ὁ γὰρ καὶ σφραγισθεὶς ἐν τῇ*

*γραφῇ, πῶς οὐκ ἔστι πρὸς πνευματικὴν μακαρίαν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι ἀλλοτρίως ἢ κατὰ λόγον μακαρίας.* *Cyrl. Glaphyrotōn, in Gen 1, 2.*

ture hath not said, by what meanes should wee receive, and account it among those things that be true?

Lastly, in the writings of Theodoret wee meete with these kinde of speeches. *x* By the holy Scripture alone am I perswaded. *y* I am not so bold, as to affirme any thing which the sacred Scripture passeth in silence. *z* It is an idle and a senselesse thing, to seeke those things that are passed in silence. *a* Wee ought not to seeke those things which are passed in silence; but rest in the things that are written.

By the verdict of these twelve men, you may judge, what opinion was held in those ancient times of such Traditions as did crosse, either the verity or the perfection of the sacred Scripture: which are the Traditions we set ourselves against. If now it be demanded, in what Popes dayes the contrarie doctrine was brought in among Christians: I answer, that if S. Peter were ever Pope, in his dayes it was, that some seducers first laboured to bring in *Will-worship* into the Church; against whom S. Paul opposing himselfe, Coloss. 2. counteth it a sufficient argument to condemne all such inventions, that they were *the commandements and doctrines of men*. Shortly after them, started up other Hereticks, who taught, that *the truth could not be found out of the Scriptures by those to whom Tradition was unknown. forasmuch as it was not delivered by writing, but by word of mouth*: for which cause S. Paul also should say; *Wee speake wisdom among them that be perfect*.

The verie same Text doe the *c* Iesuites alledge, to prove the dignitie of manie mysteries to be such, that they require silence; and that it is unmeet they should

*x* Εἰς τὴν μόνον  
πείθειται τὸ θεῖον  
λογίον. Theod.  
dialog. 1. Α' τριτ.  
*y* Οὐ γὰρ ἐπεὶ  
οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ λόγος  
φύσει τῶν στοιχείων  
τοῦ λόγου τὸ θεῖον  
λογίον. Id. dial. 2.  
Α' συζητ.  
*z* Πιστεύειν δεῖ  
ἐν τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ  
μυστηρίοις. Id. in  
Exod. quest. 26.  
quod in Græco-  
rum Catena in  
Pentateuchum,  
à Franc. Zephy-  
ro edita, ita ex-  
positum legitur:  
Impudentis est,  
quod à Scrip-  
tura reticetur,  
velle inquirere.  
*a* Οὐδεὶς γὰρ  
τὰ στοιχεῖα,  
σέβειν ὅτι προηέ-  
τε γινώσκοντα.  
Theodoret. in  
Genesim. quest.  
45.  
*b* Quia non  
possit ex his in-  
veniri veritas  
ab his, qui ne-  
ficient Traditionem. Non enim per literas traditam illam, sed per vivam vocem: ob quam causam & Paulum dixisse; Sapientiam autem loquimur inter perfectos. Irena. contr. hæres. lib. 3. cap. 2. *c* Bellarmin lib. 4. de Verbo Dei, cap. 8.



bee opened in the Scriptures, which are read to the whole world, and therefore can onely be learned by unwritten Traditions. Wherein they consider not, how they make so neare an approach unto the confines of some of the ancientest Heretickes, that they may well shake hands together. For howsoever some of them were so madde as to<sup>d</sup> say, that they were wiser then the Apostles themselves; and therefore made light account of the doctrine which they delivered unto the Church, either by writing or by word of mouth: yet all of them broake not forth into that open impietie; the same mysterie of iniquitie wrought in some of Antichrists fore-runners then, which is discovered in his ministers now. *c They confessed indeed (as witnesseth Tertullian) that the Apostles were ignorant of nothing, and differed not among themselves in their preaching: but they say, they revealed not all things unto all men; some things they delivered openly and to all, some things secretly and to a few. because that Paul useth this speech unto Timothy: O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust. And againe; That good thing which was committed unto thee, keepe. Which verie Texts the Iesuites likewise bring in, to prove, that there are some Traditions, which are not contayned in the Scripture.*

In the dayes of S. Hierome also, this was wont to be the saying of Hereticks: *g We are the sonnes of the wise men, which from the beginning have delivered the doctrine of the Apostles unto us. But h those things (saith that Father) which they of themselves finde out and faine to have received as it were by Tradition from the Apostles,*

*d Dicentes, se non solum Presbyteris, sed etiam Apostolis existentes sapientiores, sinceram invenisse veritatem. &c. Evenit itaque neque Scripturis jam neque Traditioni consentire eos. Iren. ut sup. e Confitentur quidem nihil Apostolos ignorasse, nec diversa inter se predicasse, sed non omnia illos volunt omnibus revelasse: quædam enim palam & universis, quædam secretò & paucis demandasse. quia & hoc verbo usus est Paulus ad Timotheum: O Timothee, depositum custodi. Et rursum: Bonum depositum custodi. Tertull. de præscript. advers. hæret. cap. 23. f Bellar. lib 4. de Verbo Dei,*

*cap. 5. g Filii sumus sapientium, qui ab initio doctrinam nobis Apostolicam tradiderunt. Hieron lib 7. in Esai. ca. 19. h Sed & alia, quæ absque auctoritate & testimoniis scripturarum, quasi traditione Apostolicâ sponte reperiunt atq; cōfingunt, percutit gladius Dei. Id. in Agg. c. 1.*

i Chrysost. in  
Iohan 10. homil.

39. tom. 2. edit.

Savil. pag. 799.

k καθάπερ γάρ

τις θύρα ἀσφαλὲς,

ὥστε ἀποκλείει πῆ-

αις πᾶσι τὴν εἰ-

σόδον, καὶ ἀσφαλεία

καθίσταται ἡ πόλις

αὐτή, ὡς ἐν ἀνθε-

μιδα πάντων, καὶ

ἐκ τοῦτα πλατύν-

σθαι Ibid.

l ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῖς

γραφαῖς χροῖται

καὶ, ἀλλὰ ἀνα-

βάνων ἀμαχόθεν,

καὶ τῶν ἑτέρων

ἰαυτῶν καὶ μὴ ἡσ-

χυμένων τιμῶν

ἐδιδόντων καὶ πρὸς

τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Ibid.

m Quale my-

sterium iniqui-

tatis præten-

dunt plures

Monachi in

veste suâ, per

quos fiunt, &

facta sunt schis-

mata atque

hæreses in Ec-

clesiâ : qui e-

tiam à matre

filios segre-

gant, oves à

pastore sollici-

tant, Dei sa-

cramenta di-

sturbant : qui etiam Dei traditione contempnâ,

alienas doctrinas appetunt, & magisteria hu-

manæ institutionis inducunt Lib de unitat. Eccles. Tom. 1. Script. Germanic. à M. Frehero edit.

pag 233. n Ideoque nihil debet Abbas extra præceptum Domini quod sit, aut docere,

aut constituere, vel jubere : sed jussio ejus vel doctrina, ut fermentum divinæ justitiæ in

discipulorum mentibus conspergatur. Benedict. in Regulâ.

without the authoritie and testimonies of the Scriptures, the sword of God doth smite. S. i Chrysostome in like manner giveth this for a marke of Antichrist, and of all spiritual thieves : that they come not in by the doore of the Scriptures. For the Scripture (saith hee) k like unto a sure doore, doth barre an entrance unto Hereticks, safeguarding us in all things that we will, and not suffering us to be deceived. Whereupon he concludeth, that l who so useth not the Scriptures, but commeth in otherwise, that is, betaketh himselfe to another and an unlawfull way, he is a theefe.

How this mysterie of iniquitie wrought when Antichrist came unto his full growth, and what experiments his followers gave of their theevish entry in this kind, was well observed by the author of the book De unitate Ecclesie (thought by some to be Waltram Bishop of Naumburg :) who speaking of the m Monks that for the upholding of Pope Hildebrands faction, brought in schismes and heresies into the Church, noteth this specially of them ; that despising the tradition of God, they desired other doctrines, and brought in masteries of humane institution. Against whom hee alledgeth the authoritie of their owne S. Benedict, the father of the Monkes in the West ; writing thus : n The Abbot ought to teach, or ordaine, or command nothing, which is without the precept of the Lord : but his commandement or instruction should be spread as the leaven of divine righteousness in the minds of his Disciples. Whereunto also hee might have added the testimonie of the two fa-



mous Fathers of Monasticall discipline in the East: S.

Antony I meane, who taught his Schollers that *the Scriptures were sufficient for doctrine*; and S. Basil, who unto the question, *Whether it were expedient that novices should presently learne those things that are in the Scripture?* returneth this answer: *p It is fit and necessarie, that every one should learne out of the holy Scripture that which is for his use; both for his full settlement in godliness, and that hee may not be accustomed unto humane traditions.*

Marke here the difference betwixt the Monkes of Saint Basil, and Pope Hildebrands breeding. The Novices of the former were trayned in the Scriptures, to the end *they might not be accustomed unto humane traditions*: those of the latter, to the cleane contrarie intent, were kept back from the studie of the Scriptures, that *they might be accustomed unto humane traditions*. For this, by the foresaid author, is expressely noted of those Hildebrandine Monkes, that they *q permitted not yong men in their Monasteries to studie this saving knowledge: to the end that their rude wit might be nourished with the huskes of divels, which are the customes of humane traditions; that being accustomed to such filth, they might not taste how sweet the Lord was.* And even thus in the times following, from Monkes to Friars, and from them to secular Priests and Prelates, as it were by tradition from hand to hand, the like ungodly policie was continued, of keeping the common people from the knowledge of the Scriptures; as for other reasons, so likewise that by this meanes they might be drawne to *humane traditions*. Which was not onely observed by

ejusmodi spurcitiis assuefacti, non possint gustare quam suavis est Dominus. *Lib. de Viritat. Eccles. pag. 223.*

Erasmus,

ο τὰς γραφὰς  
ἱκανοὶ εἶναι τοὺς  
διδασκαλίας. Ἀ-  
θανάσιος in Vita  
Antony. quod  
Evagrius An-  
thochenus presby-  
ter redidit:

Ad omnem  
mandatorum  
disciplinam  
Scripturas pos-  
se sufficere.

ρ Το ἄποστολος  
ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐκ-  
κλησιαστικοῖς τῆς  
διδασκαλίας γραφῆς  
ἐκὸς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
καὶ τῶν πλῶ-  
ρον ἐκ τῆς δι-  
στροφῆς, καὶ ὡς  
τὸ μὴ ἐπισκεψάμε-  
θα ἀνθρώπων  
παράδοσιν. Ba-  
sil. in Regulis  
breviorib. op. 95.

q Qui ne pue-  
ros quidem vel  
adolescentes  
permittunt in  
monasteriis  
habere studi-  
um salutaris  
scientiæ: ut  
scilicet rude  
ingenium ru-  
triatu filiquis  
dæmoniorum,  
quæ sunt con-  
suetudines hu-  
manarum tra-  
ditionum: ut

Lib. de Viritat.

r Verum enim-  
verò vereor, ne  
isti qui velint  
populum nihil  
attingere, non  
tam periculo  
commoveantur  
illorum quam  
sui respectu :  
videlicet ut ab  
istis solis, velut  
ab oraculis pe-  
tantur omnia.  
Quid hæc de re  
scriptum est ?  
hoc scriptum  
est Quem ha-  
bet sensum,  
quod scriptum  
est ? Sic intel-  
lige, sic senti, sic  
loquere. Atqui  
istuc est buba-  
lum esse, non  
hominem. For-  
tassis moyet &  
nonnullos,

quoniam animadvertunt divinam scripturam parum quadrare ad vitam suam, malunt eam  
antiquari, aut certè nesciri; ne quid hinc jaciatur in os. Et ad humanas traditiunculas po-  
pulum avocant, quas ipsi ad suam commoditatem probè commenti sunt. *E. asm in enarrat.*  
*1. Psalmi, edit. ann. 1515.* f Cum multa palàm tradantur observanda, quæ sacris in literis  
expressè non habentur : nōne idiotæ hæc animadvertentes facillè murmurabunt, conque-  
rentes cur tantæ sibi imponantur sarcinæ, quibus & libertas Evangelica ita graviter eleva-  
tur ? Nōne & facillè retrahentur ab observantiâ institutionum Ecclesiasticarum, quando  
eas in lege Christi animadverterint non contineri ? *Sutor de translatione Biblie cap. 22. fol. 96.*  
*edit. Paris. 4n. 1525.* t *Hieronym. lib. 2. Comment. in Esai. cap. 3. & lib. 9. in Esai. cap. 29.*

*Erasmus*, before ever *Luther* stirred against the Pope :  
but openly in a maner confessed afterwards by a bitter  
adversarie of his, *Petrus Sutor*, a Carthusian Monke;  
who, among other inconveniences for which he would  
have the people debarred from reading the Scripture,  
alledgeth this also for one. *Whereas manie things are*  
*openly taught to be observed, which are not to be expresse-*  
*ly had in the holy Scriptures : will not the simple people,*  
*observing these things, quickly murmur, and complaine*  
*that so great burdens should be imposed upon them, where-*  
*by the libertie of the Gospell is so greatly impaired ? Will*  
*not they also easily be drawne away from the observation of*  
*the ordinances of the Church, when they shall observe that*  
*they are not contained in the Law of Christ ?*

Having thus therefore discovered unto these *Deu-*  
*terota* (for so *S. Hierome* useth to style such Tradition-  
mongers) both their grandfathers, and their more im-  
mediat progenitors : I passe now forward unto the se-  
cond point.

## OF THE REAL PRESENCE.

a *Serm. at West-*  
*minster. before the*  
*house of Com-*  
*mons, ann. 1620.*

**H**OW farre the real presence of the bodie of Christ  
in the Sacrament, is allowed or disallowed by us,  
I have at large declared in an<sup>a</sup> other place. The summe



is this : That in the receiving of the blessed Sacrament, we are to distinguish between the outward and the inward action of the Communicant. In the *outward*, with our bodily mouth we receive really the visible elements of Bread and Wine : in the *inward*, we do by faith really receive the bodie and bloud of our Lord, that is to say, we are truly and indeed made partakers of Christ crucified, to the spirituall strengthening of our inward man. They of the adverse part have made such a confusion of these things, that for the *first*, they do utterly denie, that after the words of consecration there remaineth anie Bread or Wine at all to be received : and for the *second*, do affirme, that the bodie and bloud of Christ is in such a manner present, under the outward shewes of bread and wine, that whosoever receiveth the one ( be he good or bad, beleever or unbeleever ) doth therewith really receive the other. We are therefore here put to prove, that Bread is bread, and Wine is wine : a matter ( one would thinke ) that easily might be determined by common sense. *That which you see* (saith <sup>b</sup> S. Augustine) *is the Bread and the Cup : which your very eyes doe declare unto you.* But because we have to deale with men, that will needs herein be senselesse ; wee will for this time referre them to <sup>c</sup> Tertullians discourse of the five senses, ( wishing they may be restored to the use of their five witts againe : ) and ponder the testimonies of our Saviour Christ, in the sixth of *Iohn*, and in the words of the Institution, which they oppose against all sense, but in the end shall finde to be as opposit to this phantasticall conceit of theirs, as anie thing can be.

Touching our Saviours speech, of the *eating of his flesh*, and the *drinking of his bloud*, in the sixth of *Iohn* ;

H

these

<sup>b</sup> Quod ergo vidistis, Panis est & Calix : quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renunciant. August. in Sermone de sacram. apud Bedam in 1. Cor. 10. & Ratrannum de corp. & sangu. Dom. vel in Sermone de Verbis Domini : ut citatur ab Algere, lib. 1. de Sacram. cap. 5. <sup>c</sup> Tertull. in lib. de Anima, cap. 17. cui titulus : De quinque sensibus.

d Ioh 6. 52.

ε Εστι μιν τι κ  
 ραντιν σωμα τῷ  
 ἔσθον ἀνθρώπου, ὃ  
 τρέφεται μετὰ λαμ-  
 βάνῃ τοῦ λόγου τῆς  
 ζωῆς, ὅς ἐστιν ἀρ-  
 τος ἐν τῷ ἔρειν  
 καταλάτ. Basil. in  
 Psalm. 33.

these five things specially may be observed. *First*, that the question betwixt our Adversaries & us, being not, Whether Christs bodie be turned into bread, but whether bread be turned into Christs bodie; the words in *S. Iohn*, if they be pressed literally, 'serve more strongly to prove the former, then the latter. *Secondly*, that this Sermon was uttered by our Saviour, above a yeare before the celebration of his last Supper, wherein the Sacrament of his bodie and blood was instituted: at which time none of his hearers could possibly have understood him to have spoken of the externall eating of him in the Sacrament. *Thirdly*, that by the eating of the flesh of Christ, and the drinking of his blood, there, is not here meant an externall eating or drinking with the mouth and throate of the bodie, (as the d Iewes then, and the Romanists farre more grossely then they, have since imagined:) but an internall and a spirituall, effected by a lively faith and the quickning spirit of Christ in the soule of the beleever. For *there is a spirituall mouth of the inner man*, (as *S. Basil* noteth) *wherewith hee is nourished that is made partaker of the Word of life, which is the bread that commeth downe from heaven*. *Fourthly*, that this spirituall feeding upon the bodie and blood of Christ, is not to be found in the Sacrament onely, but also out of the Sacrament. *Fifthly*, that the eating of the flesh, and the drinking of the blood here mentioned, is of such excellent vertue, that the receiver is thereby made to remaine in Christ, and Christ in him, and by that meanes certainly freed from death, and assured of everlasting life. Which seeing it cannot be verified of the eating of the Sacrament (whercof both the godly & the wicked are partakers:) it proveth, not onely that our Saviour did not here  
 speake



speake of the Sacramentall eating ; but further also, that the thing which is delivered in the externall part of the Sacrament, cannot be conceived to be really, but sacramentally onely, the flesh and blood of Christ.

The *first* of these may be plainly seene in the Text : where our Saviour doth not onely say, *I am the bread of life*, vers. 48. and, *I am the living bread that came downe from heaven*, vers. 51. but addeth also in the 55. verse. *For my flesh is meate indeed, and my blood is drinke indeed.* Which words being the most forcible of all the rest, & those wherewith the simpler sort are cōmonly most deluded, might carry some shew of prooffe, that Christs flesh & blood should be turned into bread & wine ; but have no maner of colour to prove, that bread and wine are turned into the flesh and blood of Christ. The truth of the *second*, appeareth by the fourth verse : in which we finde, that this fell out not long before the *Passeover* ; and consequently, a yeare at least before that last *Passeover*, wherein our Saviour instituted the Sacrament of his Supper. Wee willingly indeed do acknowledge, that that which is inwardly presented in the Lords Supper, and spiritually received by the soule of the faithfull, is that verie thing which is treated of in the sixth of Iohn : but wee denie that it was our Saviours intention in this place, to speake of that which is externally delivered in the Sacrament, and orally received by the Communicant. And for our warrant herein, wee need looke no further then to that earnest asseveration of our Saviour in the 53. verse : *Verily, verily I say unto you ; Except yee eat the flesh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his blood, ye have no life in you.* Wherin there is not onely an obligation laid upon them for doing of this, (which in no likelyhood could be inten-

ded of the externall eating of the Sacrament, that was not as yet in being : ) but also an absolute necessitie imposed, *non praecepti solum ratione, sed etiā mediū*. Now to hold, that ail they are excluded from life, which have not had the meanes to receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper : is as untrue, as it is uncharitable. And therefore manie of the Papists themselves, as *Biel, Cusanus, Cajetan, Tapper, Hessels, Iansenius*, and others, confesse, that our Saviour in the sixth of *Iohn* did not properly treat of the Sacrament.

The *third* of the points proposed, may be collected out of the first part of Christs speech, in the 35. and 36. verses. *I am the bread of life: hee that commeth to mee, shall never hunger; and he that beleeveth on me, shall never thirst. But I said unto you, that yee also have seene me, and beleve not.* But especially, out of the last, from the 61. verse forward. *When Iesus knew in himselfe that his Disciples murmured at it, hee said unto them; Doeth this offend you? What then if you should see the Sonne of man ascend up where hee was before? It is the spirit that quickneth, the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speake unto you are spirit and life. But there are some of you that beleve not.* Which words *Athanasius* (or whosoever was the author of the Tractate upon that place; *Quicumque dixerit verbum in filium hominis*) noteth our Saviour to have used; that his hearers might learne, *f* that those things which hee spake, were not carnall but spirituall. For how many could his bodie have sufficed for meat, that it should be made the food of the whole world? But therefore it was that he made mention of the Sonne of mans ascension into heaven, that he might draw them from this corporall conceit; and that hereafter they might learne, that the flesh which he spake of, was celestiall

meat

ἡ ὅτι ἂν λέγει, ὅτι  
ἐστὶ σαρκικὴ, ἀλλὰ  
πνευματικὴ πό-  
σις γὰρ ἔχει τὸ  
σῶμα πρὸς θεοῦ,  
ἵνα καὶ τὸ κόσμος  
παύῃ. Ὁ τὸ τοῦ  
θεοῦ γέννηται; Ἀλλὰ  
διὰ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς  
ἐξουσίαν ἀναβῆ-  
ναι ὡς ἰμάντιον  
ἡμεῖς τὸ θεοῦ,  
ἵνα τὸ πνευματικόν  
ἐνδείξῃ αὐτὸς ἀφ' ὧν  
καὶ τὸ θεοῦ  
πᾶσι ἐξηγήσῃ  
σαρκὰ θεοῦ πρὸς  
ἐξουσίαν ὡς ἰμάντιον,  
πνευματικὴν ἔχον  
παρ' αὐτοῦ διδόναν  
μεῖναι. ὁ γὰρ  
λαλῶν (ἡμεῖς)  
ὁμῶν πνευματικὸν  
ἐστὶν. *Athanas.*



meat from above, and spirituall nourishment to be given by him. For the words which I have spoken unto you (saith he) are spirit and life. So likewise Tertullian: *g* Although he saith that the flesh profiteth nothing, the meaning of the speech must be directed according to the intent of the matter in hand. For, because they thought it to be a hard and an intolerable speech, as if he had determined that his flesh should be truly eaten by them: that hee might dispose the state of salvation by the spirit, hee premised; It is the spirit that quickneth, and so subjoyned; The flesh profiteth nothing, namely to quicken. &c. *h* And because the Word was made flesh, it therefore was to be desired for causing of life, and to be devoured by hearing, and to be chewed by understanding, and to be digested by faith. For a little before he had also affirmed that his flesh was heavenly bread: urging still by the Allegory of necessary food, the remembrance of the fathers, who preferred the bread and the flesh of the Egyptians before Gods calling. Adde hereunto the sentence of Origen: *i* There is in the New Testament also a letter which killeth him that doth not spiritually conceive the things that be spoken. For if according to the letter you do follow this same which is said; Except yee eat the flesh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his blood: this letter killeth. And those sayings which everie where occurre in S. Augustines Tractates upon Iohn: *k* How shall I send up my hand unto heaven, to take hold on Christ sitting there? Send thy faith, and thou hast hold

*g* Et si carnem ait nihil prodesse, ex materia dicti dirigendus est sensus. Nam quia durum & intolerabile existimaverunt sermonem ejus, quasi verè carnem suam illis edendam determinasset: ut in spiritu disponderet statum salutis, præmisit; Spiritus est qui vivificat, atque ita subjunxit: Caro nihil prodest, ad vivificandum scilicet. Tertull. de Resurrecl. carnis, cap. 37.

*h* Quia & sermo caro erat factus, proinde in causam vitæ appetendus, & devorandus auditu, & ruminandus intellectu, & fide digerendus.

Nam & paulò antè carnem suam panem quoque cœlestem pronuntiârat; urgens usquequaque per allegoriam necessariorum pabulorum, memoriam patrum, qui panes & carnes Ægyptiorum præverterant divinæ vocationi. Idem ibid. *i* Est & in novo Testamento littera quæ occidit eum, qui non spiritualiter ea quæ dicuntur adverterit. Si enim secundum litteram sequaris hoc ipsum quod dictum est; Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam, & biberitis sanguinem meum occidit hæc littera. Orig. in Levit. cap. 10. Ioh. 7. *k* Quomodo in cœlum manū mittā, ut ibi sedentē teneā? Fidē mitte, & tenuisti. Aug. in Evang. Iohan. Tract. 50.

IVt quid pa-  
ras dentes &  
ventrem? Cre-  
de, & mandu-  
câsti. *Id. ibid.*

*Tractat. 25.*

m Credere e-  
nim in eum,  
hoc est mandu-  
care panem vi-  
vum. Qui cre-  
dit in eum,  
manducat. In-  
visibiliter sâgi-  
natur, quia in-  
visibiliter rena-  
scitur. Infans  
intus est, novus  
intus est: ubi  
novellatur, ibi  
satiatur. *Id. ibid.*

*Tractat. 26.*

n Nulli est ali-  
quatenus am-  
bigendum,  
tunc unum-  
quemque fide-  
lium corporis  
sanguinisque  
Dominici par-  
ticipem fieri;  
quando in  
baptismate  
membrum  
Christi effici-  
tur: nec alie-  
nari ab illius  
panis calicisq;

confortio, etiamsi antequàm panem illum comedat & calicem bibat, de hoc seculo in uni-  
tate corporis Christi constitutus abscedat. Sacramenti quippè illius participatione ac bene-  
ficio non privatur, quando ipse hoc quod illud sacramentum significat, invenit. *August. in*  
*Serm. ad Infantes, de sacram. apud Bedam, in 1. Cor. 10. O Clem. Alexandr. Prolog. lib. 1. cap. 6.*  
*p Origen. in Levit. cap. 10 homil. 7. q Bibere autem dicimur sanguinem Christi, non so-*  
*lum sacramentorum ritu, sed & cum sermones ejus recipimus, in quibus vita consistit sicut*  
*& ipse dicit: Verba quæ locutus sum, spiritus & vita est. Origen. in Numer. cap. 24 hom. 16.*

of him? Why preparest thou thy teeth and thy belly? Be-  
leeve, and thou hast eaten. <sup>m</sup> For this is to eat the living  
bread, to beleeve in him. He that beleeveth in him, eateth.  
He is invisibly fedd, because he is invisibly regenerated. He  
is inwardly a babe, inwardly renewed: where he is renewed,  
there is he nourished.

The fourth proposition doth necessarily follow up-  
on the third. For if the eating and drinking here spo-  
ken of, be not an externall eating and drinking, but an  
inward participation of Christ, by the communion of  
his quickning spirit: it is evident, that this blessing is  
to be found in the soule, not onely in the use of the  
Sacrament of the Lords Supper, but at other times al-  
so. *It is no wayes to be doubted by anie one (saith S.<sup>n</sup> Au-*  
*gustine) that every one of the faithfull is made partaker of*  
*the body and bloud of our Lord, when he is made a member*  
*of Christ in Baptisme: and that hee is not estranged from*  
*the communion of that bread and cup, although before he*  
*eate that bread, and drinke that cup, hee depart out of this*  
*world, being settled in the unitie of the body of Christ. For*  
*he is not deprived of the participation and the benefite of*  
*that Sacrament, when hee hath found that which this Sa-*  
*crament doth signifie. And hereupon wee see, that di-*  
*verse of the Fathers doe apply the sixth of Iohn, to the*  
*hearing of the Word also: as, Clemens Alexandrinus,*  
*p Origen, Eusebius Cesareensis, and others. We are said to*  
*drinke the blood of Christ (saith q Origen) not onely by*

way



way of the Sacraments, but also when we receive his word, wherein consisteth life. even as hee himselfe saith. The words which I have spoken, are spirit and life. Vpon which words of Christ, Eusebius paraphraseth after this maner: *Do not thinke that I speake of that flesh wherewith I am compassed, as if you must eate of that; neither imagine that I command you to drinke my sensible and bodily blood: but understand well, that the words which I have spoken unto you, are spirit and life. So that those very words and speeches of his, are his flesh and blood; whereof who is partaker, being alwayes therewith nourished as it were with heavenly bread, shall likewise be made partaker of heavenly life. Therefore let not that offend you, saith he, which I have spoken of the eating of my flesh and of the drinking of my blood; neither let the superficial hearing of those things which were said by me of flesh and blood, trouble you. For these things sensibly heard, profite nothing: but the spirit is it, which quickneth them that are able to heare spiritually. Thus farre Eusebius: whose words I have layd down the more largely, because they are not vulgar.*

There remaineth the *fift* and last point: which is oftentimes repeated by our Saviour in this Sermon. as in the 50. verse: *This is the bread which commeth downe from heaven, that a man may eate thereof, and not dye.* and in the 51: *If any man eate of this bread, hee shall live for ever.* and in the 54: *Who so eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternall life.* and in the 56: *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in mee, and I in him.* and in the 58: *This is that bread which came downe from heaven: not as your fathers did eate Manna, and are*

ἡ μὴ γὰρ τὸ  
σῶμα ὡς πρὸς  
καὶ μαρτυροῦν  
με λέγειν, οἷς δὲ  
αὐτῷ ἰσχυρῶς  
τὸ εἰρητὸν καὶ σω-  
ματικὸν αἷμα πρὸς  
καὶ ὑπολαμβάνει  
καὶ με ἀποστρέ-  
φειν. ἀλλ' ὅτι ἵκε-  
ται τὰ ῥήματα αὐ-  
τοῦ λέγοντος ὑμῖν  
πνεῦμα ἐστὶ καὶ  
ζωὴ, ὥστε αὐτοὶ  
τὰ ῥήματα καὶ  
τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ  
τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ  
αἷμα αὐτοῦ μαρτυ-  
ροῦν ὅτι αὐτοὶ  
ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς τρε-  
φόμενος, τῆς ἐσ-  
χίας μετέχει ζωῆς.  
Μηδὲ γὰρ, φησὶ,  
σκανδαλίζετο ὁ  
μᾶς τὸ τοῦ αἵματος  
βρωσίας τὸ ἰμῶς  
σάρκος καὶ αἷμα πρὸς  
μαρτυροῦν ὅτι ἰμῶς αἵ-  
ματ' ἐστὶν, καὶ  
μὴ τὰ σῶμα καὶ τὸ  
αἷμα ὡς πρὸς τῆς  
σάρκος καὶ αἵματος  
εἰρημάτων μου.  
Ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ δὲ  
ὡραῖαι εἰρητὸς  
ἀκαίματα, τὸ δὲ  
πνεῦμα ἐστὶ τὸ  
ζωοποιῶν τὰς  
πνευματικὰς  
ἀκείας δυναμίας.

Euseb. lib. 3. Ec-

clesiastica Theologiae, contra Marcellum Ancyranum. MS. in publica Oxoniensis Academie Biblio-

theca: & in privatis virorum doctissimorum, D. Richardi Montacuti & M. Patricij Iunij.

dead:

f Quod sancti-  
ficatur per ver-  
bum Dei &  
per obsecratio-  
nem, non suap-  
te naturā san-  
ctificat uten-  
tem. Nam id si  
esset, sanctifi-  
caret etiam il-  
lum, qui come-  
dit indigne  
Domino: ne-  
que quisquam  
ob hanc esum  
infirmus aut  
ægotus fuisset,  
aut obdormis-  
set. Nam tale  
quiddā Paulus  
demonstrat, quū  
ait: Propter hoc  
inter vos infir-  
mi, & male ha-  
bētes, & dormi-  
unt multi. *Ori-  
gen. in Matt. 15.*  
t Multa porro  
& de ipso Ver-  
bo dici possent,  
quod factum  
est caro, verus-  
que cibus, quē  
qui comederit,  
omnino vivet

in æternum; quem nullus malus potest edere. Etenim si fieri possit, ut qui malus adhuc per-  
severet, edat Verbum factum carnem, quum sit verbum & panis vivus, nequaquam scrip-  
tum fuisset: Quisquis ederit panem hunc, vivet in æternum *Id. ibid.* u Nec isti dicendi  
sunt manducare corpus Christi, quoniam nec in membris computandi sunt Christi. *August.*  
*de Civit. Dei, lib 21. cap. 25.* x Denique ipse dicens, Qui manducat carnem meam, & bi-  
bit sanguinem meum, in me manet, & ego in eo; ostendit quid sit non sacramento tenus, sed  
reverā manducare corpus Christi, & ejus sanguinem bibere: hoc est enim in Christo ma-  
nere, ut in illo maneat & Christus. Sic enim hoc dixit, tanquā dicere: Qui non in me ma-  
net, & in quo ego non maneo, non se dicat aut existimet manducare corpus meum, aut bi-  
bere sanguinem meum. *Id. ibid.*

dead: hee that eateth of this bread, shall live for ever. Whereupon *Origen* rightly observeth the difference that is betwixt the eating of the *typicall* or *symbolicall* (for so he calleth the Sacrament) and the *true* bodie of Christ. Of the former, thus he writeth: *f That which is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer, doth not of it ownt nature, sanctifie him that useth it. For if that were so, it would sanctifie him also which doth eat unwor- thy of the Lord: neither should any one for this eating be weake, or sicke, or dead. For such a thing doth Paul shew, when he saith: For this cause many are weake and sickly among you, and many sleepe. Of the latter, thus: t Many things may be spoken of the Word it selfe, which was made flesh, and true meate; which whosoever eateth, shall cer- tainly live for ever: which no evill person can eat. For if it could be, that he who continueth evill, might eat the Word made flesh (seeing hee is the word and the bread of life) it should not have beene written: Whosoever eateth this bread, shall live for ever. The like difference doth S. Augustine, also upon the same ground, make betwixt the eating of Christs bodie sacramentally and really. For having affirmed, that wicked men u may not be said to eat the body of Christ, because they are not to be counted a- mong the members of Christ: hee afterward addeth. x Christ himselfe saying, He that eateth my flesh, and drin-*



keth my bloud, remaineth in mee, and I in him, sheweth what it is, not sacramentally but indeed, to eat the flesh of Christ and drinke his bloud: for this is, to remaine in Christ, that Christ likewise may remaine in him. For hee said this, as if he should have said: He that remaineth not in me, and in whom I do not remaine; let not him say or thinke, that he eateth my flesh or drinketh my bloud. And in another place, expounding those words of Christ here alledged; hee thereupon inferreth thus: *y This is therefore to eat that meate, and drinke that drinke; to remaine in Christ, and to have Christ remainyng in him. And by this, he that remaineth not in Christ, and in whom Christ abideth not, without doubt doth neither spiritually eat his flesh, nor drinke his bloud: although he do carnally and visibly presse with his teeth the Sacrament of the bodie and bloud of Christ; and so rather eateth and drinketh the Sacrament of so great a thing for judgement to himselfe, because that being uncleane hee did presume to come unto the Sacraments of Christ.*

Hence it is that we finde so often in him, and in other of the Fathers, that the bodie and bloud of Christ is communicated only unto those that shall live, and not unto those that shall dye for ever. *z He is the bread of life. He therefore that eateth life, cannot dye. For how should he dye, whose meat is life? how should he fayle, who hath a vitall substance? saith S. Ambrose. And it is a good note of Macarius: that, as men use to give one kinde of meate to their servants, and another to their children; so Christ who created all things, nourisheth*

*y Hoc est ergo manducare illam escam, & illum bibere potum; in Christo manere, & illum manentem in se habere. Ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo, & in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio nec manducat spiritualiter carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, licet carnaliter & visibiliter premat dentibus sacramentum corporis & sanguinis Christi: sed*

*magistantæ rei sacramentū ad iudicium sibi manducat et bibit, quia immundus præsumpsit ad Christi accedere sacramenta. Id. in Evangel.*

*z Hic est panis vitæ. Qui ergo vitam mandu-*

*cat, mori non potest. Quomodo enim morietur, cui cibus vita est? Quomodo deficiet, qui habuerit vitalem substantiam? Ambr. in Psal. 118. octonar. 18. α Παιτα αυτ' ου εν ποτι η τριφει τις πονηρος η αχαριστος τα δε τινα α ιηουισιν εν τ' ατρυμυλος αυτη η δις μετ' εδωκεν εν τ' χαριτι αυτη, εν οτι εμορφωθη ο κυριος, ιδιαι αναπαυσιν η τροφω, η βροσιν, η ποσιν, παρ' αυτης λοιπας ανθρωπους εν τριφει, η διδωσιν εν οτι εν αυτοις αντρομοις μετα τ' πατρ' αυτων ως εστιν ο κυριος, ο τροφον με η σιμω, η τιμα με το αμα, εν εμοι μινει κηρ εν αυτω, η διαταται ε μεν διαρησι. Macar. Aegypt. homil. 14.*

b. Escam vitæ accipit, & æternitatis poculum bibit, qui in Christo manet, & ejus Christus habitator est. Nam qui discordat à Christo, nec carnem ejus manducat, nec sanguinem bibit: etiam si tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium suæ præsumptionis quotidie indifferenter accipiat. *Prosp. sentent. 339.*

c. Hujus rei sacramentum de mensâ Dominicâ sumitur; quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitiū. Res verò ipsa, ejus sacramentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitiū, quicunque ejus particeps fuerit. *August. in Iohann. tractat. 26.*

indeed evill and ungratefull persons: but the sonnes which he begat of his owne seed, and whom he made partakers of his grace, in whom the Lord is formed, he nourisheth with a peculiar refectiō and food, and meat and drinke, beyond other men; giving himselfe unto them, that have their conversation with his Father. as the Lord himselfe saith: *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my bloud, remayneth in me, and I in him, and shall not see death.* Among the sentences collected by Prosper out of S. Augustine, this also is one. <sup>b</sup> *He receiveth the meat of life, and drinketh the cup of eternitie, who remaineth in Christ; and whose inhabitcr is Christ.* For he that is at discord with Christ, doth neither eate his flesh nor drinke his bloud: although, to the judgement of his presumption, he indifferently doth receive everie day the sacrament of so great a thing. Which distinction betweene the Sacrament and the thing whereof it is a sacrament, (and consequently betweene the sacramentall and the reall eating of the bodie of Christ,) is thus briefly and most excellently expressed by S. Augustine himselfe, in his exposition upon the sixt of Iohn. <sup>c</sup> *The sacrament of this thing, is taken from the Lords Table; by some unto life, by some unto destruction: but the thing it selfe whereof it is a sacrament, is received by every man unto life, and by none unto destruction, that is made partaker therof.* Our conclusion therefore is this:

The bodie and bloud of Christ, is received by all unto life, and by none unto condemnation.

But that substance which is outwardly delivered in the Sacrament, is not received by all unto life, but by manie unto condemnation.

Therefore that substance which is outwardly delivered in the Sacrament, is not really the bodie and bloud of Christ.

The



The first proposition is plainly proved by the Texts which have beene alledged out of the sixth of *Iohn*. The second is manifest, both by common experience, and by the testimonie of the Apostle, *1. Cor. 11. vers. 17, 27, 29*. We may therefore well conclude, that the sixth of *Iohn* is so farre from giving anie furtherance to the doctrine of the Romanists in this point, that it utterly overthroweth their fond opinion, who imagine the bodie and bloud of Christ to be in such a sort present under the visible formes of bread and wine, that whosoever receiveth the one, must of force also really be made partaker of the other.

The like are we now to shew in the words of the *Institution*. For the better clearing whereof, the Reader may be pleased to consider, *first*, that the words are not; *This shall be my body*: nor, *This is made*, or, *shall be changed into my body*: but, *This I s my body*. *Secondly*, that the word *T H I S*, can have relation to no other substance, but that which was then present, when our Saviour spake that word; which (as wee shall make it plainly appeare) was *Bread*. *Thirdly*, that it being proved that the word *This*, doth demonstrate the Bread; it must of necessitie follow, that Christ affirming that to be his *B O D Y*, cannot be conceived to have meant it so to be properly, but relatively and sacramentally.

The first of these, is by both sides yeelded unto: so likewise is the third. For *this is impossible*, saith the Glosse<sup>d</sup> upon Gratian, *that bread should be the bodie of Christ*. And it cannot be, saith Cardinall<sup>e</sup> Bellarmine, *that that proposition should be true, the former part whereof designeth Bread, the latter the Body of Christ: for as*

autem pro corpore Christi. Panis enim & corpus Domini res diversissimæ sunt. *Bellarmin. de Eucharist. lib. 3. cap. 19.*

<sup>d</sup> Hoc tamen est impossibile, quod panis sit corpus Christi.

*De consecrat.*

*dist. 2. cap. 55.*

Panis est in altari. *Gloss.*

<sup>e</sup> Non igitur potest fieri, ut vera sit propositio, in qua subiectum supponit pro pane, prædicatum

f Ibidē scrip-  
sit Lutherus,  
verba Evange-  
listæ, Hoc est cor-  
pus meum, hunc  
facere sensum,  
Hic panis est cor-  
pus meum: quæ  
sententia aut  
accipi debet  
tropice, ut pa-  
nis sit corpus  
Christi signifi-  
cative; aut est  
planè absurda  
& impossibilis.  
nec enim fieri  
potest ut panis  
sit corpus  
Christi. *Id. lib. 1.  
de Eucharist.  
cap. 1.*  
g Matth. Kelli-  
son, Survey of  
the new Religi-  
on, lib. 8. chap. 7.  
sect. 7.

much as Bread and the Lords Body be things most ad-  
verse. And therefore hee confidently affirmeth, f that  
if the words, *This is my body*, did make this sense, *This  
bread is my body*: this sentence must either be taken tro-  
pically, that bread may be the body of Christ significative-  
ly; or else it is plainly absurd & impossible. for it cannot be,  
saith he, that bread should be the body of Christ. Doctor  
g Kellison also in like maner doeth freely acknowledge,  
that if Christ had said, *This bread is my body*; wee must  
have understood him figuratively and metaphorically. So  
that the whole matter of difference resteth now upon  
the second point: whether our Saviour, when hee said  
*This is my body*, meant anie thing to be his Bodie, but  
that Bread which was before him. A matter which  
easily might be determined, in anie indifferent mans  
judgement, by the words immediately going before. Hee  
tooke bread, and gave thanks, and brake, and gave it unto  
them, saying: *This is my bodie which is given for you;*  
*this do in remembrance of mee.* (Luk 22.19.) For what  
did hee demonstrate here, and said was his Body, but  
that which he gave unto his Disciples? What did hee  
give unto them, but what he brake? What brake hee,  
but what he tooke? and doth not the Text expressly  
say, that he tooke bread? Was it not therefore of the  
Bread, he said; *This is my Body*? And could Bread pos-  
sibly bee otherwise understood to have beene his Bo-  
die, but as a Sacrament, and (as hee himselfe with the  
same breath declared his owne meaning) a *memo-*  
*riall* thereof?

If these words be not of themselves cleare enough,  
but have need of further exposition: can we looke for  
a better, then that which S. Paul giveth of them, 1. Cor.  
10.16. *The bread which we breake, is it not the communi-*



on of the bodie of Christ? Did not S. Paul therefore so understand Christ, as if he had said; *This bread is my body*? And if Christ had said so; doth not Kellison confesse, and right reason evince, that hee must have beene understood figuratively? considering that it is simply impossible, that Bread should really be the Bodie of Christ. If it be said, that S. Paul by *Bread*, doth not here understand that which is properly Bread, but that which lately was bread (but now is become the bodie of Christ: ) we must remember, that S. Paul doth not onely say *The bread*, but *The bread which wee breake*. which *breaking*, being an accident properly belonging to the bread it selfe, and not to the bodie of Christ (which being in glorie, cannot be subject to anie more breaking) doth evidently shew, that the Apostle by *Bread* understandeth Bread indeed. Neither can the Romanists well denie this, unlesse they wil denie themselves, and confesse that they did but dreame all this while they have imagined that the change of the bread into the bodie of Christ, is made by vertue of the sacramentall words alone, which have not their effect untill they have all beene fully uttered. For the Pronoun *THIS*, which is the first of these words, doth point to something w<sup>ch</sup> was then present. But no substance was then present but bread: seeing by their owne grounds, the bodie of Christ commeth not in, untill the last word of that sentence, yea and the last syllable of that word, be completely pronounced. What other substance therefore can they make *this* to signifie, but *this bread* only?

¶ In the institution of the other part of the Sacrament, the words are yet more plaine, Matth. 26. vers. 27. 28. *He took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, say-*

h Luk. 22. 18.

i Matth. 26. 29.  
Mark. 14. 25.

ing, *Drinke yee all of it. For this is my blood of the new Testament*: or, (as S. Paul and S. Luke relate it) *This cup is the new Testament in my blood*. That which hee bidd them all drinke of, is that which hee said was his blood. But our Saviour could meane nothing but the *Wine*, when he said, *Drinke ye all of it*: because this sentence was uttered by him before the words of consecration, at which time our Adversaries themselves doe confesse, that there was nothing in the cup but wine, or wine and water at the most. It was *wine* therefore which he said was his *blood*: even *the fruite of the Vine*, as he himselfe termeth it. For as in the deliverie of the other cup before the institution of the Sacrament, S. Luke (who alone maketh mention of that part of the historie) telleth us, that hee said unto his Disciples; <sup>h</sup> *I will not drinke of the fruit of the Vine, untill the kingdome of God shall come*: so doth S. Matthew and S. Marke likewise testifie, that at the deliverie of the Sacramentall cup, when he had said, *This is my blood of the new Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sinnes*; hee also added: <sup>i</sup> *But I say unto you, I will not drinke henceforth of this fruit of the Vine, untill that day that I drinke it new with you in my Fathers kingdome*. Now seeing it is contrary both to sense and faith, that *Wine* or *the fruite of the Vine*, should really be the *blood* of Christ; there being that formall difference in the nature of the things, that there is an utter impossibilitie that in true proprietie of speech the one should be the other: nothing in this world is more plain, than when our Saviour said it was his *blood*, he could not meane it to be so substantially, but sacramentally.

And what other interpretation can the Romanists themselves give of those words of the institution in S. Paul?



Paul? <sup>k</sup> *This cup is the new Testament in my blood. How is the cup, or the thing containd in the cup, the new Testament, otherwise then as a Sacrament of it? Marke how in the like case the Lord himselfe, at the institution of the first Sacrament of the old Testament, useth the same maner of speech, Genes. 17. 10. <sup>l</sup> This is my Covenant, or Testament (for the Greeke word in both places is the same :) and in the words presently following, thus expoundeth his owne meaning. <sup>m</sup> It shall be a S I G N E of the Covenant betwixt me and you. And generally for all Sacraments, the rule is thus laid downe by S. Augustine, in his Epistle to Bonifacius: <sup>n</sup> If Sacraments did not some maner of way resemble the things wherof they are Sacraments, they should not be Sacraments at all. And for this resemblance they doe oftentimes also beare the names of the things themselves. As therefore the Sacrament of the bodie of Christ, is after a certaine maner the bodie of Christ, and the sacrament of Christs blood is the blood of Christ; so likewise the sacrament of faith, is faith. By the sacrament of faith hee understandeth Baptisme; of which he afterward alledgeth that saying of the Apostle, Rom. 6. 4. *Wee are buried with Christ by baptisme into death*: and then addeth. <sup>o</sup> He saith not, *We signifie his buriall*; but hee plainly saith, *Wee are buried*. Therefore the sacrament of so great a thing hee would not otherwise call but by the name of the thing it selfe. And in his Questions upon Leviticus: <sup>p</sup> *The thing that signifi-**

<sup>k</sup> τὸ τοῦ πνεύματος  
καὶ τὸ κατὰ δαδὸν  
καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸν  
αἵμα. 1 Cor. 11.  
25.  
<sup>l</sup> καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ δαδὸν  
δὴ καὶ τὸ δαδὸν  
ἐστὶν αὐτὸ τὸ αἷμα  
καὶ τὸ αἷμα. Gen.  
17. 10.  
<sup>m</sup> καὶ ἵσαυ ὁ  
σημαίνει (vel, εἰς  
σημαίνει) δαδὸν καὶ  
αὐτὸ τὸ αἷμα καὶ  
τὸ αἷμα. Gen. 17. 11  
<sup>n</sup> Si enim Sa-  
cramēta quan-  
dam similitudi-  
nem earum re-  
rum quarum  
sacramēta  
sunt non habe-  
rent, omnino  
Sacramēta non  
essent Ex hac  
autem similitu-  
dine plerumq;  
etiam ipsarum  
rerum nomina  
accipiunt. Sicut  
ergo secundum  
quendam mo-  
dum sacramen-  
tum corporis  
Christi corpus  
Christi est, sa-  
cramētū san-  
guinis Christi sanguis Christi est; ita sacramētū fidei fides est. Aug. epist. 23.  
<sup>o</sup> Non ait,  
Sepulturā significamus: sed prorsus ait, Consepulti sumus. Sacramētū ergo  
tantæ rei non  
nisi ejusdē rei vocabulo nuncupavit. Id. ibid.  
<sup>p</sup> Solet autē res quæ significat, ejus rei nomi-  
ne quā significat nuncupari. sicut scriptum est: Septē spicæ, septē anni sunt. (non enim dixit;  
Septem annos significant) & septem boves, septem anni sunt: & multa hujusmodi. Hinc est  
quod dictū est: Petra erat Christus Non enim dixit, Petra significat Christū; sed tāquā hoc  
esset, quod utique per substantiā non hoc erat, sed per significationē. Sic & sanguis, quoniā  
propter vitālē quandā corpulentā animā significat, in sacramētis anima dictus est Aug. in  
Levit. quest. 57.

eth

*eth (saith he) useth to be called by the name of that thing which it signifieth. as it is written : The seven eares of corne, are seven yeares ; ( for hee said not ; they signifie seven yeares : ) and the seven Kine are seven yeares : and many such like. Hence was that saying : The Rocke was Christ. For he said not, The Rock did signifie Christ ; but as if it had beene that very thing, which doubtlesse by substance it was not, but by signification. So also the blood, because for a certaine vitall corpulencie which it hath, it signifieth the soule ; after the maner of Sacraments it is called the soule. Our argument therefore out of the words of the institution, standeth thus :*

*If it be true, that Christ called Bread his bodie, and Wine his blood : then must it be true also, that the things which bee honoured with those names, cannot be really his bodie & blood, but figuratively and sacramentally.*

*But the former is true. Therefore also the latter. The first proposition hath bene proved by the undoubted principles of right reason, and the cleare confession of the adverse part : the second, by the circumstances of the Text of the Evangelists, by the exposition of S. Paul, and by the received grounds of the Romanists themselves. The conclusion therefore resteth firme : and so wee have made it cleare, that the wordes of the Institution do not only not uphold, but directly also overthrow the whole frame of that which the Church of Rome teacheth, touching the corporall presence of Christ under the formes of Bread and Wine.*

*If I should now lay downe here all the sentences of the Fathers, which teach that that which Christ called his Body, is Bread in substance, and the Body of the*  
*Lord*



Lord in signification and sacramentall relation : I should never make an end. *Iustin Martyr*, in his second Apologic to *Antoninus* the Emperour, telleth us, that the bread and the wine, even that *sanctified food where- with our blood and flesh by conversion are nourished*, is that *w<sup>ch</sup> we are taught to be the flesh and blood of Iesus incarnate*. *Irenaeus* in his 4<sup>th</sup> book against heresies, saith, that our Lord *taking bread of that condition which is usuall among us, confessed it to be his body* : & *the cup likewise contayning that creature which is usuall among us, his blood*. And in his fift book he addeth : *That cup which is a creature, he confirmed to be his blood which was shedde, wherby he increaseth our blood ; and that bread which is of the creature, to be his body, wherby he increaseth our bodies*. Therefore when the mixed cup and the broken bread doth receive the word of God, it is made the Eucharist of the blood and body of Christ, whereby the substance of our flesh is increased and doth consist. Our Lord, saith *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *u* did blesse *vvine*, when hee said ; Take, drinke, *This is my blood, the blood of the Vine*. *Tertullian* : *x* Christ taking bread and distributing it to his Disciples, made it his body, saying, *This is my body, that is, the figure of my body*. *Origen* : *y* That meate which is sanctified by

α Εὐχαριστίας  
ἔσται, ὅτι αἷμα  
καὶ σὰρξ κατὰ  
μεταβολὴν πί-  
νεται, οὐκ ἐν  
σάρκα καὶ αἵματι  
Ἰησοῦ καὶ  
αἷμα ἰδιόχουον  
ἢ. *Iustin. Apo-  
log. 2.*

r Quomodo  
autem iuste  
Dominus, si al-  
terius patris  
existit, huius  
conditionis,  
quæ est secun-  
dum nos, acci-  
piens panem,  
suum corpus  
esse confiteba-  
tur ; & tempe-  
ramentum ca-  
licis suum san-  
guinem confir-  
mavit. *h. en. lib. 4.  
cap 37.*

f Calicem, qui  
est ex eâ crea-  
turâ quæ est se-  
cundum nos,

suum sanguinē confessus est. *Id lib. 4. cap. 32.* t Eum calicem qui est creatura, suum sangui-  
nem qui effusus est, ex quo auget nostrum sanguinem ; & cum panem qui est a creaturâ, su-  
um corpus confirmavit, ex quo nostra auget corpora. Quando ergo & mixtus calix & fra-  
ctus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia sanguinis & corporis Christi, ex quibus au-  
getur & consistit carnis nostræ substantia. *Id. lib. 5. cap. 2. edit. Colon an. 1596.* u Εὐλόγηται ὁ  
ὄνος, ἐπὶ τῷ, ὡς βέλτε, πρὶν τὸ μέν ἐστι τὸ αἷμα, αἷμα τ' ἀμπελῆς. *Clem. Alexand. Paedagog. lib. 2. cap. 2.*  
x Acceptum panem & distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est corpus me-  
um dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei. *Tertull. advers. Marcion. lib. 4. cap. 40.* y Ille cibus  
qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei, perque obsecrationem, juxta id quod habet materiale,  
in ventrem abit, & in secessum ejicitur : cæterum juxta precationem quæ illi accessit pro  
portione fidei fit utilis, efficiens ut perspicax fiat animus, spectans ad id quod utile est. Nec  
materia panis, sed super illum dictus sermo est, qui prodest non indigné Domino comedenti  
illum. Et hæc quidem de typico symbolicoque corpore. *Origen. in Math. cap. 15.*

Ζ. Εἰ δ' οὐκ ἔστι  
 φανερὸν, ὅτι οὐκ  
 ἔστι ἀγαθὸν ἡν,  
 πρὸς τὸ σαρρὸς, ἢ πρὸς  
 τὸ σωματικόν, ἢ  
 πρὸς τὸ πνευματικόν  
 εἶναι διδόντες ἀρ-  
 τον τῇ πνεύματι,  
 ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τῇ  
 μαρτυρίᾳ διὰ τὸ  
 τὸν ἅγιον πνεύμον  
 αὐτῇ ποιεῖν;  
*Oriz. Dial. 3.*  
 a Quā in par-  
 te invenimus  
 calicem mixtū  
 fuisse quem  
 Dominus ob-  
 tulit, & vinum  
 fuisse, quod  
 sanguinem suū  
 dixit. *Cypr. epist.*  
 63. sect. 6.  
 b Nec corpus  
 Domini potest  
 esse farina sola,  
 aut aqua sola;  
 nisi utrumque  
 adunatum fue-  
 rit & copulatū,  
 & panis unius  
 compage soli-  
 datum. *Id. ibid.*  
 sect. 10.  
 c Nam quan-

do Dominus corpus suū panem vocat de multorum granorum adunatione congestum;  
 populum nostrum, quem portabat, indicat adunatū: & quando sanguinem suū vinum ap-  
 pellar, de botris atque acinis plurimis expressum atque in unum coactum, gregem item no-  
 strū significat, cōmixtione adunatæ multitudinis copulatum. *Id. epist. 76. sect. 4.* d Theoph.  
*Antioch. in Evang. lib. 1. pag. 152. tom. 2. Bibliothec. Patr. edit. Colon.*

the word of God and by prayer, as touching the materiall  
 part thereof goeth into the belly, and is voyded into the  
 draught: but as touching the prayer which is added, accor-  
 ding to the portion of faith it is made profitable; enlight-  
 ning the minde, and making it to behold that which is pro-  
 fitable. Neyther is it the matter of bread, but the word spo-  
 ken over it, which profiteth him that doth not unworthily  
 eate thereof. And these things I speake of the typicall and  
 symbollicall bodie; saith Origen. In the Dialogues a-  
 gainst the Marcionites, collected for the most part out  
 of the writings of *Maximus* (who lived in the time of  
 the Emperors *Commodus* and *Severus*) *Origen*, who is  
 made the chiefe speaker therein, is brought in thus di-  
 sputing against the Heretickes: *z* If Christ, as these men  
 say, were without bodie and blood: of what kinde of flesh, or  
 of what body, or of what kinde of blood did hee give the  
 bread and the cup to be Images of, when he commanded his  
 Disciples by them to make a commemoration of him? *S.*  
*Cyprian* also noteth, *a* that it was *Wine*, even the fruit of  
 the Vine, which the Lord said was his blood: and that  
*b* floure alone, or water alone, cannot bee the bodie of our  
 Lord, unlesse both be united and coupled together, and  
 kneaded into the lump of one bread. And againe; that  
*c* the Lord calleth bread his body, which is made up by the  
 uniting of many cornes: and wine his blood, which is pres-  
 sed out of many clusters of grapes, and gathered into one li-  
 quor. Which I finde also word for word in a maner,  
 transcribed in the Commentaries upon the Gospels,  
 attributed unto *d* *Theophilus* Bishop of Antioch. Where-

by



by it appeareth, that in those elder times the words of the institution were no otherwise conceived, then as if Christ had plainly said; *This bread is my body, and, This wine is my blood*: which is the maine thing that wee strive for with our Adversaries; and for which the words themselves are plaine enough. the substance whereof we finde thus laid downe in the Harmonie of the Gospels, gathered, as some say, by *Tatianus*, as others, by *Ammonius*, within the second or the third age after Christ. <sup>c</sup> *Having taken the bread, then afterward the cup of wine, and testified it to be his body and blood, hee commanded them to eat and drinke thereof; forasmuch as it was the memoriall of his future passion and death.*

To the Fathers of the first three hundred yeares, we will now adjoyne the testimonies of those that flourish ed in the ages following. The first whereof shall be *Eusebius*: who saith that our Saviour <sup>f</sup> *delivered to his Disciples the symboles of his divine dispensation, commanding them to make the Image of his owne body; and appointing them to use Bread for the symbole of his Body, and that we still<sup>h</sup> celebrate upon the Lords table, the memory of his sacrifice, by the symboles of his body and blood, according to the ordinances of the New Testament.* *Acacius*, who succeeded him in his Bishopricke, saith that <sup>i</sup> *the bread and wine sanctifieth them that feed upon that matter: acknowledging thereby, that the materiall part of those outward elements do still remaine. In the Church, saith<sup>k</sup> Macarius, is offered bread wine, the type of his flesh and blood: and they which are partakers of the visible*

<sup>e</sup> Mox accepto pane, deinde vini calice, corpus esse suum ac sanguinem testatus, manducare illos iussit & bibere; quod ea sit futurae calamitatis suae mortisque memoria. *Ammon.*

*harmon. Evang. tom. 3. Biblioth. Patr. pag. 28.*

<sup>f</sup> Τα σὺμβολα τῆς εἰς ἐκκοινωνίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραδόντος, τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ σώματος & ποιεῖν παρακαλούμενος. *Euseb. lib. 8.*

*Demonstrat. Evangel. in fine cap. 1.*

<sup>g</sup> ἄρτος δὲ καὶ οὐκὸς τῷ σώματι & παραδίδεσθαι. *Id. ibid.*

<sup>h</sup> Τὰ τε δὴ ταῦτα τῷ σώματι & τῷ μύσθῳ ὅτι παρὲς τῆς εὐχαριστίας, διὰ τὸ σὺμβολον τοῦ

<sup>σώματι</sup> & αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ σώματι αἵματι, κατὰ διόρισιν & κατὰ δὴ καὶ διὰ τὴν παρακαλοῦν. *Id. lib. 1. Demonstrat. cap. ult.* <sup>i</sup> Panis vinumque ex hac materia vefcentes sanctificat. *Acac. in Gen. 2. Grac. caten. in Pentateuch. Zephyro interp.* <sup>k</sup> Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφέρεται ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, ἀντίτυπον τῆς σαρρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος· καὶ οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τῆς εὐχαριστίας αὐτοῦ, πνευματικῶς τὴν σάρκα καὶ τοὺς ὀστέα. *Macar. Aegypt. homil. 27.*

In typo sanguinis sui non obtulit aquam, sed vinum. Hieronym. lib. 2. ad Iovinian. m Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, & bibaturi illum sanguinem, quem suscipiunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquid vobis commendavi: spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos. Augustin. in Psalm. 98.

n Adhibuit ad convivium, in quo corporis & sanguinis sui figuram discipulis commendavit & tradidit. Id. in Psalm. 3. o Illi manducabant panem

Dominum: ille panem Domini contra Dominum. Id. in Evang. Iohan. tract. 59. p Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere, Hoc est corpus meum; cum signum daret corporis sui. August. contr. Adimant. cap. 12. q Istam mensam præparavit servis & ancillis in conspectu eorum, ut quotidie in similitudinem corporis & sanguinis Christi, panem & vinum secundum ordinem Melchisedec, nobis ostenderet in sacramento. In Psalm. 22 Chrysost. tom. 1. r Sicut enim antequam sanctificetur panis, panem nominamus: divinam autem illam sanctificantem gratiam, mediante sacerdote, liberatus est quidem ab appellatione panis, dignus autem habitus est Domini corporis appellatione, etiam si natura panis in ipso permansit: & non duo corpora, sed unum Filii corpus prædicatur sic & hic divinam inundante corporis naturam (vel potius, divinam naturam in corpore insidente: Græcè enim eius prædicatione hic legitur. in MS. Bibliothecæ Florentinæ exemplari, unde ista translatus Perus Martyr) unum filium, unam personam, utraque hæc fecerunt. Chrysost. ad Casarium monachum.

bread; doe spiritually eat the flesh of the Lord. Christ, saith S.<sup>1</sup> Hierome, did not offer water, but wine, for the type of his blood. S. Augustine bringeth in our Saviour thus speaking of this matter. m You shall not eat this bodie which you see, nor drinke that blood which they shall shed that will crucifie mee. I have commended a certaine Sacrament unto you: that being spiritually understood will quicken you. The same Father in another place writeth, that n Christ admitted Iudas to that banquet, wherein he commended and delivered unto his Disciples the figure of his body and blood: but (as he elswhere o addeth) they did eat that bread which was the Lord himselfe; hee the bread of the Lord against the Lord. Lastly: the Lord (saith p he) did not doubt to say, This is my body; when he gave the signe of his body.

So the Author of the Homily upon the 22. Psalm, (among the workes of Chrysostome:) q This table hee hath prepared for his servants and hand-maydes in their sight: that he might every day, for a similitude of the body and blood of Christ, shew unto us in a sacrament bread and wine after the order of Melchisedec. And S. Chrysostome himselfe, in his Epistle written to Casarius, against the heresie of Apolinarius: r As before the bread be sanctified, we call it bread; but when Gods grace hath sanctified it by



the meanes of the Priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is reputed worthy the name of the Lords body, although the nature of the bread remain still in it; and it is not called two bodies, but one body of Gods sonne: so likewise here, the divine nature residing in the body of Christ, these two make one sonne, and one person. In the selfe same maner also doe Theodoret, Gelasius, and Ephraemius proceed against the Eutychian heretickes. Theodoret for his part, layeth downe these grounds. That our Saviour *in the deliverie of the mysteries called bread his body, and that which was mixt (in the cupp) his blood.* That hee changed the names; and gave to the body the name of the symbol or signe, and to the symbol the name of the body. That hee honoured the visible symboles with the name of his bodie and blood; not changing the nature, but adding grace to nature. And that *this most holy food, is a symbol & type of those things whose names it beareth, to wit, of the body and blood of Christ.* Gelasius writeth thus: *The sacraments which we receive, of the body and blood of Christ, are a divine thing, by meanes whereof wee are made partakers of the divine nature: and yet the substance or nature of bread and wine doth not cease to be. And indeed the image and the similitude of the bodie and blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries. It appeareth therefore evidently enough unto us, that wee are to hold the same opinion of the Lord Christ himselfe,*

Γ' ἐν δὲ τῇ  
μυστηρίῳ παραδόν-  
τι, τὸ ματὶ τῆς ἀρ-  
τῆς ἐκάλισεν, καὶ αἵ-  
μα τοῦ σώματος.  
Theod. dialog. I.  
ἀρτῆς, fol. 8.  
edit. Rom. ann.  
1547.

τὸ δὲ καὶ σωτήρ  
ὁ ἡμῶν ἐκάλισεν  
λαβὼν τὰ ὀνόματα  
καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς σώματος,  
τὸ τῆς συμβολῆς τι-  
θεῖν ἐν ὀνόματι, καὶ δὲ  
συμβολῆς, καὶ τὸ τῆς  
σώματος. Ibid.  
καὶ τὰ ἑσθιόντα  
συμβολῆς καὶ τῆς  
σώματος. καὶ αἵ-  
ματος. προσθη-  
εῖν ἐκ πίμπληται, καὶ  
τῶν ὀνομάτων τα-  
ραχύν, ἀλλὰ τῶν  
χαρίων τῆς οὐσίας

προσθεῖναι. Ib. x συμβολῆς καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ τὰς προσθηκὰς ἰδὲ καὶ το. Ib. y Certa sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis & sanguinis Christi, divina res est, propter quod, & per eadem divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ; & tamen esse non desinit substantia, vel natura panis & vini. Et certè imago & similitudo corporis & sanguinis Christi, in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostenditur, hoc nobis in ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in ejus imagine profiteamur, celebramus, & sumus: ut sicut in hanc, scilicet in divinam transeant, sancto spiritu perficiente substantiam, permanente tamen in suæ proprietate naturæ; sic illud ipsum mysterium principale, cujus nobis efficientiam virtutemque veraciter repræsentant, &c. Gelas. de duab. natur. in Christo, contra Eutychen.

which we professe, celebrate, and are, in his Image. that as (those Sacraments) by the operation of the holy Spirit, passe into this, that is, into the divine substance, and yet remaine in the propriety of their owne nature: so that principall mysterie it selfe, whose force and vertue they truly represent, should be conceived to be. namely, to consist of two natures, divine and humane; the one not abolishing the truth of the other. Lastly, Ephraemius the Patriarch of Antioch, having spoken of the distinction of these two natures in Christ, and said, that <sup>z</sup> no man having understanding, could say, that there was the same nature of that which could be handled, and of that which could not be handled, of that which was visible, and of that which was invisible; addeth. And even thus, the body of Christ which is received by the faithfull, (the Sacrament he meaneth) doth neither depart from his sensible substance, and yet remayneth undivided from intelligible grace. and Baptisme, being wholly made spirituall, and remayning one, doth both retaine the propertie of his sensible substance, (of water, I meane) and yet loose it not that which it is made.

z Αὐτὸς εἰς αὐτὸν  
εἰπεῖν δύναται νῦν  
ἵνα, ὡς ἡ αὐτὴ  
φύσις φιλαφῆτε, καὶ  
ἀφιλαφῆτε, καὶ  
ὁρατὴ καὶ ὁρατὴ.  
ἔπος καὶ τὸ παρὰ  
τῶν πιστῶν λαμβαν  
όμενον σῶμα χει-  
ρῶν, καὶ τῆς αἰδήτης  
ἐπὶ αὐτῇ ἐξίσταται  
(Schottus the Je-  
suite translateth  
this, & sensibi-  
lis essentia non  
cognoscitur:  
which is a  
strange interpre-  
tation, if you  
marke it) καὶ τῆς  
τοῦ αἰδήτου  
μείλει χεῖρῶν. καὶ  
τὸ βάπτισμα δὲ  
πνευματικὸν ὅλον  
γενόμενον ἐν  
ὕδατι, καὶ τὸ ἵ-  
διον τῇ αἰδήτῃ ἐ-  
στὶν, τὸ ὕδατος  
λίγαν, διασώζει, καὶ  
ὁ γένον ἐκ αὐτοῦ  
λοῦσι. Ephraemius  
de sacris Antio-  
ch. & legib. lib. x. in Photij Bibliotheca, cod. 2:9.

Thus have wee produced evidences of all sorts, for confirmation of the doctrine by us professed touching the blessed Sacrament: which cannot but give sufficient satisfaction to all that with anie indifferencie will take the matter into their consideration. But the men with whom wee have to deale, are so farre fallen out with the truth; that neither sense nor reason, neither authoritie of Scriptures or of Fathers, can perswade them to be friends againe with it: unlesse we shew unto them, in what Popes dayes the contrarie falshood was first devised. If nothing else will give them con-



tent : we must put them in minde, that about the time wherein *Soter* was Bishop of Rome, there lived a cou-  
 sening companion, called *Marcus*; whose qualities are  
 thus set out by an ancient Christian,<sup>a</sup> who was famous  
 in those dayes, though now his name be unknowne  
 unto us.

<sup>a</sup> *Ver. author,*  
*citatus ab Ire-*  
*nao, lib 1. cap. 12*

Εὐωλοποιεῖ Μάρκε, καὶ τερατοσκόπε,  
 Ἀστρολογικῆς ἔμπειρε καὶ μαγικῆς τέχνης,  
 Δὴ ὥρ κερταῖνες τῆς πλάνης τὰ διδάγματα,  
 Σιμεῖα Δεικνὺς τοῖς ὑπὸ σὲ πλανωμένοις,  
 Ἀποστατικῆς Δυνάμεως ἐγκρήματα,  
 Ἀ' σοὶ χορηγεῖ σὸς πατήρ Σατᾶν αἰεὶ  
 Δὴ ἀγγελικῆς Δυνάμεως Ἀζαζήλ ποιεῖν,  
 Ἐχωρ σὲ πρόδρομον ἀντιθέε πανουργίας.

Where first hee chargeth him to have beene an *Idol-*  
*maker*; then hee objecteth unto him his skill in A-  
 strologie and Magicke, by meanes whereof, and by  
 the assistance of Satan, hee laboured with a shewe of  
 miracles, to winne credite unto his false doctrines,  
 amongst his seduced disciples: and lastly hee conclu-  
 deth that his father the Diuel had imployed him as a  
 forerunner of his *antithean craft*, or his antichristian  
 deceiveablenesse of unrighteousnesse, if you will have  
 it in the Apostles language. For he was indeed the Di-  
 vels forerunner, both for the<sup>b</sup> idolatries and sorceries <sup>b</sup> *Apos. 9. 20,*  
 which afterward were brought into the East; and for <sup>21.</sup>  
 those<sup>c</sup> Romish fornications and inchantments where- <sup>c</sup> *Apos. 18. 3,*  
 with the whole West was corrupted, by that man of <sup>23.</sup>  
 sinne,<sup>d</sup> whose coming was foretold to be after the wor- <sup>d</sup> *2. Theff. 2. 9,*  
 king of Satan, with all power and signes, and lying wonders.  
 And that we may keep our selves within the compasse  
 of

ε Ποτήρια οἶνου  
καχεμίνα φρο-  
ποιήσιν, ὅτι χα-  
εισεῖν, καὶ ὅτι πλε-  
ον ἐκτείνων τὸν  
λόγον τῷ ὁπικλήσ-  
ας, πορφύρεα καὶ  
ἐρυθρὰ ἀναφαι-  
νόμενα ποιεῖ, ὡς  
δοκεῖν τινα δὲ τῷ  
ὑπὸ τοῦ ὅλα χα-  
ειν τὸ αἷμα τὸ  
ἐαυτοῦ στέζειν ἐν  
τῷ ἐκείνῳ ποτηρίῳ  
διὰ τῷ ὁπικλήσας  
αὐτοῦ Irenæus, lib.  
I. cap. 9.

f Humanâ  
procuracione,  
vel fortè dia-  
bolicâ opera-  
tione. Alex.  
Halenf. Summ.

Theolog. part. 4.  
quest. 11. memb.  
2. artic. 4. sect. 3.

g Nemo, qui  
Sanctorum vi-  
tas & exempla  
legerit, potest  
ignorare, quòd  
sæpè hæc my-

stica corporis & sanguinis sacramenta, aut propter dubios, aut certè propter ardentius a-  
mantès Christum, visibili spècie in agni formâ, aut in carnis & sanguinis colore monstrata  
sint: quatenus de se Christus clementer adhuc non credentibus fidem faceret: ita ut dum  
oblata frangitur, vel offertur hostia, videretur agnus in manibus & cruor in calice, quasi ex  
immolatione profluere. ut quod latebat in mysterio, patesceret adhuc dubitantibus in mi-  
raculo. Paschas. de corp. & sangu. Dom. cap. 14.

of that particular, which now wee have in hand: wee  
finde in *Irenæus*, that this Arch-heretick made speciall  
use of his juggling feates, to breed a perswasion in the  
mindes of those whom hee had perverted; that in the  
cup of his pretended Eucharist, he really delivered them  
blood to drinke. For<sup>e</sup> *fayning himselfe to consecrate the  
cups filled with wine, and extending the words of Invo-  
cation to a great length, he made them to appeare of a purple  
and redd colour: to the end it might be thought, that the  
Grace which is above all things, did distill the blood thereof  
into that cup by his Invo-ation.* And even according to  
this precedent we finde it fell out afterwards, that the  
principall and most powerfull meanes whereby the like  
grosse conceit (of the gutturrall eating and drinking of  
the bodie and blood of Christ) was at the first fastened  
upon the multitude, and in processe of time more deep-  
ly rooted in them, were such delusions and fained ap-  
paritions as these: which yet that great Schooleman  
himselfe, *Alexander of Hales*, confesseth to happen  
sometimes, either by<sup>f</sup> *the procurement of man*, or by<sup>t</sup> *the  
operation of the divell.* *Paschasius Radbertus*, who was  
one of the first letters forward of this doctrine in the  
West, spendeth a large chapter upon this point: where-  
in he telleth us, g that Christ in the sacrament did shew  
himselfe *oftentimes in a visible shape, eyther in the forme  
of a Lamb, or in the colour of flesh and blood, so that while  
the hoste was a breaking or an offering, a Lamb in the  
Priests hands, and blood in the Chalice should be seene as it*

were



were flowing from the sacrifice, that what lay hid in a mysterie, might to them that yet doubted be made manifest in a miracle. And specially in that place hee insisterh upon a narration, which he found in *gestis Anglorum*, (but deserved well to have been put into *gesta Romanorum* for the goodnesse of it) of one *Plegils* or *Plegilus* a Priest; how an Angell shewed Christ unto him in the forme of a childe upon the Altar, whom first hee tooke into his armes and kissed, but eate him up afterwards, when he was returned to his former shape again. Whereof arose that jeast which *Berengarius* was wont to use: <sup>h</sup> *This was a proper peace of the knave indeed, that whom hee had kissed with his mouth, hee would devoure with his teeth.*

But there are three other tales of singular note; which though they may justly strive for winning of the Whetstone with anie other, yet for their antiquitie have gained credite above the rest: being devised, as it seemeth, much about the same time with that other of *Plegilus*, but having relation unto higher times. The first was had out of the *English Legends* too, as *Iohannes Diaconus* reporteth it in the life of *Gregory* the first: of a Romane Matron, who found a piece of the sacramentall bread turned into the fashion of a finger, all bloodie, which afterwards, upon the prayers of *S. Gregory*, was converted to his former shape againe. The other two were first coyned by the Grecian lyars, and from them conveyed unto the Latines, and registred in the booke which they called *Vitas patrum*: which being commonly beleevd to have beene collected by *S. Hierome*, and accustomed to be read ordinarily in everie Monasterie; gave occasion of further spred, and made much way for the progresse of this mysterie of

<sup>h</sup> Speciosa certe pax nebulonis; ut cui oris præbuerat basium, dentiū inferret exitiū. *Guilielm. Malmesbur. de gestis Reg. Anglor. lib. 3.*

<sup>i</sup> Io Diac. vit. *Greg. lib. 2. cap. 41.*

<sup>k</sup> Sanctus Hieronymus presbyter, ipsas Sanctorum Patrum Vitas Latino edidit sermone. *Paschas. Radbert. in epist. ad Frudegard. Consule libros Carolinos, de Imaginib. lib. 4. cap. 11.*

l. Inter senten-  
tias Patrum, à  
Pelagio Romano  
ecclesia diacono  
Latine versas,  
libell. 18. cui si-  
culus de Provi-  
dentiâ vel Præ-  
videntiâ: sive,  
ut in Phosy bib-  
liotheca habe-  
tur, cod. 98.  
αὐτὸς διηγεῖται.  
in Tom. 4. Smij,  
pag. 257. editio.  
Colon. an. 1573.

n Nomen Am-  
philochii ad  
mentiendum  
accepit. Baron.  
tom. 4. an. 369.  
sect. 43.

o Scatens mē-  
daciis. Id. ibid.  
an. 363. sect. 55.  
p Removean-  
tur ista vel fig-  
menta menda-  
cium hominū,  
vel portenta  
fallacium spiri-  
tuū. Aut enim  
non sunt vera  
quæ dicuntur,  
aut si hæreti-  
corum aliqua  
mira facta  
sunt, magis ca-  
vere debemus:  
quod cum di-  
xisset Dominus  
quosdā futuros  
esse fallaces, qui nonnulla signa faciendo etiam electos si fieri posset fallerent; adjecit vehemēter commendans, & ait, Ecce prædixi vobis. August. de unitat. Eccles. cap. 16.

iniquitie. The former of these is not onely related there,<sup>l</sup> but also in the Legend of *Simeon Metaphrastes*, (which is such another author among the Grecians, as *Iacobus de Voragine* was among the Latines) in the m life of *Arsenius*: how that a little childe was seene up- on the Altar, and an Angell cutting him into small pie- ces with a knife, and receiving his blood into the Cha- lice, as long as the Priest was breaking the bread into little parts. The latter, is of a certaine Jew, receiving the Sacrament at *S. Basils* hands, converted visibly into true flesh and blood: which is expressed by *Cyrus Theodorus Prodronus*, in this Tetrastich.

Χριστιανῶν ποτε παίζε θυπολόγῳ Ἐβερ υἱὸς  
Ἀρζεντῇ εἰσορόωρ, καὶ ἄισοπα κανῶ ἐπ' οἶνον.  
τόνδ' ὡς ἔρ ἐνόησε βασιλεῖς νέαρ ἀγνόρ,  
πόρσυνερ οἱ φαγέει, τάδ' ἐπὶ κρέας αἵμα τ' ἀμείφθῃ.

But the chiefe author of the fable was a cheating fel- low, who, n that hee might lye with authoritie, tooke upon him the name of *Amphilochius*, *S. Basils* compa- nion, and set out a booke of his life o fraught with lea- sings: as Cardinall *Baronius* himselfe acknowledgeth. *S. Augustines* conclusion therefore may here well take place. P Let these things be taken away, which are eyther fictions of lying men, or wonders wrought by evill spirits. For eyther there is no truth in these reports, or if there be any strange things done by hereticks, we ought the more to beware of them: because, when the Lord had said, that cer- taine deceivers should come, who by doing of some wonders should seduce (if it were possible) the very elect, he verie

earnestly



earnestly commended this unto our consideration, and said; Behold, I have told you before. yea and added a further charge also, that if these impostors should say unto us of him, *Behold he is in secret closets*, wee should not beleeeve it: which whether it be appliable to them who tell us, that Christ is to be found in a Pixe, and thinke that they have him in safe custodie under Locke and Key; I leave to the consideration of others.

The thing which now I would have further observed, is onely this; that, as that wretched heretick who first went about to perswade men by his lying wonders, that he really delivered <sup>blood</sup> ~~wine~~ unto them in the cup of the Eucharist, was censured for being εἰδωλοποιὸς, an *Idol-maker* so in after ages, from the Idol-makers and Image-worshippers of the East it was, that this grosse opinion of the orall eating and drinking of Christ in the Sacrament, drew it first breath; <sup>r</sup> God having for their idolatric, justly given them up unto a *reprobate minde*, that they might receive that recompence of their *error which was meete*. The Popes name in whose dayes this fell out, was *Gregory the second*: the mans name who was the principall setter of it abroad, was <sup>f</sup> *Iohn Damascen*; one that laid the foundation of Schoole-divinitie among the Greeks, as *Peter Lombard* afterwards did among the Latins. On the contrarie side, they who opposed the Idolatric of those times, and more especially the cccxxxviii. Bishops assembled together at the Councell of Constantinople, in the yeare 754. maintayned, that Christ <sup>t</sup> chose no other shape or type under heaven to represent his incarnation by, but the Sacrament; which <sup>u</sup> he delivered to his ministers for a type and a most effectuall commemoration therof; <sup>x</sup> commanding the substance of bread to be offered, which did

q Matt. 24. 26.

r Rom. 1. 27, 28.

f Damascen.

Orthodox. fid.

lib. 4. cap. 14.

t οὐκ ἔστιν ἑ-

δος ἑκείνου.

παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ

ἰσχύϊ.

πρὸς ἐκείνου.

αὐτοῦ σπέρματος.

ναμίνα.

u εἰς τὸ πᾶν καὶ

ἀνέμνησιν ἱερῶν.

καὶ τῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ

μυστηρίων παραδίδωκε.

x ἄρτος ὁ σῶμα

προσέταξεν προσ-

εἰσάγειν, μὴ σχημα-

τίζεσθαι ἀνθρώπου

μορφῶν, ἵνα μὴ εἰ-

δωλολατρεῖα πα-

ρισταχθῇ.

γ τὸ θέλει, ἡτοι-  
 εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ ἀγία.  
 ζ δὲ τὸ εὐχαριστίας  
 αἶμα, αἷς αἰψουδῆ  
 εἰκότα τὸ φυσικῆς  
 σαρκὸς ὅτι. So a  
 little after it is  
 called αἰσθητὸν  
 εἰκὼν τὸ  
 σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, and  
 αἰψουδῆς εἰκὼν τὸ  
 εἰσάρακα δὲ καὶ μι-  
 ας χεῖρας.  
 a Concil. gener.  
 tom. 3. pag. 599.  
 600. edit Rom.

δὲ ὡς τὸ ὁμοιω-  
 ται ἐκλήθη αὐτίτυ-  
 πα, ὅτι δὲ ἀνα-  
 μὴν σῶμα κυρίου  
 καὶ αἷμα χει-  
 ρῶν ἡγιασμένων,  
 καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεύμα-  
 τος. lb. pag. 601.  
 εἰς ἀντίτυπα μὲν  
 τὸ ὁμοιωτὶν πολ-  
 λαῖς ἑκασταὶ κα-  
 λόμενα τὰ ἀγία  
 εἶδη, ὅτι παρὰ  
 Γρηγόριον τὸν Θεολόγον  
 καὶ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ αἰ-  
 σθητὸν. καὶ ἐν τῷ  
 ἀπολόγῳ, παρὰ Κυ-  
 ρίλλου τοῦ Ἱεροσολι-  
 τικῆς. μὲν. ο. καὶ  
 ἄλλοις. lbid. in  
 margine.

not any way resemble the forme of a man, that so no occasi-  
 on might be given of bringing in Idolatry. which bread  
 they affirmed to be the bodie of Christ, not φῶς but  
 δεσεί, that is, (as they themselves expound it) *γ a holy*  
*and ζ a true image of his naturall flesh.*

These assertions of theirs are to bee found in the  
 a third Tome of the sixth Action of the second Coun-  
 cell of Nice, assembled not long after for the reestabli-  
 shing of Images in the Church. where a prachant dea-  
 con, called *Epiphanius*, to crosse that which those for-  
 mer Bishops had delivered, confidently avoucheth that  
 none of the Apostles, nor of the Fathers, did ever call  
 the Sacrament *an image* of the bodie of Christ. Hee  
 confelleth indeed that some of the Fathers (as *Eusta-  
 thius* expounding the Proverbs of *Salomon*, and *S. Basil*  
 in his Liturgie) doe call the bread and wine ἀντίτυπα,  
*correspondent types or figures*, before they were consecra-  
 ted: *but after the consecration* (saith hee) *they are cal-  
 led, and are, and beleevd to be the body and blood of Christ*  
*properly.* where the Popes owne followers, who of  
 late published the Acts of the generall Councils at  
 Rome, were so farre ashamed of the ignorance of this  
 blind Bayard; that they correct his boldnesse with this  
 marginall note. *The holy gifts are oftentimes found to*  
*be called antitypes, or figures correspondent, after they be*  
*consecrated: as by Gregory Nazianz. in the funerall Ora-  
 tion upon his sister, and in his Apologie; by Cyrill of Ieru-  
 salem in his fifth Cateches. Mystagogic. and by others.* And  
 wee have already heard, how the author of the Dia-  
 logues against the Marcionites, and after him *Eusebius*  
 and *Gelasius*, expressely call the Sacrament *an image* of  
 Christs bodie: howsoever this peremptorie Clerke de-  
 nieth, that ever anie did so. By all which it may easily  
 appeare,



appeare, that, not the oppugners, but the defenders of Images, were the men who first went about herein to alter the language used by their fore-fathers.

Now as in the daies of *Gregory* the third this matter was set afoot by *Damascent* in the East: so about a hundred yeares after, in the Papacie of *Gregory* the fourth, the same began to be propounded in the West, by meanes of one *Amalaricus*, who was Bishop, not (as hee is commonly taken to be) of *Triers*, but of *Mets* first, and afterwards of *Lyons*. This man writing doubtfully of this point; otherwhiles followeth the doctrine of *S. Augustine*,<sup>d</sup> that Sacraments were oftentimes called by the names of the things themselves, and so the Sacrament of Christs bodie was *secundum quendam modum*, after a certaine maner the bodie of Christ: otherwhiles maketh it a part of his beleefe, that *the simple nature of the bread and wine mixed, is turned into a reasonable nature, to wit, of the body and blood of Christ*. But what should become of this bodie, after the eating thereof, was a matter that went beyond his little witt: and therefore, said he,<sup>f</sup> *when the bodie of Christ is taken with a good intention, it is not for me to dispute, whether it be invisibly taken up into heaven, or kept in our body untill the day of our buriall, or exhaled into the ayre, or whether it go out of the body with the blood, (at the opening of a veyne) or be sent out by the mouth; our Lord saying, that every thing which entreth into the mouth goeth into the belly, and is sent forth into the draught*. For this, and another like foolerie de *3 triformi & tripartito corpore Christi*, of the three parts or kindes of Christs body (which

<sup>d</sup> *Amalar. de Ecclesiastic. offic. lib. 1. cap. 24.*

<sup>e</sup> *Hic credimus naturam simplicem panis & vini mixti, verti in naturam rationabilem, scilicet corporis & sanguinis Christi. Id. li. 3. cap. 24.*

<sup>f</sup> *Ita verò sumptum corpus Domini bonâ intentione, non est mihi disputandū utrum invisibiliter assumatur in cœlum, aut reseruetur in corpore nostro usque in diem sepulturæ, aut exhaletur in auras, aut exeat de corpore cū sanguine, aut per os emittatur; dicente*

*Domino, Omne quod intrat in os in ventrem vadit & in secessum emittitur. Idem, in epistola ad Guirardum, MS. in Biblioth. Colleg. S. Benedicti. Cantabrig. cod. 55. g Id. de Ecclesiastic. offic. lib. 3. cap. 35.*

h Florus in  
Actis Synod. Ca-  
risiac. MS. apud  
N. Ranchinum,  
in Senatu Tolo-  
sano Regium  
Consiliarium.  
Vid. Phil. Morn.  
de Miss. lib. 4.  
cap. 8.

i Panis & vinū  
efficitur spiri-  
tualiter corpus  
Christi, &c.  
Mentis ergo est  
cibus iste, non  
ventris: nec  
corrumpitur,  
sed permanet  
in vitam æter-  
nam. Ibid.  
k Supr. pag. 16.

l Genuinū Ec-  
clesiæ Catho-  
licæ sensum ita  
primus expli-  
cuit, ut viam  
cæteris aperue-  
rit, qui de eodē  
argumento  
multi postea  
scripsere. Jac.  
Sirmond in vitā  
Radberti.

seeme to be those *ineptia de tripartito Christi corpore*, that *Paschasius* in the end of his Epistle intreateth *Frudegardus* not to follow :) he was censured in a<sup>h</sup> Synod held at *Carisiacum*: wherein it was declared by the Bishops of France, that<sup>i</sup> *the bread and wine are spiritually made the body of Christ; which being a meat of the mind, and not of the belly, is not corrupted, but remayneth unto everlasting life.*

These dotages of *Amalarius*, did not only give occasion to that question propounded by *Heribaldus* to *Rabanus*, wherof we have spoken<sup>k</sup> heretofore; but also to that other of far greater consequence: Whether that which was externally delivered & received in the sacrament, were the verie same body which was borne of the Virgin *Mary*, & suffered upon the Crosse, & rose again from the Grave. *Paschasius Radbertus* (a Deacon of those times, but somewhat of a better and more modest temper then the Greek Deacon shewed himselfe to be of) held that it was the verie same; and to that purpose wrote his book to *Placidus*, of the Body & Blood of our Lord: wherein (saith a Iesuite)<sup>l</sup> *he was the first that did so explicate the true sense of the Catholick Church, (his owne Romane he meaneth) that he opened the way to those manie others, who wrote afterwards of the same argument.* *Rabanus* on the other side, in a writing directed to Abbot *Egilo*, maintayned the contrarie doctrine: as hath before beene noted. Then one *Frudegardus*, reading the third book of *S. Augustin de doctrinā Christianā*, and finding there, that the eating of the flesh and drinking of the blood of Christ was a figurative maner of speech, began somewhat to doubt of the truth of that which formerly he had read in that foresaid Treatise of *Paschasius*: which moved *Paschasius* to write



write againe of the same argument, as of a question wherein he confesseth <sup>m</sup> many were then doubtfull. But neither by his first nor by his second writing was hee able to take these doubts out of mens mindes: and therefore *Carolus Calvus* the Emperour, being desirous to compose these differences, and to have unitie settled among his subjects, required *Ratrannus* (a learned man of that time, who lived in the Monasterie of Corbey, whereof *Paschasius* was Abbat) to deliver his judgement touching these points. <sup>n</sup> *Whether the body and blood of Christ which in the Church is received by the mouth of the faithfull, be celebrated in a mysterie or in the truth; and whether it be the same body, which was born of Mary, which did suffer, was dead and buried, & which rising againe and ascending into heaven sitteth at the right hand of the Father?* Whereunto he returneth this answer: that <sup>o</sup> the bread and the wine are the body and blood of Christ figuratively; that <sup>p</sup> for the substance of the creatures, that which they were before consecration, the same are they also afterward; that <sup>q</sup> they are called the Lords bodie and the Lords blood, because they take the name of that thing, of which they are a sacrament; & that <sup>r</sup> there is a great difference betwixt the mysterie of the blood and body of Christ, which is taken now by the faithfull in the Church, and that which was borne of the Virgin Mary, which suffered, which was buried, which rose again, which sitteth at the right hand of the Father. All which hee

*ſue Bertram, in lib. de corp. & ſangu. Dom. edis. Colon. ann. 1551. pag. 180.* <sup>o</sup> Panis ille vinumque, figuratè Christi corpus & ſanguis exiſtit. *Ibid. pag. 183.* <sup>p</sup> Nam ſecundùm creaturarum ſubſtantiam quod fuerunt ante conſecrationem, hoc & poſtea conſiſtunt. *Ib. pag. 185.* <sup>q</sup> Dominicum corpus & ſanguis Dominicus appellantur; quoniam eius ſumunt appellationem, cujus exiſtunt ſacramentum. *Ibid. pag. 200.* <sup>r</sup> Videmus itaque multà differentià ſeparari myſterium ſanguinis & corporis Chriſti, quod nunc à fideiſibus ſumitur in Eccleſià, & illud quod natū eſt de Marià virgine, quod paſſum, quod ſepultum, quod reſurrexit, quod cœlos aſcendit, quod ad dextram Patris ſedet. *Ibid. pag. 222.*

proveth

m Quæri-  
nim de re ex  
quā multi du-  
bitant and a-  
gain. Quamvis  
multi ex hoc  
dubitent, quo-  
modo ille inte-  
ger manet, &  
hoc corpus  
Chriſti & ſan-  
guis eſſe poſ-  
ſit. *Paschaſ epist.  
ad Frudegard.*  
n Quod in Ec-  
cleſiā ore fide-  
lium ſumitur  
corpus & ſan-  
guis Chriſti,  
quærit veſtræ  
magnitudinis  
excellentiā, in  
myſterio fiat,  
an in veritate,  
&c. & utrū  
ipſum corpus  
ſit, quod de  
Mariā natum  
eſt, & paſſum,  
mortuum &  
ſepultum,  
quodque re-  
ſurgens & cœ-  
los aſcendens,  
ad dextram  
Patris conſide-  
at? *Ratrann.*

<sup>o</sup> Panis ille vi-

<sup>p</sup> Nam ſecundū

& poſtea conſiſtunt.

<sup>q</sup> Dominicum corpus & ſanguis Dominicus appellantur; quoniam eius ſu-

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f Animadver-  
tat (clarissime  
Princeps) sa-  
pientia vestra,  
quod positis  
sanctarū Scrip-  
turarum testi-  
moniis, & san-  
ctorum Patrū  
dictis eviden-  
tissimē mon-  
stratum est;  
quod panis qui  
corpus Christi,  
& calix qui  
sanguis Christi  
appellatur, fi-  
gura sit, quia  
mysterium: &  
quod non par-  
va differentia  
sit inter corpus  
quod per my-  
sterium existit,  
& corpus quod  
passum est, &  
sepultum, & re-  
surrexit. *Ibid.*  
pag. 228.  
t Cæterum,  
Bertramum ci-  
tare, quid ali-  
ud est, quàm  
dicere, hæresim  
Calvini non ef-  
se novam? *Fr.*  
*Turrian. de Eu-*  
*charist. contra*  
*Volanum, lib. I.*  
*cap. 22.*  
u Martyrolog.  
*Rom. IV. Id.*  
*Novemb. edit.*  
*Antuerp. ann.*  
1586.

proveth at large, both f by testimonies of the holy Scriptures, and by the sayings of the ancient Fathers. Wherupon *Turrian* the Iesuite is driven for pure need, to shift off the matter with this silly interrogation. <sup>t</sup> *To cite Bertram* (so *Ratrannus* is more usually named) *what is it else, but to say, that the heresie of Calvin is not new?* As if these things were alledged by us for anie other end, then to shew, that this way which they call heresie *is not new*, but hath been troden in long since, by such as in their times were accounted good and Catholick teachers in the Church. That since they have been esteemed otherwise, is an argument of the alteration of the times, and of the conversion of the state of things: which is the matter that now we are inquiring of, and which our Adversaries (in an evill houre to them) doe so earnestly presse us to discover.

The Emperour *Charles*, unto whom this answer of *Ratrannus* was directed, had then in his Court a famous countrey-man of ours, called *Iohannes Scotus*: who wrote a booke of the same argument, and to the same effect that the other had done. This man for his extraordinarie learning, was in *England* (where hee lived in great account with King *Alfred*) surnamed *Iohn the wise*: and had verie lately a roome in the <sup>u</sup> Martyrologe of the Church of Rome, though now he be ejected thence. Wee finde him indeed censured by the Church of *Lyons* and others in that time, for certaine opinions which he delivered touching *Gods foreknowledge and predestination* before the beginning of the world, *Mans freewill* and the concurrence thereof with *Grace* in this present world, and the *maner of the punishment of reprobate Men & Angels* in the world to come: but we finde not anie where, that his book of the Sa-  
crament



crament was condemned, before the dayes of \**Lanfranc*; who was the first that leavened the Church of England afterward with this corrupt doctrine of the carnall presence. Till then, this question of the reall presence continued still in debate: and it was as free for anie man to follow the doctrine of *Ratranus* or *Iohannes Scotus* therein, as that of *Paschasius Radbertus*, which since the time of Satans loosing, obtayned the upper hand. Men have often searched, and doe yet often search, how bread that is gathered of corne, and through fires beate baked, may be turned to Christs bodie; or how wine that is pressed out of manie grapes is turned, through one blessing, to the Lords blood: saith *Ælfrick* Abbat of Malmesburie, in his Saxon Homily, written about 650. yeares agoe. His resolution is not onely the same with that of *Ratranus*, but also in manie places directly translated out of him: as may appeare by these passages following, compared with his Latin layd downe in the margent.

<sup>z</sup> *The bread and the wine which by the Priests ministry is hallowed, shew one thing without to mens senses, and another thing they call within to beleeving mindes. Without they be seene bread & wine both in figure and in taste: and they be truely after their hallowing Christs body and his blood by spirituall mysterie.* <sup>a</sup> *So the holy font water*

y *Homilia Paschalis, Anglo-Saxonice impressa Londini, per Io. Dauum: & MS. in publicâ Cantabrigiensi Academia Bibliotheca.*

z *Ille panis qui per Sacerdotis ministeriû Christi corpus efficitur, aliud exterius humanis sensibus ostendit, & aliud interius fidelium mentibus clamat, Exterius quidê panis, quod antè fuerat, forma prætenditur, color ostenditur, sapor accipitur: ast interius Christi corpus ostenditur. Ratran. sive Bertram, de corp.*

& *sangu. Dom. pag. 182.* a Consideremus fontem sacri baptismatis, qui fons vitæ non immerito nuncupatur. &c. In eo si consideretur solummodo quod corporeus aspicit sensus, elementum fluidum conspicitur, corruptioni subiectum, nec nisi corpora lavandi potentiam obtinere. Sed accessit sancti Spiritus per Sacerdotis consecrationem virtus; & efficax facta est non solum corpora verumetiam animas diluere, & spirituales sordes spirituali potentia dimovere. Ecce in uno eodemque elemento, duo videmus inesse sibi resistentia. &c. Igitur in proprietate humor corruptibilis, in mysterio verò virtus sanabilis. Sic itaque Christi corpus & sanguis superficie tenus considerata, creatura est, mutabilitati corruptelæque subiecta: si mysterii verò perpendis virtutem, vita est, participantibus se tribuens immortalitatem *Ibid. pag. 187. 188.*

b Multa differentia separantur, corpus in quo passus est Christus, et hoc corpus quod in mysterio passionis Christi quotidie a fidelibus celebratur *ibid.*

pag. 212. & 223.

c Illa namque caro quae crucifixa est, de Virginis carne facta est, ossibus & nervis compacta, & humanorum membrorum lineamentis distincta, rationalis animae spiritu vivificata in propriam vitam & congruentes motus. At vero caro spiritualis, quae populum credentem spi-

ritualiter pascit, secundum speciem quam gerit exterius, frumenti granis manu artificis consistit, nullis nervis ossibusque compacta, nullam membrorum varietate distincta, nullam rationali substantia vegetata, nullos proprios potens motus exercere. Quicquid enim in ea vita praebet substantiam, spiritualis est potentiae, & invisibilis efficientiae, divinaeque virtutis. *Ibid. pag. 214.* d Corpus Christi quod mortuum est & resurrexit, & immortale factum, jam non moritur, & mors illi ultra non dominabitur, aeternum est, nec jam passibile. Hoc autem quod in Ecclesia celebratur, temporale est, non aeternum; corruptibile est, non incorruptum, &c. dispartitur ad sumendum, & dentibus commolitur, in corpus traicitur. *Ibid. pag. 216. 217.*

that is called the well-spring of life, is like in shape to other waters, and is subject to corruption: but the holy Ghosts might commeth to the corruptible water through the Priests blessing; and it may after wash the body and soule from all sinne, by spirituall vertue. Behold now we see two things in this one creature: in true nature that water is corruptible moisture, and in spirituall mysterie hath healing vertue. So also if we behold that holy housel after bodily sense, then see wee that it is a creature corruptible and mutable. If we acknowledge therein spirituall vertue, then understand we that life is therein, and that it giveth immortalitye to them that eat it with beleefe. b Much is betwixt the bodie Christ suffered in, and the body that is hallowed to housel. c The body truly that Christ suffered in, was borne of the flesh of Mary, with blood and with bone, with skin and with sinewes, in humane limbs, with a reasonable soule living: and his spirituall body, which we call the housel, is gathered of many cornes, without blood and bone, without lim, without soule; and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but spiriually. Whatsoever is in that housel, which giveth substance of life, that is spirituall vertue, and invisible doing. d Certainly Christs body which suffered death and rose from death, shall never dye henceforth, but is eternall and unpasible. That housel is temporall, not eternall, corruptible & dealed into sundry parts, chewed betweene teeth and sent into the belly.

This



<sup>e</sup> This myserie is a pledge and a figure : Christs bodie is truth it selfe. This pledge wee doe keepe mystically, untill that we be come to the truth it selfe; and then is this pledge ended. Christ hallowed bread and wine to housel before his suffering, and said: This is my body & my blood. <sup>f</sup> Yet he had not then suffered: but so notwithstanding hee turned through invisible vertue, the bread to his owne body, and that wine to his blood; as he before did in the wilderness, before that he was borne to men, when he turned that heavenly meate to his flesh, and the flowing water from that stone to his owne blood. <sup>g</sup> Moses and Aaron, and manie other of that people which pleased God, did eat that heavenly bread, and they died not the everlasting death, though they dyed the common. They saw that the heavenly meate was visible and corruptible: and they spiritually understood by that visible thing, and spiritually received it.

<sup>e</sup> Et hoc corpus, pignus est & species: illud vero ipsa veritas. Hoc enim geritur, donec ad illud perveniat: ubi vero ad illud perventum fuerit, hoc removebitur. *Ib.* pag. 222.

<sup>f</sup> Videmus nondum passum esse Christum, &c. Sicut ergo paulo antequam pateretur, panis substantiam & vini creaturam convertere potuit in proprium corpus quod passum erat, & in suum sanguinem qui post fundendus exibat: sic etiam in deserto manna & aquam de petra in suam carnem & sanguinem convertere prevaluit &c. *Ibid.* pag. 193.

<sup>g</sup> Manducavit & Moses man-

This Homily was appointed publikely to be read to the people in England, on Easter day, before they did receive the communion. The like matter also was delivered to the Clergie by the Bishops at their Synods; out of two other writings of the same <sup>h</sup> AElfrick: in the one wherof, directed to Wulfsine Bishop of Shyrburne, we reade thus. That housel is Christs bodie, not bodily but spiritually. Not the body which he suffered in, but the bodie of which he spake, when he blessed bread and wine to housel the night before his suffering; and said by the blessed bread, This is my body: and againe by the holy wine, This is my blood which is shed for many in forgiveness of

na, manducavit & Aaron, manducavit & Phinees, manducaverunt ibi multi qui Deo placuerunt; & mortui non sunt. Quare? Quia visibilem cibum spiritualiter intellexerunt, spiritualiter esurierunt, spiritualiter gustaverunt, ut spiritualiter satiarentur. *Ibid.* pag. 217. ex August. in Evang. Iohan. tractat. 26. <sup>h</sup> Impress. Londini cum Homilia Paschali: & MS. in publica Oxoniensi Academia Bibliotheca, & Colleg. S. Benedicti. Cantabrig.

sinnes. In the other, written to *Wulfstane* Archbishop of Yorke, thus. *The Lord which hallowed haufel before his suffering, and saith that the bread was his owne bodie, and that the wine was truely his blood; halloweth daily by the hands of the Priest, bread to his body and wine to his blood in spirituall mysterie, as wee reade in bookes. And yet notwithstanding that lively bread is not bodily so, nor the selfe same body that Christ suffered in: nor that holy wine is the Saviours blood which was shed for us, in bodily thing, but in spirituall understanding. Both be truely, that bread his body, and that wine also his blood, as was the heavenly bread, which we call Manna, that fedde fortie yeares Gods people; and the cleare water, which did then runne from the stone in the wilderneffe, was truely his blood: as Paul wrote in one of his Epistles.*

i *Sigebert. Gemblac. & Guiliel. Nangiac. in Chron. an. 1051.*  
*Conrad. Bruwilerens. in vita Wolphelmi, apud Surinm, April. 22.*  
*k Flor. histor. ann. 1087.*

l *De Christian. Eccles. success. & stat. edit. ann. 1613. pag. 190. 191. 192. et 208.*

Thus was Priest and people taught to beleeve, in the Church of England, toward the end of the tenth, and the beginning of the eleventh age after the Incarnation of our Saviour Christ. And therefore it is not to be wondered, that when *Berengarius* shortly after stood to maintaine this doctrine, i manie both by word and writing disputed for him: and not onely the *English*, but also all the *French* almost & the *Italians* (as <sup>k</sup> *Matthew* of Westminster reporteth) were so readie to entertainethat which hee delivered. Who though they were so borne downe by the power of the Pope (who now was growne to his height) that they durst not make open profession of that which they beleeved: yet manie continued, even there where Satan had his throne, who privately employed both their tongues and their penne in defence of the truth; as out of *Zacharias Chrysopolitanus*, *Rupertus Tuitiensis*, and others I have<sup>l</sup> elsewhere shewed. Vntill at length, in the  
 yeare



yeare 1215. Pope *Innocent* the third, in the Councell of *Lateran*, published it to the Church for an oracle : that *in the body and blood of Iesus Christ are truly containd under the formes of bread and wine; the bread being transubstantiated into the bodie, and the wine into the blood, by the power of God.* And so are wee now come to the end of this controversie : the originall and progresse whereof I have prosecuted the more at large, because it is of greatest importance, the verie life of the *Masse* and all *massing* Priests depending thereupon. But this prolixitie shall be some wayes recompensed by the briefer handling of the points following : the next whereof is that

*in Cuius corpus & sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis & vini veraciter continentur; transubstantiatis pane in corpus, & vino in sanguinem potestate divinâ. Concil. Lateran. cap. 1.*

## OF CONFESSION.

**O**Ur Challenger here telleth us, that the Doctors, Pastors and Fathers of the primitive Church, exhorted the people to confesse their sinnes unto their ghostly fathers. And wee tell him againe, that by the publike order prescribed in our Church, before the administration of the holy Communion, the Minister likewise doth exhort the people, that *if there be any of them, which cannot quiet his owne conscience, but requireth further comfort or counsell; he should come to him, or some other discreet and learned Minister of Gods word, and open his griefe: that he may receive such ghostly counsell, advice and comfort, as his conscience may be relieved; and that by the ministry of Gods word hee may receive comfort, and the benefite of absolution, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoyding of all scruple and doubtfulnesse.* Whereby it appeareth, that the exhorting of the people to confesse their sinnes unto their ghostly fathers, ma-

keth no such wall of separation betwixt the ancient Doctors and us, but we may well for all this be of the same religion that they were of : and consequently, that this doughtie Champion hath more will then skill to manage controversies, who could make no wiser choyce of pointes of differences to bee insisted upon.

a Si quis negaverit Confessionem sacramentalem vel institutam, vel ad salutem necessariam esse jure divino : *Et Anathema sit. Concil. Trident. Sess. 14. Can. 6.*

b Si quis dixerit, in sacramento Pœnitentiæ ad remissionem peccatorum necessarium non esse jure divino, confiteri omnia & singula peccata mortalia, quorû memoria cû debitâ & diligenti præmeditatione habeatur, etiam occulta & quæ sunt contra duo ultima Decalogi præcepta, & circumstantias

quæ peccati speciem mutant: sed eam confessionem tantum esse utilem ad erudiendum & consolandum pœnitentem, & olim observatam fuisse tantum ad satisfactionem canonicam imponendam; *Et Anathema sit. Ibid. can. 7.*

Be it therefore knowne unto him, that no kinde of *Confession*, either publick or private, is disallowed by us, that is anie way requisite for the due execution of that ancient power of the Keyes which Christ bestowed upon his Church : the thing which wee reject, is that new pick-lock of *Sacramentall Confession*, obtruded upon mens consciences, as a matter necessarie to salvation, by the Canons of the late Conventicle of *Trent*. where those good Fathers put their curse upon everie one, that either shall <sup>a</sup> deny, that *Sacramentall confession* was ordayned by divine right, and is by the same right necessary to salvation : or shall <sup>b</sup> affirme, that in the *Sacrament of Penance* it is not by the ordinance of God necessary for the obtayning of the remission of sinnes, to confesse all and every one of those mortall sinnes, the memory whereof by due and diligent premeditation may be had ; even such as are hidden and be against the two last Commandments of the Decalogue, together with the circumstances which change the kinde of the sinne ; but that this confession is only profitable to instruct and comfort the penitent, and was anciently observed onely for the imposing of *Canonicall satisfaction*. This doctrine, I say, wee cannot but reject : as being repugnant to that which wee have

learned



learned both from the Scriptures and from the Fathers.

For in the Scriptures wee finde, that the confession which the penitent sinner maketh to God alone, hath the promise of forgivenesse annexed unto it : which no Priest upon earth hath power to make voyde, upon pretence that himselfe or some of his fellowes were not first particularly acquainted with the businesse. *c I c Psalm. 32. 5. acknowledged my sinne unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid : I said, I will confesse my transgressions unto the Lord ; and thou forgavest the iniquitie of my sinne.* And lest we should thinke that this was some peculiar privilege vouchsafed to *d the man who was raised up on high, d 2. Sam. 23. 1. the Anointed of the God of Iacob :* the same sweet Psalmist of Israel doth presently enlarge his note, and inferreth this generall conclusion thereupon. *c For this shall c Psalm. 32. 6. every one that is godly pray unto thee, in a time when thou mayest be found.* King Salomon, in his prayer for the people at the dedication of the Temple, treadeth just in his Fathers steps. If they turne (saith *f hee*) and pray *f 2. Chronic. 6. unto thee in the land of their captivity, saying ; Wee have 37. 39. sinned, we have done amisse, and have dealt wickedly : if 1. Kin. 8. 47, 50. they returne to thee with all their heart, and with all their soule ; &c. forgive thy people, which have sinned against thee, all their transgressions wherein they have transgressed against thee.* And the poore *g Publican* putting up *g Luk. 18. 13, 14. his supplication in the Temple accordingly [God bee mercifull to me a sinner,]* went back to his house justified ; without making confession to anie other ghostly Father, but onely *h the Father of Spirits.* of whom *S. h Hebr. 12. 9. Iohn* giveth us this assurance : that *i if wee confesse our i 1. Ioh. 1. 9. sinnes, he is faithfull and just, to forgive us our sinnes, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousnesse.* Which promise, that

k Nunc autem neque necessarium præsentibus testibus confiteri: cogitatione fiat delictorum exquisitio, absque teste sit hoc iudicium. Solus te Deus confidentem videat. *Chrysost. homil. de Penitent. & Confession. tom. 5 edit. Latin. col. 501. edit. Basil. an. 1558.*

Ι Διὶ τὸ το πᾶσι καλῶ καὶ διομῶ καὶ ἀντιβολῶ ὁμοῦ λογιῶνται συνήκῃ τῷ Θεῷ. ἔδῃ γὰρ εἰς διὰ τὸν σε αὐτῶν ὅτι σὺ αὐτῶν ὅτι σὺ αὐτῶν ὅτι σὺ αὐτῶν καλῶ καὶ διομῶ καὶ ἀντιβολῶ ὁμοῦ λογιῶνται συνήκῃ τῷ Θεῷ. ἔδῃ γὰρ εἰς διὰ τὸν σε αὐτῶν ὅτι σὺ αὐτῶν ὅτι σὺ αὐτῶν καλῶ καὶ διομῶ καὶ ἀντιβολῶ ὁμοῦ λογιῶνται συνήκῃ τῷ Θεῷ. ἔδῃ γὰρ εἰς διὰ τὸν σε αὐτῶν ὅτι σὺ αὐτῶν ὅτι σὺ αὐτῶν

τα, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν τὰ ῥήματα αἰτιῶσιν. Δείξον τῷ μὴ ὁρῶντι σε, ἀλλὰ διεκπεύοντι καὶ γὰρ σὺ σιγήσῃς, οἷον ἐκείνῳ ἅπαντα. *Id. circa finem homilie 5. ὅτι ἀνεπαλήπτε, de incomprehensib. Dei natur. tom. 6. edit. Grec. D. Hen. Savil. pag. 424. & tom. 5. pag. 262. 263.* m Μὴ ἀμαρτανῶδες καὶ ὁμολογῶντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα ἐκλογισάμενοι, καὶ εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἀναγγέλλοντες. Οὐ λέγω σοι, ἐκπομπῶσιν σαυτὸν. ἔδῃ παρὰ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας κατηγορήσῃς, ἀλλὰ περὶ δεξιῶν συμβουλιῶν τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ λέγῃς. Αὐτὸν ἀκούσον ὡς Κύριον τῷ ὅτι ἐν σοὶ ὅτι τῷ Θεῷ ταῦτα ὁμολογήσῃς, ὅτι τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τὸν ἵμωλόγησεν τὰ ἀμαρτήματα, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ μὴ τῷ γλαυφῷ, ἀλλὰ τῷ μύρῳ καὶ ὅτι τῷ Θεῷ ἰδὼν τῶν *Id. in epist. ad Hebr. cap. 12. homil. 31. tom. 4. Savil. pag. 589.*

that it appertained to such as did confesse their sinnes unto God, the ancient Fathers were so well assured of: that they cast in a maner all upon this Confession, and left little or nothing to that which was made unto man. Nay, they doe not onely leave it free for men, to confesse or not confesse their sinnes unto others (which is the most that we would have :) but some of them also seeme, in words at least, to advise men not to doe it at all; which is more then we seeke for.

S. *Chrysostome* of all others is most copious in this argument: some of whose passages to this purpose, I will here lay downe. *k It is not necessary* (saith he) *that thou shouldest confesse in the presence of witnesses: let the inquiry of thy offences bee made in thy thought, let this judgement be without a witnesse; let God onely see thee confessing.* *l* Therefore I intreat and beseech and pray you, that you would continually make your confession to God. For I doe not bring thee into the theater of thy fellow servants, neyther doe I constraine thee to discover thy sinnes unto men: unclaspe thy conscience before God, and shew thy wounds unto him, and of him aske a medicine. Shew them to him that will not reproach, but heale thee. For although thou hold thy peace, he knoweth all. *m* Let us not call our selves sinners onely, but let us recount our sinnes, and repeate every one of them in speciall. I doe not say unto thee, Bring thy selfe upon the stage, nor, Accuse thy selfe unto others: but I counsaile thee to obey the Prophet, say-

ing,



ing, Reveale thy way unto the Lord. Confesse them before God, confesse thy sinnes before the Iudge; praying, if not with thy tongue, yet at least with thy memory: and so looke to obtayne mercy. <sup>n</sup> But thou art ashamed to say, that thou hast sinned. Confesse thy faults then daily in thy prayer. For do I say; Confesse them to thy fellow-servant, who may reproach thee therewith? Confesse them to God, who healeth them. For, although thou confesse them not at all, God is not ignorant of them. <sup>o</sup> Wherefore then, tell me, art thou ashamed & blushest to confesse thy sinnes? For doest thou discover them to a man, that he may reproach thee? Doest thou confesse them to thy fellow servant, that he may bring thee upon the stage? To him who is thy Lord, who hath care of thee, who is kinde, who is thy physitian, thou shewest thy wound. <sup>p</sup> I constraine thee not, saith he, to go into the midst of the theater, and to make many witnessses of the matter. Confesse thy sin to me alone in privat, that I may heale thy sore, and free thee from griefe. <sup>q</sup> And this is not only wonderfull, that he forgiveth us our sinnes, but that he neither discovereth them, nor maketh them open and manifest, nor constraineth us to come forth in publike and disclose our misdemeanours; but commandeth us to give an account thereof unto him alone, and unto him to make confession of them.

Neyther doth S. Chrysostome here walke alone. That saying of S. Augustine is to the same effect: <sup>r</sup> What have I to doe with men, that they should heare my confessions, as though they should heale all my diseases?

σαι πολλὰς. Ἐμοὶ τὸ ἀμάρτημα εἰπὲς μόνον κατ' ἰδίαν, ἵνα θεραπεύω τὸ ἔλκος, καὶ ἀπαρδύξω τὸ ὕδους. Id. ibid. <sup>q</sup> Οὐ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μόνον ἐστὶ τὸ θαυμαστόν, ὅτι αἰσθάνηται ἡμῶν τὰ ἀμάρτηματα, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκκαλύπτει, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖ αὐτὰ φανερά καὶ δηλά, καὶ ἀναγκάζει παραλθόντας εἰς μέσον ἑξαιρετῶν τὰ πλημμελήματα. ἀλλ' αὐτῷ μόνον ὁπολογώμεθα καλῶς, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡχομολογήμεθα. Id. in A. id. ad pop. Antiochen. homil. 21. tom. 6. Saul. pag. 608. <sup>r</sup> Quid mihi ergo est cum hominibus ut audiant confessiones meas, quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos? Aug. Confess. lib. 10. cap. 3.

N

and

<sup>n</sup> Ἀλλ' αἰσχύνεται εἰπεῖν διὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τις. λέγει αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. καὶ τί; μὴ γὰρ λέγῃ, διὰ τὴν συνειδήσιν καὶ τὴν ἐνδοξασίαν, εἰπεῖν τῷ Θεῷ τὸ θεραπεύειν αὐτὰ. <sup>o</sup> γὰρ, λέγει μὴ εἰπεῖς ἀγνοεῖ αὐτὰ ὁ Θεός. Id. in Psalm. 50. hom. 2. tom. 1. Saul. pag. 708. <sup>p</sup> Τί γὰρ ἵπταν αἰσχύνει καὶ ἰσχυρίζεται, εἰπὲς μόνον τὰ ἀμάρτηματα εἰπεῖν; μὴ γὰρ ἀποδεδωκόμεθα ἡμῶν, ἵνα ἐκδοῖται ὁ Θεός; μὴ γὰρ τὴν συνειδήσιν ὁμολογῶντες, ἵνα ἐκπομπῶμεν τὴν διασότην, τὴν καὶ ἐμὸν, τὴν φιλαδελφίαν, τὴν ἐξ ἧς τὸ βασίλειον ὁμοδοξοῦται. Id. homil. 4. de Lazaro, tom. 5. Saul. pag. 258. <sup>r</sup> Οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον, ὅτι αὐτοὶ εἰς μέσον ἵνα θείνῃσι διὰ τὴν καὶ μαρτυρῶντες περὶ τῶν

f Confessionis  
autem causam  
addidit, dicens:  
Quia fecisti,  
autorem scilicet  
universita-  
tis hujus Do-  
minum esse cō-  
fessus; nulli  
alii docens cō-  
fitebū, quā  
qui fecit Olivā  
fructiferam spei  
misericordia in  
seculum seculi.  
*Hilar. in Psal. 51*

*1 Antiqu. lib.  
Canon. 6. 6. titu-  
lorum, MS. in  
Bibliotheca Cot-  
toniana.*

n Quis est qui  
non possit sup-  
pliciter dicere?  
Peccatum meū  
cognitum tibi  
feci, & injusti-  
tiam meam  
non operui ut  
per hanc con-  
fessionem etiā  
illud confiden-  
ter subungere  
mereatur: Et  
tu remisisti im-  
pietatem cor-  
dis mei. Quod

si verecundiā retrahente revelare ea coram hominibus erubescis, illi quem latere non pos-  
sunt, confiteri ea jugi supplicatione non desinas, ac dicere [Iniquitatem meam ego cogno-  
sco, & peccatum meum contra me est semper: tibi soli peccavi, & malum coram te feci:]  
qui & absq; ullius verecundiæ publicatione curare, & sine improprio peccata donare con-  
suevit. *Io. Cassian. Collat. 20. cap. 8.* x Attende quanta sit indulgentiæ vitalis velocitas, quan-  
ta misericordiæ Dei commendatio: ut confitentis desiderium comitetur venia, antequam ad  
cruciatum perveniat poenitentia; antè remissio ad cor perveniat, quā confessio in vocem  
erumpat. *Gregor. exposit. 2. Psal. Poenitentiaal.*

and that collection of S. Hilary upon the two last  
verses of the 52 Psalme, f that David there teacheth  
us to confesse to no other but unto the Lord, vvho hath  
made the Olive fruitfull with the mercy of hope ( or, the  
hope of mercie ) for ever and ever. and that advise of  
Pinuphius the AEgyptian Abbat ( which I finde also  
inserted amongst the Canons collected for the use of  
the Church of England, in the time of the Saxons;  
under the title, *De poenitentia soli Deo cōfitendā:* ) *Who*  
*is it that cannot humbly say? I made my sinne knowne*  
*unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. that by this*  
*confession he may confidently adjoyne that which follow-*  
*eth: And thou forgavest the impiety of my heart. But if*  
*shamefastnesse doe so draw thee backe, that thou blushest*  
*to reveale them before men: cease not by continuall sup-*  
*plication to confesse them unto him from whom they can-*  
*not be hid, and to say [I know mine iniquitie, and my sinne*  
*is against me alwayes; To thee onely have I sinned, and*  
*done evill before thee] whose custome is, both to cure with-*  
*out the publishing of any shame, and to forgive sinnes*  
*without upbraiding. S. Augustine, Cassiodor, and Grego-*  
*ry make a further observation upon that place of the*  
*32 Psalme: I said, I will confesse my transgressions unto*  
*the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sinne.*  
that God upon the onely promise and purpose of ma-  
king this confession, did forgive the sinne. Marke  
(saith x Gregory) how great the swiftnesse is of this vitall

*Indulgence,*



Indulgence, how great the commendation is of Gods mercy; that pardon should accompany the verie desire of him that is about to confesse, before that repentance doe come to afflict him; and remission should come to the heart, before that confession did break forth by the voice. So S. Basil, upon those other words of the Psalmist, I have roared by reason of the disquietnesse of my heart; (Psalm. 38. 8.) maketh this paraphrase. *y I do not confesse with my lips, that I may manifest my selfe unto many. but inwardly in my very heart, shutting mine eyes, to thee alone who seest the things that are in secret, doe I shew my groanes, roaring within my selfe. For the groanes of my heart sufficed for a confession, and the lamentations sent to thee my God from the depth of my soule.*

And as S. Basil maketh the groanes of the heart to be a sufficient confession: so doth S. Ambrose the teares of the penitent. Teares (saith <sup>a</sup> he) doe wash the sinne, which the voyce is ashamed to confesse. Weeping doth provide both for pardon and for shamesfastnesse: teares doe speake our fault without horror; teares doe confesse our crime without offence of our shamesfastnesse from whence, he that glosseth upon Gratian (who hath inserted these words of S. Ambrose into his collection of the Decrees) doth inferre; that <sup>a</sup> if for shame a man will not confesse, teares alone doe blot out his sinne. Maximus Taurinensis followeth S. Ambrose herein almost verbatim. The teare (saith <sup>b</sup> he) washeth the sinne, which the voyce is ashamed to confesse. Teares therefore doe equally provide both for our shamesfastnesse and for our health: they ney-

zur. Ambros. lib. 10. commentar. in Luc. cap. 22. a Vnde etsi propter pudorem nolit quis confiteri; solæ lachrymæ delent peccata. Gloss. de Pœnit. d. finit. 1. cap. 2. Lachrymæ b Lavat lachryma delictum, quod voce pudor est confiteri. Lachrymæ ergo verecundiæ confutunt pariter & salutis; nec erubescunt in petendo, & impetrant in rogando. Maxim. homil. de Pœnitent. Petri. Tom. 5. Biblioth. Patr. part. 1. pag. 31. edit. Colon.

c Deum sibi  
facilius placabunt illi, qui non humano cōvicti iudicio, sed ultro crimē agnoscunt: qui aut propriis illud confessionibus produnt, aut nescientibus aliis quales occulti sunt, ipsi in se voluntarie excommunicationis sententiam ferūt, & ab altari cui ministrabant, non animo sed officio separati, vitam tanquā mortuam plangunt; certi, quod reconciliato sibi efficacis pœnitentiæ fructibus Deo, non solum amissā recipiant, sed etiā cives supernæ civitatis effecti, ad gaudia sempiterna perveniant. *Prosper, de vitâ contemplativâ, lib. 2.*

cap. 7. d Si peccavero, etiam in quocunque minuto peccato, & consumit me cogitatio mea, & arguit me, dicens: Quare peccasti? quid faciam? Respondit senex: Quacunque horâ ceciderit homo in culpam, & dixerit ex corde, Domine Deus peccavi, indulge mihi; mox cessabit cogitationis vel tristitiæ illa consumptio. *Respons. Patr. Aegypt. à Paschasio diacono Latiné vers. cap. 11.*

ther blush in asking, and they obtaine in requesting. Lastly *Prosper*, speaking of sinnes committed by such as are in the ministry, writeth thus *c They shall more easily appease God, who being not convicted by humane judgement, doe of their owne accord acknowledge their offence: who eyther do discover it by their owne confessions, or others not knowing what they are in secret, doe themselves give sentence of voluntarie excommunication upon themselves, and being separated (not in minde, but in office). from the Altar to which they did minister, doe lament their life as dead; assuring themselves, that God being reconciled unto them by the fruits of effectuall repentance, they shall not onely receive what they have lost, but also being made citizens of that citie which is above, they shall come to everlasting joyes.* By this it appeareth, that the ancient Fathers did not thinke, that the remission of sinnes was so tyed unto externall confession, that a man might not looke for salvation from God, if hee concealed his faults from Man: but that inward contrition, and confession made to God alone, was sufficient in this case. Otherwise, neyther they nor wee do debarre men from opening their grievances unto the Physicians of their soules: eyther for their better information in the true state of their disease, or for the quieting of their troubled consciences, or for receiving further direction from them out of Gods word, both for the recoverie of their present sicknesse and for the prevention of the like danger in time to come.

*d If I shall sinne, although it be in anie small offence, and*



e Novit omnia Dominus, sed expectat vocē tuam; non ut puniat, sed ut ignoscat: non vult ut insultet tibi Diabolus, & celantē peccata tua arguat. Præveni accusatorem tuum: si te ipse accusaveris, accusatorem nulum timebis.

Ambr. de Pœni.  
sent. lib. 2. cap.

17.

f Λίγα σὺ τὰς ἀ-  
νομίας σου πρὸς τὴν  
ἐνὰ διχαίαν τῆς.

LXX. in Esa. 43.

26. *Proverb.*

10 17.  
 8 18 12

h *lum. 5. 16.*

இவ்வாறு நிகழிய

να ἀπὸς τὴν πα-

*(Faint handwritten notes at the bottom of the page)*

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय. १३-

τησον καὶ ἀπολεσθῶν

Ἰσοφύχων πίνθη

1. Βασιλῆα στα αριστερά  
 2. αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ παραθύρου

1850-1851

σ.υ. κ.υ. δαφλῆς τὸ δάκρυον, ἵνα μῖξω κ.υ. τὸ ἰμόν. λ.γ.β. κ.υ. τὸν ἰσὶα καινῶν τ' θλ.ψ.ως, ὡς πατίε. τίς γαρ δ. τως πατήρ ψευδόνουμ, ἢ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀδελφαιπ.ι.τ, ὡς μὰ σωμδ.υ.ρ.ι.δ.ω. τῆς τέχνος λυπαμένους, ε.τ.ε. δ.ε.ζ.ον. αὐτῶ ἀνιρθελῆς τὰ κακ.υ.μ.μ.έ.ν.α. γ.μ.ω.σ.σ.ι.τ.α. τ' ψυχῆς δ.ο.π.ί.ρ.τ.ω, ὡς ἐα.ρ.θ. π.ά.δ.ος δ.εικ.ν.υ.α.ι. κακ.α.λ.υ. μ.έ.ν.ο.ν. αὐ.τ.ῆς ἐπιμαλῆσται κ.υ. τῆς ἀρχ.μ.ω.σ.υ.ν.ῆς κ.υ. τῆς θ.ε.α.π.έ.λ.ας, Greg. Nyssen, de Panisens, in Operū Appendixe, edst. Paris. am. 1618. pag. 175. 176.

k Tantummo-  
dò circumspecte  
diligentiùs, cui  
debeas confite-  
ri peccatum  
tuum Proba  
prius medicum,  
cui debeas  
causam lan-  
guoris expone-  
re, qui sciat in-  
firmari cum in-  
firmante, flere  
cum flente, qui  
condolendi &  
compatiendi  
noverit disci-  
plinam: ut ita  
demum si quid  
ille dixerit, qui  
se prius & eru-  
ditum medicum  
ostenderit &  
misericordem,  
si quid consilii  
dederit, facias,  
& sequaris O-  
rigen. in Psal. 37.  
humil. 2.

Ι Η' ἰσαγορεύεις  
τὴν ἀμαρτίαν σου  
καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν λό-  
γον, οὗ ἐχεις ἐπι-  
δείξειν τὴν συμπα-  
ρίστασιν. ὡς  
εἰ ταῦτα ποῖς τὸ  
σώματι. ὅτι καὶ  
συνδοχὰς πλε-  
στονὶ ἀνθρώποις,  
εἴτε πῶς τυχεύῃ,  
ἀλλὰ πῶς ἐμαρ-  
τοῖς τῶς τῶν διασφαλείας. ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἰσαγορεύεις τῆς ἀμαρτίας σου γινώσκεις ὁρᾷς, ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει τῆς  
πύξης, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον. ὅμοιος οὖν δύναται, τὰ ἀδύνατα τῆς ἀδυνατίας βαστάζειν, τετίσι, ἀπὸ τῆς  
ἐπιμαχίας. Basil. in Regul. breviorib. resp. 229.

thy intirely affected brethren, to helpe thee unto libertie. Shew me thy bitter and aboundant teares, that I may also mingle mine therewith. Take likewise the Priest for a partner of thine affliction, as thy Father. For who is it that so falsely obtayneth the name of a father, or hath so adamantine a soule, that he will not condole with his sonns lamenting? Shew unto him without blushing the things that were kept close: discover the secrets of thy soule, as showing thy hidden disease unto thy physician. Hee will have care both of thy credit and of thy cure.

It was no part of his meaning to advise us, that wee should open our selves in this maner unto everie hedge-priest; as if there were a vertue generally annexed to the order, that upon confession made and absolution received from anie of that ranke, all should be straight made up: but he would have us communicate our case both to such Christian brethren, and to such a ghostly father, as had skill in physick of this kinde, and out of a fellow-feeling of our griefe, would apply themselves to our recoverie. Therefore, saith Origen, k looke about thee diligently, unto whom thou oughtest to confesse thy sinne. Try first the physician, unto whom thou oughtest to declare the cause of thy maladie, who knoweth to be weake with him that is weake, to weepe with him that weepeth, who understandeth the discipline of condoling and compassionating: that so at length, if hee shall say anie thing, who hath first shewed himselfe to be both a skilfull physician and a mercifull, or if he shall give anie counsaile, thou mayest doe and follow it. For, as S. Basil well noteth, <sup>1</sup>the verie same course is to be held in the

confession



confession of sinnes, which is in the opening of the diseases of the bodie. As men therefore do not discover the diseases of their bodie to all, nor to everie sort of people, but to those that are skilfull in the cure thereof: even so ought the confession of our sinnes be made, unto such as are able to cure them; according to that which is written. Yee that are strong, beare the infirmities of the weake, that is, take them away by your diligence. He requireth care and diligence in performance of the cure: being ignorant (good man) of that new compendious method of healing, invented by our Romane Paracelsians, whereby a man<sup>m</sup> in confession of attrite is made contrite by vertue of the keyes; that the sinner need put his ghostly father to no further trouble then this. *Speake the word onely, and I shall be healed.* And this is that Sacramentall confession, devised of late by the Priests of Rome: which they notwithstanding would faine father upon S. Peter, from whom the Church of Rome (as they would have us beleeve) received this instruction. *n that if envie, or infidelitie, or anie other evill did secretly creepe into anie mans heart, hee who had care of his owne soule should not be ashamed to confesse those things unto him who had the oversight over him; that by Gods word and wholesome counsaile, he might be cured by him.* And so indeed we reade in the apocryphall epistle of Clement, pretended to be written unto S. Iames the brother of our Lord: where in the severall editions of Crab, Sychardus, Venradius, Surius, Nicolinus, and Binius, wee finde this note also laid downe in the margent; *Nota de confessione sacramentali, Marke this of sacramentall confession.* But their owne ° Maldonat would have

m Secundum Archiepisc. imò sanctum Thomam, & alios Theologos, in confessione fit quis de attrito contritus, virtute clavium. Summa Sylvestrina: de Confess Sacramental. ca. 1. sect. 1. n Quòd si forte alicujus cor vel livor, vel infidelitas, vel aliquod malum latenter irrepserit; non erubescat, qui animæ suæ curam gerit, confiteri hæc huic qui præst, ut ab ipso per verbū Dei & consilium salubre

curetur. Clem. epist. 1. ° Maldonat. Disputat. de Sacrament. tom. 2. de Confessionis origine cap. 2.

taught

p Si peccatum  
ejus non solum  
in gravi ejus  
malo, sed etiā  
in tanto scan-  
dalo est aliorū,  
atque hoc ex-  
pedire utilitati  
Ecclesiæ vide-  
tur Antistiti,  
in notitiā mul-  
torum, vel etiā  
totius plebis a-  
gere pœniten-  
tiam non recu-  
set, non resistat,  
non lethali &  
mortiferæ pla-  
gæ per pudorē  
addat tumore.  
*August. in lib.  
de Pœnitentiā:  
quæ postrema est  
homilia ex 50.  
in 10. Tom.*  
q Nemo sibi  
dicat, Occulté  
ago, apud Deū  
ago; novit De-  
us qui mihi ig-  
noscit, quia in  
corde ago. Er-  
go sine causā  
dictum est;

Quæ solveritis in terrā, soluta erunt in cœlo? Ergo sine causā sunt claves datæ Ecclesiæ Dei? Frustramus Evangelium Dei: frustramus verba Christi? Promittimus vobis quod ille negat? Nōne vos decipimus? Iob dicit: Si erubui in conspectu populi confiteri peccata mea. Talis justus thesauri divini obryzi, tali camino probatus, ista dicit: & resistit mihi filius pestilentia, & erubescit genu figere sub benedictione Dei? Quod non erubuit Imperator, erubescit nec senator, sed tantum curialis? Superba cervix, mens tortuosa. fortassis, imò quod non dubitatur, propterea Deus voluit ut Theodosius Imperator ageret pœnitentiam publicam in conspectu populi, maxime quia peccatum ejus celari non potuit: & erubescit Senator, quod non erubuit Imperator? erubescit nec Senator, sed tantum curialis, quod nō erubuit Imperator? Erubescit plebeius sive negotiator, quod nō erubuit Imperator? Quæ ista superbia est? Nōne sola sufficeret gehēnæ, etiamsi adulteriū nullū esset, *Id. h. m. 49. ex 50. ca. 3.*

unto

taught them, that this note was not worth the marking: forasmuch as the proper end of sacramentall confession, is the obtayning of remission of sinnes, by vertue of the keyes of the Church; whereas the end of the confession here said to be commended by S. Peter, was the obtayning of counsaile out of Gods word for the remedie of sinnes. which kinde of medicinall confession wee well approve of, and acknowledge to have beene ordinarily prescribed by the ancient Fathers for the cure of secret sinnes.

For as for notorious offences, which bred open scandall, private confession was not thought sufficient: but there was further required publick acknowledgement of the fault, & the solemne use of the keyes for the reconciliation of the penitent. p *If his sin do not only redound to his own evill, but also unto much scandall of others, and the Bishop thinketh it to be expedient for the profit of the Church, let him not refuse to performe his penance in the knowledge of manie or of the whole people also, let him not resist, let him not by his shamefastnesse add swelling to his deadly and mortall wound: saith S. Augustine.* and more largely in another place; where he meeteth with the objection, of the sufficiencie of internall repentance, in this maner. q *Let no man say*



unto himselfe : I doe it secretly, I doe it before God ; God who pardoneth me doth know, that I doe it in my heart. Is it therefore said without cause ; Whatsoever you shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven ? Are the keyes therefore without cause given unto the Church of God ? Doe we frustrate the Gospell of God ? doe we frustrate the words of Christ ? Doe we promise that to you which hee denieth you ? Doe we not deceive you ? Iob saith : If I was abashed to confesse my sinnes in the sight of the people. So just a man of Gods rich treasure, who was tried in such a furnace, saith thus : and doth the childe of pestilence withstand me, and is ashamed to bow his knee under the blessing of God ? That which the Emperour was not ashamed to doe, is he ashamed of, who is not as much as a Senator, but only a simple Courtier ? O proud neck, o crooked minde ! perhaps, nay it is not to be doubted, it was for this reason God would that Theodosius the Emperour should doe publick penance in the sight of the people, especially because his sinne could not be concealed : and is a Senator ashamed of that, whereof the Emperour was not ashamed ? is he ashamed of that who is no Senator, but a Courtier onely, whereof the Emperour was not ashamed ? Is one of the vulgar sort, or a trader ashamed of that, whereof the Emperour was not ashamed ? What pride is this ? Were not this alone sufficient to bring them to hell, although no adultery had beene committed ? Thus farre S. Augustine, concerning the necessitie of publike Repentance for knowne offences : which being in tract of time disused in some places, long after this, the Bishops of France, by the assistance of Charles the great, caused it to be brought in use againe, according to the order of the olde Canons.

1 Concil. Arelat.  
IV. cap. 26 &  
Cabilonens. II.  
cap. 25.

Neither is it here to be omitted, that in the time of  
O the

the more ancient Fathers this strict discipline was not so restrained to the censure of publicke crimes; but that private transgressions also were sometimes drawn within the compasse of it. For whereas at first, publicke confession was enjoyned onely for publicke offences: men afterwards, discerning what great benefit redounded to the penitents thereby, (aswell for the subduing of the stubburnesse of their hard hearts, and the furthering of their deeper humiliation; as for their raising up againe by those sensible comforts which they received by the publicke prayes of the Congregation, and the use of the keyes) some men, I say, discerning this, and finding their owne consciences burdened with the like sinnes, which being carried in secrecie, were not subject to the censures of the Church; to the end they might obtaine the like consolation and quiet of minde, did voluntarily submit themselves to the Churches discipline herein, and undergoe the burden of publick Confession and Penance. This appeareth by *Origen* in his second Homily upon the 37 Psalme, *Tertullian* in his booke *de Pœnitentiâ*, chap. 9. *S. Cyprian* in his Treatise *de Lapsis*, sect. 23. (or 11. according to *Pamelius* his distinction) *S. Ambrose* in his first booke *de Pœnitentiâ*, chap. 16. and others. And to the end that this publication of secret faults might be performed in the best maner: some prudent Minister was first of all made acquainted therewith; by whose direction the delinquent might understand what sinnes were fit to be brought to the publick notice of the Church, and in what maner the penance was to be performed for them. Therefore did *Origen* advise (as wee heard) that one should use great care in making choyce of a good and skilfull phylician, to whom hee should



should disclose his griefe in this kinde. and *if hee understand* (saith he) *and foresee that thy disease is such as ought to be declared in the assembly of the whole Church, and cured there, whereby peradventure both others may be edified, and thou thy selfe more easily healed; with much deliberation, and by the very skilfull counsaile of that physician, must this be done.*

But within a while (shortly after the persecution raysed in the dayes of *Decius* the Emperour) it was no longer left free to the Penitent to make choyce of his ghostly father: but by the generall consent of the Bishops it was ordayned, that in every Church one certaine discreet Minister should be appointed to receive the confessions of such as relapsed into sinne after Baptisme. This is that addition, which *Socrates* in his Ecclesiasticall historie noteth to have beene then made unto the Penitentiall Canon; and to have beene observed by the governours of the Church for a long time: untill at length in the time of *Nectarius* Bishop of Constantinople (which was about c x l. yeares after the persecution of *Decius*) upon occasion of an infamy drawne upon the Clergie by the confession of a Gentlewoman, defiled by a Deacon in that citie, it was thought fit it should be abolished, and that<sup>u</sup> libertie should be given unto everie one, upon the private examination of his owne conscience, to resort to the holy Communion. Which was agreeable both to the rule of the Apostle, 1. Cor. 11. 28. (*Let a man examine himselfe, and so let him eat of that bread and drinke of that cup:*) and to the judgement of the more ancient Fathers, as appeareth by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who accounteth a mans owne conscience to be his<sup>x</sup> best director in this case. howsoever our new Masters of

Si intellexerit, & praeviderit talem esse languorem tuum qui in conventu totius Ecclesiae exponi debeat, & curari, ex quo fortassis & caeteri edificari poterunt, & tu ipse facile sanari: multa hoc deliberatione, & satis perito medici illius consilio procurandum est. *Origen in Psal. 37. homil. 2.*

Οἱ ἐπισκοποι τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τοὺς τὸν π. 10. οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ μεταβολῇ προέδωκεν. *Socrat. hist. lib. 5. cap. 19.*

ὁ συγχωρεῖται τὸν ἁγίου τοῦ ἱεροῦ συνελθόντος τῆς μυστηρίου μετέχει. *Socrat. ibid.*

ὁ συγχωρεῖται τὸν ἁγίου, ὡς ἂν ἑαυτὸν συνείδειν καὶ διαφέρειν δυνάτω, καὶ ἡγεῖν τῆς μυστηρίου. *Socr. lib. 7. histor. cap. 16.*

Αἰεὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν ἀκριβῆς αἰρεῖται πρὸς τὸν ἁγίου καὶ τὸν ἁγίου. *Clem. Alexandr. lib. 1. Strom.*

y Concil. Tridat.  
 Sess. 13. Can. 11.  
 2 ἀκριβέστερον  
 ἐκείνου ἡκούσθη, καὶ  
 τότε προσέτιτο. καὶ  
 εἰς τὴν νύκτα  
 καλῶς ἐκμετρίσας,  
 αὐτὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνου,  
 ἀπομνημονεύων τοῦ  
 αἵματος τοῦ ἰ-  
 λείου. Chrysost.  
 in 1. Cor. 11.  
 homil. 28.  
 α. Εἰδὼς ὡς τὸ  
 σωεῖσθαι μὴ δέ-  
 νει παρ. νύκτα,  
 πάλιν τὸ πρῶτον  
 ἐκείνου. Θ. 5.  
 ποιεῖ τὸν κατὰ  
 τὴν ἡμέραν  
 ἐκείνου. Ἰ. 1. 1. 1.  
 καὶ πάντα τὰ ἑὸν  
 ἀναμνησκόμενος,  
 ὡς τὸν κατὰ  
 τὴν ἡμέραν τὸν αἵ-  
 ματινόν, διὰ τοῦ  
 τοῦ πλημμελῆ-  
 ματος, καὶ ὡς τὸ  
 μὴ εὐχαρίστων  
 εὐχαρίστων. τὰς  
 ἱερὰς ἀφ᾽ ὧν τὰς  
 πύλας, καὶ τὰς ἀγίας  
 μέγας θυλάκας. Id.  
 tom. 6. Saz. il.  
 pag. 837.  
 β. Εἰ δὲ ἡγούμενος  
 τοῦ φαύλου πολλὰ  
 περιηρασμένος,  
 εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν  
 πάλιν τὸν κατὰ  
 τὴν ἡμέραν εἰ-  
 ρην. Id. in fine  
 dom. 82 in Matt.  
 edis. Grec. vol. 83  
 2. 1. 1.

y Trent have not onely determined that sacramentall  
*Confession must necessarily be premised* before the recey-  
 ving of the Eucharist; but also have pronounced  
 them to be excommunicate *ipso facto*, that shall pre-  
 sume to teach the contrarie.

The case then (if these mens censures were ought  
 worth) would goe hard with *Nectarius*, and all the Bi-  
 shops that followed him; but especially with *S. Iohn*  
*Chrysostom*, who was his immediat successor in the See  
 of Constantinople. for thus doth hee expound that  
 place of the Apostle: *Let every one examine himselfe,*  
*and then let him come.* He doth not bid one man to exa-  
 mine another, but every one himselfe; making the judge-  
 ment private, and the tryall without witnesses. and in the  
 end of his second homily of *Fasting* (which in others  
 is the eighth *de Pœnitentiâ*) frameth his exhortation  
 accordingly. *a Within thy conscience, none being pre-*  
*sent but God who seeth all things, enter thou into judge-*  
*ment and into a search of thy sinnes, and recounting thy*  
*whole life, bring thy sinnes unto judgement in thy minde:*  
*reforme thy excesses, and so with a pure conscience draw*  
*neare to that sacred Table, and partake of that holy sacri-*  
*fice.* Yet in another place hee deeply chargeth Mini-  
 sters, not to admit knowne offenders unto the Com-  
 munion. But *b if one* (saith hee) *be ignorant that hee is*  
*an evill person, after that hee hath used much diligence*  
*thercin, he is not to be blamed.* for these things are spoken  
 by me of such as are knowne. And we finde both in him,  
 and in the practise of the times following, that the or-  
 der of publick Penance was not wholly taken away;  
 but according to the ancient discipline established by  
 the Apostles in the Church, open offenders were open-  
 ly censured and pressed to make publick confession of  
 their



their faults. Whereby it is manifest, that the libertie brought in by *Nectarius*, of not resorting to any Penitentiarie, respected the disclosing of secret sinnes only; such as that foule one was, from whence the publick scandall arose, which gave occasion to the repeale of the former Constitution. For to suffer open and notorious crimes, committed in the Church, to passe without controule, was not a meane to prevent but to augment scandalls; nay the readie way, to make the house of God become a denne of theeves.

Two observations more I will adde upon this part of the historie. The one: that the abrogation of this Canon sheweth, that the forme of Confession used by the ancient, was *Canonical*, that is, appertayning to that externall discipline of the Church which upon just occasion might be altered; and not *Sacramentall*, and of perpetuall right, which is that our Iesuites stand for. The other: that the course taken herein by *Nectarius*, was not onely approved by *S. Chrysostome*, who succeeded him at Constantinople; but generally in a manner by the Catholick Bishops of other places. howsoever the *Arrians*, and the rest of the sectaries (the *Novations* onely excepted, who from the beginning would not admit the discipline used in the Church for the reconciliation of Penitents) retained still the former usage. as by the relation of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* more fully may appeare. And therefore when within some *xxi. yeares* after the time wherein they finished their histories, and about *lxx.* after that the publication of secret offences began to be abolished by *Nectarius*, certaine in Italy did so doe their penance, that they caused a writing to be publickly read, containing a profession of their severall sinnes: *Leo*, who at that time was Bi-

c. *ἐπιμελὴς ἐστὶν  
δὲ καὶ ἐν πά-  
σι ἐπισημασι. So-  
zom. lib. 7. cap.  
16.*

d Ne de singu-  
lorum peccato-  
rum genere li-  
bellis scripta  
professio pub-  
licè recitetur :  
cùm reatus cō-  
scientiarum  
sufficiat solis  
sacerdotibus  
indicari con-  
fessione secretā.  
Quamvis enim  
plenitudo fidei  
videatur esse  
laudabilis, quæ  
propter Dei  
timorem apud  
homines cru-  
bescere non ve-  
retur : tamen  
quia non om-  
nium huiusmo-  
di sunt pecca-  
ta, ut ea, quæ  
pœnitentiam  
poscunt, non  
timeant publi-  
care, removea-  
tur tam impro-  
babilis consue-  
tudo ; ne multi  
à pœnitentiæ  
remediis arce-  
antur, dum aut  
erubescunt, aut  
metuunt ini-  
micis suis sua  
facta referare,  
quibus possint  
legum consti-  
tutione percel-  
li. Sufficit enim illa confessio, quæ primùm Deo offertur, tum etiam Sacerdoti, qui pro  
delictis pœnitentium precatior accedit. Tunc enim demùm plures ad pœnitentiā poterunt  
provocari si populi auribus non publicetur conscientia confitentis. *Leo, epist. 80. ad Episcopos  
Campaniæ, Samnii & Piceni.*

shop of Rome, gave order, that by all meanes d that  
course should be broken off; forasmuch as it was suffi-  
cient, that the guilt of mens consciences should be declared  
in secret confession to the Priests alone. For although (saith  
he) the fulnesse of faith may seeme to be laudable, vvhich  
for the feare of God doth not feare to blush before men : yet  
because all mens sinnes are not of that kinde, that they may  
not feare to publish such of them as require repentance, let  
so inconvenient a custome be removed; lest many be dri-  
ven away from the remedies of repentance, vvhile eyther  
they are ashamed, or afraid to disclose their deedes unto  
their enemies, whereby they may be drawne within the pe-  
rill of the lawes. For that confession is sufficient, which is  
offered first unto God, and then unto the Priest, who com-  
meth as an intercessor for the sinnes of the penitent. For  
then at length more may be provoked to repentance, if  
that the conscience of him who confesseth be not published  
to the eares of the people.

By this place of *Leo* we may easily understand, how  
upon the removeall of publick Confession of secret  
faults (together with the private made unto the Peni-  
tentiarie, which was adjoyned as a preparative there-  
unto) Auricular confession began to be substituted in  
the roome thereof : to the end, that by this meanes  
more might be drawne on to this exercise of repen-  
tance; the impediments of *shame* and *feare*, which ac-  
companied the former practise, being taken out of the  
way. for indeed the shame of this publick Penance was  
such, that in the time of *Tertullian* (when this discipline  
was thought most needefull for the Church) it was

strongly



strongly presumed, that many did eyther shunne this worke as a publication of themselves, or deferred it from day to day, being more mindefull (as hee saith) of their shame than of their salvation. Nay S. Ambrose observed that some, who for feare of the punishment in the other world, being conscious to themselves of their sinnes, did here desire their penance, & were yet for shame of their publick supplication drawne back, after they had received it. Therefore the conjecture of g Rhenanus is not to be condemned, that from this publick confession, the private tooke his originall: which by Stapleton, (in his Forresse, part. 2. chap. 4.) is positively delivered in this maner. Afterward this open and sharpe penance was brought to the private and particular confession now used; principally for the lewdnesse of the common lay Christians, which in this open confession began at length to mocke and insult at their brethrens simplicity and devotion. although it may seeme by that which is written by h Orogen, that the seeds of this lewdnesse began to sprout long before; howsoever i Tertullian imagined, that no member of the Church would be so ungracious as to commit such folly.

The publick confession therefore of secret sinnes being thus abolished, by Nestarius first (for the scandall that came thereby unto others) and by the rest of the

tullianum de clanculariâ istâ admissorum confessione nihil locutum: quæ, quantum conjicimus, nata est ex istâ Exomologesi per ultroneam hominum pietatem, ut occultorum peccatorum esset & Exomologesis occulta. Nec enim usquàm præceptam olim legimus. B. Rhenan. argument. in lib. Tertullian. de Pœnitent. h Si ergo hujusmodi homo memor delicti sui, confiteatur quæ commisit, & humanâ confusione parvi pendat eos qui exprobrant eum confitentem, & notant vel irrident: &c. Origen. in Psalm. 37. homil. 2. i Certè periculum ejus tunc si fortè onerosum est, cum penes insultaturos in risiloquio consistit, ubi de alterius ruinâ alter attollitur, ubi prostrato superascenditur. Cæterum inter fratres atque conservos, ubi communis spes, metus, gaudium, dolor, passio: quid tuos aliud quàm te opinaris? Quid consortes casuum tuorum, ut plausores fugis? Non potest corpus de unius membri vexatione lætum agere: Tertullian. de Pœnitent. cap. 9.

e Plerosque tamen hoc opus ut publicatione sui aut suffugere, aut de die in diem differre, præsumo; pudoris magis memores quàm salutis. Tertull. de Pœnit. cap. 9.

f Nam plerique futuri supplicii metu, peccatorum suorum conscii, pœnitentiam petunt: & cum acceperint, publicæ supplicationis revocantur pudore. Hi videntur malorum petisse pœnitentiam, agere bonorum. Ambr. de pœnitent. lib. 2. cap. 9.

g Porro non aliam ob causam compluribus hic testimoniis usi sumus, quàm ne quis admiretur Tertullianum.

k Appellamus  
istam legem, si  
placet, tempo-  
ralem, quæ  
quamvis iusta  
sit, commutari  
tamen per tem-  
pora iustè po-  
test. *August. de  
lib. arbitr. lib. 1.  
cap. 6.*

l Post Baptis-  
ma, remedium  
tuum in teipso  
statuit, remissi-  
onem in arbi-  
trio tuo posuit,  
ut non quæras  
Sacerdotē cum  
necessitas fla-  
gitaverit: sed  
ipse jam ac-  
scitus perspicu-  
usque magi-  
ster, errorem  
tuum intra te  
emendes, &  
peccatum tuū  
pœnitentia  
abluas. *Laur.  
Novar. tom. 6.  
Biblioth. Patr.  
part. 1. pag. 337.  
æ. edit. Colon.*

m Σε δίδωκε  
τις ἐξουσίαν τῇ  
ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡλίου.

σαυτὸν ἰδόντας τῇ σειρᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, σαυτὸν λύσει τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς φιλοπρωχίας. σαυτὸν ἰδόντας τῇ ὁ-  
γρῶν τῇ ἰδόντας, σαυτὸν λύσει τῇ σαρκοφύῃ. σαυτὸν ἰδόντας τῇ εὐνομίᾳ κακοπιστίας, σαυτὸν λύσει τῇ τῇ ὁ-  
δοδοξίας δουλείᾳ. *Author homilia in illud; Quæcunque ligaveritis &c. inter opera Chrysostomi,  
tom. 7. edit. Savil. pag. 268.*

Catholick Bishops after him ( for the reproach and danger, whereunto the penitents by this meanes were layd open :) private Confession was so brought in to supply the defect thereof, that it was accounted no more sacramentall, nor esteemed ( at least generally ) to be of more necessitie for the obtayning of remission of sinnes, then that other. So that whatsoever order afterward was taken herein, may well be judged to have had the nature of a temporall law, which, according to the definition of S. Augustine, <sup>k</sup> although it be just, yet in time may be justly also changed. Nay we finde that Lawrence Bishop of Novaria, in his homily de Pœnitentiâ, doth resolutely determine, that for obtayning remission of sinnes, a man needeth not to resort unto anie Priest, but that his owne internall repentance is sufficient for that matter: God (saith <sup>l</sup> hee) after Baptisme hath appoynted thy remedy within thy selfe, hee hath put remission in thine owne power, that thou needest not seeke a Priest when thy necessity requireth; but thou thy selfe now, as a skilfull and plaine master, mayest amend thine error within thy selfe, & wash away thy sin by repentance. <sup>m</sup> He hath given unto thee (saith another, somewhat to the same purpose) the power of binding and loosing. Thou hast bound thy selfe with the chayn of the love of wealth; loose thy selfe with the injunction of the love of povertie. Thou hast bound thy selfe with the furious desire of pleasures; loose thy selfe with temperance. Thou hast bound thy selfe with the misbeleefe of Eunomius; loose thy selfe with the religious embracing of the right faith.

And,



And, that wee may see how variable mens judgments were touching the matter of Confession in the ages following : *Bede* would have us <sup>n</sup> confesse our daily & light sinnes one unto another, but open the uncleanness of the greater leprosie to the Priest. *Alcuinus*, not long after him, would have us <sup>o</sup> confesse all the sinnes that we can remember. Others were of another minde. For some (as it appeareth by the writings of the same *p Alcuinus* and of *q Haymo*) would not confesse their sinnes to the Priest; but <sup>r</sup> said, it was sufficient for them that they did confesse their sinnes to God alone, provided alwayes that they ceased from those sinnes for the time to come. Others confessed their sinnes unto the Priests, but not fully <sup>f</sup> : as may be seene in the Councell of *Cauailon*, held in the dayes of *Charles* the great. where, though the Fathers thinke that this had need to be amended: yet they freely acknowledge, that it remained still a question, whether men should only confesse to God, or to the Priests also; and they themselves put this difference betwixt both those confessions, that the one did properly serve for the cure, the other for direction in what sort the repentance (and so the cure) should be performed. Their words are these. <sup>t</sup> Some

<sup>n</sup> In hac sententiâ illa debet esse discretio; ut quotidiana leuiusque peccata alterutrum coequalibus confiteamur, eorumque quotidianâ credamus oratione saluari. Porro gravioris lepræ immunditiâ juxta legem sacerdoti pandamus, atque ad ejus arbitrium qualiter & quanto tempore jusserit, purificari curemus. *Bed. in Iacob. 5.*  
<sup>o</sup> Volens dimittere omnia his qui in se peccaverunt, confiteatur omnia peccata sua, quæ recordari potest. *Alcuin. de divin.*

*offic. cap. 13* in capite Iejunii. *p Id. epist. 26.* *q Haymo in Evangel. Domini. 15. post Pentecost.* Itē ostēdite vos Sacerdotib. <sup>r</sup> Dicentes, sibi sufficere, ut soli Deo peccata sua confiteantur; si tantum ab ipsis peccatis in reliquo cessent. *Haymo, ut supra.* <sup>f</sup> Sed & hoc emendatione egere perspeximus, quod quidā dū cōfitentur peccata sua sacerdotibus, non plenē id faciūt. *Concil. C. bilon. II. cap. 32.* <sup>t</sup> Quidā solummodò Deo cōfiteri debere dicūt peccata, quidā verò Sacerdotibus confitēda esse percensent: quod utrūque non sine magno fructu intra sanctam sit Ecclesiā ita duntaxat, ut & Deo, qui remissor est peccatorū, confiteamur peccata nostra; (& cum David dicamus: Delictū meū cognitū tibi feci, & injustitiā meam non abscondi. Dixi, Cōfitebor adversum me injustitias meas Domino, & tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei.) et secundum institutionē Apostoli, cōfiteamur alterutrū peccata nostra, & oremus pro invicem ut salvenur. Confessio itaque quæ Deo fit, purgat peccata: ea verò quæ Sacerdoti fit, docet qualiter ipsa purgetur peccata. Deus namq; salutis & sanitatis author & largitor, plerūque hāc præbet suæ potētiae invisibili administratione, plerūque Medicorū operatione. *Ibid. cap. 33*

P

say,

say, that they ought to confesse their finnes onely unto God, and some thinke that they are to be confessed unto the Priests: both of which, not without great fruit, is practised within the holy Church. namely thus, that wee both confesse our finnes unto God, who is the forgiver of finnes (saying with David: I acknowledged my sinne unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confesse against my selfe my transgressions unto the Lord: and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sinne.) and according to the institution of the Apostle, confesse our finnes one unto another, and pray one for another, that we may be healed. The Confession therefore which is made unto God, purgeth sins: but that which is made unto the Priest, teacheth in what sort those finnes should be purged. For God the author and bestower of salvation and health, giveth the same sometime by the invisible administration of his power, sometime by the operation of Physicians.

u *Grat. de Penit. distinct. 1. cap. ult. Quidā Deo.*

x *Quidā Deo solummodō cōfiteri debere peccata dicūt, ut Græci: quidā verō Sacerdotibus cōfitenda esse percensent, ut tota ferē sancta Ecclesia. Ibid.*

y *Videtur irrepsisse in textum ex margine: & marginalem annotationem imperiti alicujus fuisse, qui ex facto Nestarii collegit sublatam omnino Confessionem Sacramentalem apud Græcos.*

Nam alioqui in ipso capitulari Theodori, unde canon ille descriptus est, non habentur duæ illæ voces [ut Græci,] neque etiam habentur in Concilio II. Cabilonensi, c. 33. unde Theodorus Capitulum illud accepisse videtur: sed nec Magister Sentent. in 4. lib. dist. 17. eandem sententiam adducens, addidit illud, [ut Græci,] *Belarmine. de Penitent. lib. 3. cap. 5.*

This Canon is cyted by <sup>u</sup> Gratian out of the Penitentiall of *Theodorus* Archbishop of Canterbury: but clogged with some unnecessarie additions. as when in the beginning thereof it is made the <sup>x</sup> opinion of the Grecians, that finnes should be confessed onely unto God; and of the rest of the Church, that they should be confessed to Priests. where those words, *ut Græci*, in *Gratian* seeme unto Cardinall *Bellarmino*, y to have crept out of the margent into the text; and to have beene a marginall annotation of some unskilfull man, who gathered by the fact of *Nectarius*, that Sacramentall Confession was wholly taken away among the Grecians. For other-



wise (saith hee) in the Capitular it selfe of Theodorus, whence that Canon was transcribed, those two words [ut Graci] are not to be had; nor are they also to be had in the second Councell of Canaillon, c. 33. whence Theodorus seemeth to have taken that chapter: neyther yet doth the Master of the Sentences, in his 4. booke and 17. distinction bringing in the same sentence, adde those words [ut Graci.] But the Cardinalls conjecture of the translating of these words out of the margent into the text of Gratian, is of little worth: seeing wee finde them expressly laid downe in the elder collections of the Decrees, made by <sup>z</sup> Burchardus and <sup>a</sup> Ivo; from whence it is evident that Gratian borrowed this whole chapter, as he hath done manie a one beside. For as for the Capitular it selfe of Theodorus, whence the Cardinall too too boldly affirmeth that Canon was transcribed; as if hee had looked into the booke himselfe: we are to know, that no such Capitular of Theodorus is to be found: onely Burchardus and Ivo, (in whom, as we said, those controverted words are extant) setteth downe this whole chapter as taken out of Theodors Penitentiall, & so misguided Gratian. for indeed in Theodorus his Penitentiall (which I did lately transcribe out of a most ancient copie kept in Sir Robert Cottons Threasure) no part of that chapter can be seene: nor yet any thing else tending to the matter now in hand, this short sentence onely excepted. *Confessionem suam Deo soli, si necesse est, licebit agere. It is lawfull, that Confession be made unto God alone, if need require.* And to suppose as the Cardinall doth, that Theodorus should take this chapter out of the second Councell of Canaillon: were an idle imagination. seeing it is well knowne that Theodore died Archbishop of Canterbury in the yeare of

<sup>z</sup> Burchard. Decret. lib. 19 cap. 145.  
<sup>a</sup> Ivo Decret. part. 15. cap. 155.

b *Addit. 3. cap. 31. edit. Pithet, & Lindenbrogij.*  
 c *Vtrum sufficiat peccata confiteri soli Deo, an oporteat confiteri Sacerdoti. Quibusdam visum est sufficere, si soli Deo fiat confessio sine iudicio Sacerdotali & confessione ecclesiae. quia David dixit; Dixi Confitebor Domino, &c. non ait, Sacerdoti: & tamen remissum sibi peccatum dicit. Petr. Lombard. lib. 4. Sentent. dist. 17.*  
 d *In his enim etiam docti diversa sentire inveniuntur: quia super his varia ac penè adversa tradidisse videntur doctores. Ibid.*  
 e *Quibus auctoritatibus, vel quibus rationū firmamentis utraque sententia innitatur, in medium breviter exposuimus. Cui autem harum potius adhaerendum sit, lectoris iudicio reservatur. Utraque enim fautores habet sapientes, & religiosos viros. De Paris. dist. 1. cap. 39. Quamvis.*

our Lord 690: and the Councell of *Canaillon* was held in the yeare 813. that is, 123. yeares after the others death. The truth is; hee who made the additions to the *Capitularia* of *Charles* the great and *Ludovicus Pius*, (gathered by *Ansegisus* and *Benedict*) translated this Canon out of that Councell into his *b* Collection: which *Bellarmino*, as it seemeth, having someway heard of, knew not to distinguish between those *Capitularia*, and *Theodors Penitentiall*. being herein as negligent, as in his allegation of the fourth book of the *Sentences*: where the Master doth not bring in this sentence at all, but having among other questions propounded this also for one, *c* *Whether it be sufficient that a man confesse his sinnes to God alone, or whether hee must confesse to a Priest*; doth thereupon set down the diversitie of mens opinions touching that matter, and saith, that unto some it seemed to suffice, if confession were made to God onely without the judgement of the Priest or the confession of the Church. because David said; I said, I will confesse unto the Lord: he saith not, Vnto the Priest; and yet he sheweth that his sinne was forgiven him. For in these points, as the same author had before noted, *d* even the learned were found to hold diversly: because the Doctors seemed to deliver diverse and almost contrarie judgements therein.

The diverse sentences of the Doctors touching this question, whether externall confession were necessarie or not, are at large layd downe by *Gratian*: who in the end, leaveth the matter in suspense, and concludeth in this maner. *e* *Vpon what authorities, or upon what*

strength



strength of reasons both these opinions are grounded, I have briefly layd open. But to whether of them wee should rather cleave to, is reserved to the judgement of the reader. For both of them have for their favourers both wise and religious men. And so the matter rested undetermined 1150. yeares after Christ: howsoever the Romane Correctors of Gratian doe tell us, that now the case is altered, and that <sup>f</sup> it is most certaine, and must be held for most certaine, that the sacramentall confession of mortall sinnes is necessary, used in that maner, and at such time, as in the Councell of Trent after other Councels it is appointed. But the first Councell, wherein we finde any thing determined touching this necessitie, is that of Lateran under Innocent the III. wherein wee heard that Transubstantiation was established. for there it was ordained, that <sup>g</sup> *Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis*, every faithfull one of eyther sex, being come to yeares of discretion, should by himselfe alone, once in the yeare at least, faithfully confesse his sinnes unto his owne Priest; and indevour according to his strength to fulfill the penance injoynd unto him, receiving reverently at least at Easter the sacrament of the Eucharist: otherwise, that both being alive hee should be kept from entring into the Church, and being dead should want Christian buriall. Since which determination, Thomas Aquinas (in his exposition of the text of the fourth booke of the Sentences, distinct. 17.) holdeth <sup>h</sup> the deniall of the necessitie of Confession unto salvation to be heresie: which before that time (saith Bonaventure, in his disputations upon the same fourth booke) was not hereticall, forasmuch as manie

<sup>f</sup> Certissimum est, & pro certissimo habendum peccati mortalis necessariam esse confessionem sacramentalem eo modo, ac tempore adhibitam, quo in Concilio Tridentino post alia Concilia est constitutum. Rom. Correct. *ibid.*

<sup>g</sup> Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter saltem semel in anno proprio sacerdoti; & iunctam sibi poenitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere, suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Pascha Eucharistiae sacramen-

rum: &c. alioquin & vivens ab ingressu Ecclesiae arceatur, & moriens Christianam careat sepulturam. Concil. Lateran. cap 21. <sup>h</sup> Magister & Gratianus hoc pro opinione ponunt. Sed nunc post determinationem Ecclesiae sub Inn. III. factam, haeresis reputanda est. Thom.

Catholick Doctors did hold contrarie opinions therein, as appeareth by *Gratian*.

i Ideò dicendum, quòd præfata assertio non est strictè hæresis, sed sapit hæresim. *Io. Medina, tractat. 2. de Confessione, quest. 4.*

k Nam illud, quòd illic dicitur de confessione semel in anno, non procedit declarando, nec divinū ius interpretando, sed potius tempus confitendi instituendo. *Id. ibid. quest. 2.*

l In quo præmittitur exhortatio sancta & salubris de confessione faciendâ, & subiungitur præceptū de perceptione Eucharistiæ vallatum poenâ. *Durand. in lib. 4. Sentent. distinct. 17. quest. 14.*

m Et ob hoc posset rationabiliter videri alicui, quòd prædicta poena illius statuti respicit solum præceptum de communione de cuius transgressionem constare potest, & non præceptum de confessione. *Id. ibid.* n Vnde datur intelligi, quòd etiam ore tacente, veniam consequi possumus. *De Poenit. dist. 1. cap. 34. Convertimini. Vid. in initium eiusd. distinct. & Glossam ibid. verb. Sunt enim.*

But *Medina* will not admit by anie meanes, i that it should be accounted *strictly heresie*: but would have it said, that it *savours of heresie*. and for this decree of Confession to be made once in the yeare, hee saith k that it *doth not declare nor interpret any diuine right of the thing, but rather appointeth the time of confessing*. *Durand* thinketh that it may be said, that this statute contayneth l *an holy and wholsome exhortation of making confession, and then adjoyneth a precept of the receiving of the Eucharist backed with a penaltie*: or if both of them be precepts, that m *the penaltie respecteth onely the precept of communicating (of the transgression whereof knowledge may be taken) and not the precept of confession*, of the transgression whereof the Church can take no certaine notice, and therefore can appoint no certaine penaltie for it. But howsoever; this wee are sure of, that the Canonists afterward held no absolute necessitie of obedience to be required therein, as unto a Sacramentall institution ordayned by Christ for obtraying remission of sinnes; but a Canonically obedience onely, as unto an usefull constitution of the Church. And therefore where *Gratian* in his first distinction *de Pœnitentiâ*, had in the 34. chapter and the three next following, propounded the allegations which made for them who held, n that men might obtaine pardon for their sinnes without anie orall confession of them; and then proceeded to the authorities which might

seeme



seeme to make for the contrarie opinion: *Iohannes Semeca* at the beginning of that part, upon those words of *Gratian*, *Alij e contrario testantur*, putteth too this Glosse. *o From this place untill the section His auctoritatib. he alledgeth for the other part, that sinne is not forgiven unto such as are of yeares, without confession of the mouth which yet is false: saith he. But this free dealing of his did so displease Friar Manrique, who by the command of Pius Quintus, set out a censure upon the Glosses of the Canon law; that hee gave direction these words, which yet is false, should be cleane blotted out. which direction of his notwithstanding, the Romane Correctors under Gregory the XIII. did not follow: but letting the words still stand, give them a check only with this marginall annotation. p Nay it is most true, that without confession, in desire at least, the sinne is not forgiven.*

In like maner, where the same *Semeca* holdeth it to be the better opinion, that Confession was *ordayned* by a certaine tradition of the universall Church, rather then by the authoritie of the new or old Testament, and inferreth thereupon, that it is *neccessarie* among the Latins, but not among the Greekes, because that tradition did not spread to them: Friar Manrique commandeth all that passage to be blotted out, but the Romane Correctors clap this note upon the margent for an antidote. *f Nay confession was ordayned by our Lord, and by Gods Law is necessary to all that fall into mortall sinne after Baptisme, as well Greekes as Latins. and for this they quote onely the 14. Session of the Councell of Trent:*

*non: quia non emanavit apud illos traditio talis. Ibid. f Imò confessio est instituta à Domino, & est omnibus post Baptismum lapsis in mortale peccatū, tam Græcis quàm Latinis, iure divino necessaria, Rom. Correct. ibid. in marg.*

*o Ab hoc loco usque ad sect. Huius auctoritatib. pro alia parte allegat, quod scilicet adulto peccatū non dimittitur sine oris confessione, quod tamen falsum est Gloss.*

*p Imò verissimum sine confessione in voto non dimitti peccatum. Rom. Correct. ibid. in marg.*

*q Melius dicitur eam institutam fuisse à quadam universalis Ecclesie traditione, potius quam ex novi vel veteris Testamenti auctoritate, Gloss. de Pœnitent. inis. distinct.*

*s. In pœnitentia.*

*r Ergo necessaria est confessio in mortaliibus apud nos, apud Græcos*

where

*Michael Angrianus in Psal.*  
29.

*u Multum mihi placet illa opinio: quia non est aliqua auctoritas aperta, quæ innuat Deū seu Christum aperte instituisse confessionem faciendam Sacerdoti, Panormitan in 5. Decretal. de Penit. et remiss. cap.*

*12. Omnis utriusque, sect. 18.*

*x Omnes juris Pontificii periti, secuti primum Interpretem, dicunt Confessionem tantum esse introductam jure Ecclesiastico.*

*Maldonat. Diss. de Sacrament. Tom. 2. de Confess. orig. cap. 2.*

*y Sed tamen hæc opinio, aut jam declarata est satis tanquam hæresis ab Ecclesiâ; aut faceret Ecclesiâ operæ pretium,*

*si declararet esse hæresim. id. ibid. de precepto Confess. cap. 3. z Quod confessio de peccatis in specie fuerit ex aliquo statuto universalis Ecclesiæ, non de jure divino. Congregat. Complutens. sub Alfonso Carillo: apud Carranzam in Summâ Concil. sub Sixto IV.*

where that opinion is accursed in us, which was held two or three hundred yeares ago by the men of their owne religion. among whom, *Michael* of Bononia (who was Prior general of the order of the Carmelites in the dayes of Pope *Urban* the sixth) doth conclude strongly out of their owne received grounds; *that confession is not necessary for the obtayning of the pardon of our sinne*: and *Panormitan* the great Canonist, *u* professeth that the opinion of *Semeca* doth much please him, which referreth the originall of Confession to a generall tradition of the Church: *because* (saith he) *there is not anie cleare authority, which sheweth that God or Christ did clearely ordayne that Confession should be made unto a Priest.* Yea, *x* all the Canonists, following their first Interpreter, say that Confession was brought in onely by the law of the Church, and not by anie divine precept: if we will beleeeve *Maldonat.* who addeth notwithstanding, that *y this opinion is eyther already sufficiently declared by the Church to be heresie, or that the Church should doe well if it did declare it to be heresie.*

And we finde indeed, that in the yeare of our Lord 1479. (which was 34. yeares after the death of *Panormitan*) by a speciall commission directed from Pope *Sixtus* the fourth unto *Alfonso* Carillus Archbishop of Toledo, one *Petrus Oxomensis*, professor of Divinitie in the Vniversitie of Salamanca, was driven to abjure *z* this conclusion, which hee had before delivered as agreeable to the common opinion of the Doctors; *that confession of sinnes in particular was grounded upon some statute of the universall Church, and not upon*

divine



divine right. and when learned men for all this would not take warning, but would needs be meddling againe with that which the Popish Clergie could not indure should be touched, (as *Iohannes de Selva*, among others, in the end of his treatise *de Iurejurando*; *Erasmus* in diverse of his workes, and *Beatus Rhenanus* in his argument upon *Tertullians* booke *de Pœnitentiâ* :) the fathers of *Trent* within 72. yeares after that, conspired together to stop all mens mouthes with \* an *anathema*, that should denie sacramentall confession to be of divine institution or to be necessarie unto salvation. And so we are come to an end of that point.

\* *Concil. Tri-*  
*dent. Sess. 14.*  
*Can. 6.*

## OF THE PRIESTS POWVER TO FORGIVE SINNES.

FROM *Confession* we are now to proceed unto *Abso-*  
*lution*: which it were pitie this man should receive, before he made confession of the open wrong he hath here done, in charging us to denie that *Priests* have power to forgive sinnes. whereas the verie formall words, which our Church requireth to be used in the ordination of a Minister, are these: *a Whose sinnes thou doest forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sinnes thou doest retaine, they are retained.* And therefore if this be all the matter, the Fathers and we shal agree well enough: howsoever this make-bate would faine put friends together by the eares, where there is no occasion at all of quarrell. For wee acknowledge most willingly, that the principall part of the *Priests* ministerie is exercised in the matter of *forgivenesse of sinnes*: the question onely is of the maner how this part of their function is executed by them, and of the bounds and limits thereof,

a The forme  
of ordering of  
Priests.

Q

which

which the Pope and his Clergie for their owne advantage have enlarged beyond all measure of truth and reason.

b *Esai. 48. 11.*

That wee may therefore give unto the Priest the things that are the Priests, and to God the things that are Gods; & not communicate unto any creature the power that properly belongeth to the Creator, who <sup>b</sup> will not give his glory unto another: we must in the first place lay this downe for a sureground, that to forgive sinnes properly, directly, and absolutely, is a priviledge onely appertayning unto the most High. I, saith he of himselfe, even I am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine owne sake, and will not remember thy sinnes. (*Esai. 43. 25.*) Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquitie? saith the Prophet, Micah 7. 18. which in effect is the same with that of the Scribes: (*Mark. 2. 7. and Luk. 5. 21.*) Who can forgive sinnes, but God alone? And therefore when David saith unto God; Thou forgavest the iniquitie of my sinne: (*Psalm. 32. 5.*) Gregory surnamed the great (the first Bishop of Rome of that name) thought this to be a sound paraphrase of his words.

e Tu qui solus  
parcis, qui so-  
lus peccata di-  
mittis. Quis e-  
nim potest pec-  
cata dimittere,  
nisi solus De-  
us? *Gregor. ex-  
posit. 2. Psalmi  
Penitential.*

d Rhemists, an-  
not. in *Matt. 9. 5.*  
e Rich. Hopkins,  
in the Memori-  
all of a Christ.  
life, pag. 179.  
edit. ann. 1612.

c Thou, who alone sparest, who alone forgivest sinnes. For who can forgive sinnes but God alone? Hee did not imagine that he had committed anie great error in subscribing thus simply unto that sentence of the Scribes: and little dreamed that anie petie Doctors afterwards would arise in Rome or Rhemes, who would tell us a faire tale; that <sup>d</sup> the faithlesse Iewes thought, as Hereticks now adayes, that to forgive sinnes was so proper to God, that it could not be communicated unto man; and that <sup>e</sup> true beleivers referre this to the increase of Gods honour, which miscreant Iewes and Hereticks doe accompt blasphemie against God, and injurious to his Majestie. whereas

in



in truth the faithlesnesse of the Iewes consisted in the application of this sentence unto our Saviour Christ, whom they did not acknowledge to be God; as the senselesness of these Romanists, in denying of the axiom it selfe.

But the world is come unto a good passe, when we must be accounted *hereticks now adayes*, and consoorted with *miscreant Iewes*, for holding the selfe same thing that the Fathers of the ancient Church delivered as a most certain truth, whensoever they had anie occasion to treat of this part of the historie of the Gospel. Old *Irenaus* telleth us, that our Saviour in this place *f* *forgiving sinnes, did both cure the man, and manifestly discover who he was. For if none (saith hee) can forgive sinnes but God alone, and our Lord did forgive them, and cured men; it is manifest, that he was the Word of God, made the Sonne of man: and that as man hee is touched with compassion of us, as God he hath mercy on us, and forgiveth us our debts which we doe owe unto God our maker.* *Tertullian* saith, that *g* *when the Iewes beholding onely his humanitie, and not being yet certaine of his Deitie, did deservedly reason, that a man could not forgive sinnes, but God alone: he by answering of them, that the Sonne of man had authoritie to forgive sinnes, would by this remission of sinnes have them call to minde that he was h* *that onely sonne of man, prophesied of in Daniel, who received power of judging, and thereby also of forgiving sinnes.* (Dan. 7. 13, 14.) *S. Hilary* commenting upon the

*f* Peccata igitur remittens, hominem quidem curavit, semetipsum autem manifeste ostendit quis esset. Si enim nemo potest remittere peccata, nisi solus Deus; remittebat autem hæc Dominus, & curabat homines: manifestum est, quoniam ipse erat Verbum Dei, Filius hominis factus, &c. & quomodo homo compassus est nobis, tanquam Deus misereatur nostri, & remittat nobis debita nostra, quæ factori nostro debemus Deo. *Irenæus advers. hæres. lib. 5. cap. 17.* *g* Nam cum Iudæi solummodò hominem eius intuentes, necdum & Deum certi, quâ Dei quoque filium, meritò retractarent, non posse hominem delicta dimittere, sed Deum solum. &c. *Tertullian. lib. 4. advers. Marcion. cap. 10.* *h* Illum scilicet solum filium hominis apud Danielis Prophetiam, consecutum iudicandi potestatem, ac per eam utique & dimittendi delicta. *Id. ibid.*

ra nostra, quæ factori nostro debemus Deo. *Irenæus advers. hæres. lib. 5. cap. 17.* *g* Nam cum Iudæi solummodò hominem eius intuentes, necdum & Deum certi, quâ Dei quoque filium, meritò retractarent, non posse hominem delicta dimittere, sed Deum solum. &c. *Tertullian. lib. 4. advers. Marcion. cap. 10.* *h* Illum scilicet solum filium hominis apud Danielis Prophetiam, consecutum iudicandi potestatem, ac per eam utique & dimittendi delicta. *Id. ibid.*

i Moret Scri-  
bas remissum  
ab homine pec-  
catum Homi-  
nem enim tan-  
tum in Iesu  
Christo con-  
tuebantur; &  
remissum ab  
eo, quod lex  
laxare non po-  
terat Fides e-  
nim sola iusti-  
ficat. Deinde  
murmurationē  
eorum Domi-  
nus introspicit,  
dicitque facile  
esse filio homi-  
nis in terrā pec-  
cata dimittere.  
Verum enim,  
nemo potest  
dimittere pec-  
cata, nisi solus  
Deus: ergo qui  
remittit Deus  
est, quia nemo  
remittit nisi  
Deus. Deus in  
homine ma-  
nens curatio-  
nem homini  
præstabat. Hi-  
lar. in Matth.  
Canon. 8.

k Legimus in Prophetâ dicentem Deū: Ego sum qui deleo iniquitates tuas. Consequen-  
ter ergo Scribæ, quia hominem putabant, & verba Dei non intelligebant, arguunt eum  
blasphemiam. Sed Dominus videns cogitationes eorum, ostendit se Deum, qui possit cordis  
occulta cognoscere: & quodammodo tacens loquitur; Eâdem maiestate & potentiâ,  
quâ cogitationes vestras intueor, possum & hominibus peccata dimittere. Hieronym. lib. 1.  
Commentar. in Matth. 9. I Verè nullus potest remittere peccata, nisi unus, qui intuetur  
cogitationes hominum. Euthym. cap. 13. in Matth. m Εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς, ἰσχυροὶ εἶπεν τί μοι  
προσέπεις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; πῶς ταῦτα ἰσχύει τοῦ θεοῦ; Chrysost. in Matth. 9. hom 29.  
Grec. 30. Latin.

ninth of Matthew, writeth thus. *i It moveth the Scribes, that sinne should be forgiven by a man. For they beheld a man onely in Iesus Christ; and that to be forgiven by him, which the law could not release. For it is faith onely that justifieth. Afterward the Lord looketh into their murmuring, and saith that it is an easie thing for the Sonne of man upon earth to forgive sinnes. For it is true, none can forgive sinnes but God alone: therefore hee who remitteth is God, because none remitteth but God. God remayning in man, performed this cure upon man. S. Hierom thus: k We reade that God saith in the Prophet; I am he that blotteth out thine iniquities. Consequently there-fore the Scribes, because they thought him to be a man, and did not understand the words of God, accuse him of blasphemy. But the Lord seeing their thoughts, sheweth him- selfe to be God, who is able to know the secrets of the heart: and holding his peace after a sort speaketh; By the same majestie and power, wherewith I behold your thoughts, I am able also to forgive sinnes unto men. or, as Euthymius expresseth it in his commentaries upon the same place: l In truth, none can forgive sinnes but one, who beholdeth the thoughts of men. S. Chrysostome likewise in his Sermons upon the same, sheweth that Christ here declared him selfe to be God equall unto the Father: and that m if he had not beene equall unto the Father, he would have said; Why doe you attribute unto me an unfitting o-*

pinion?



pinion? I am farre from that power. To the same effect also writeth *Christianus Druthmarus*, *Paschasius Robertus*, and *Walafridus Strabus* in the ordinarie Glosse upon the same place of *S. Matthew*. *Victor Antiochenus* upon the second of *Mark*; *Theophylact* and *Bede* upon the second of *Mark*, and the fifth of *Luke*: *S. Ambrose* upon the fifth of *Luke*. who in another place also bringeth this sentence of the Scribes, as a ground to prove the deitie of the holy Ghost withall: forasmuch as none forgiveth sinnes but one God; because it is written, Who can forgive sins but God alone? as *S. Cyril* doth to prove the deitie of the Sonne. ° For this onely, saith he, did the malice of the Iewes say truly, that none can forgive sinnes, but God alone, who is the Lord of the law. and thence he frameth this argument. p If he alone who is the Lord of all doth free us from our sins, and this agreeth to no other, and Christ bestoweth this with a power befitting God; how should he not be God?

The same argument also is used by *Novatianus* and *Athanasius* to the selfe same purpose. q For if, when it agreeth unto none but unto God to know the secrets of the heart, Christ doth behold the secrets of the heart; if, when it agreeth unto none but unto God to forgive sinnes, the same Christ doth forgive sinnes: then deservedly is Christ to be accounted God, saith *Novatianus*. So *Athanasius* demandeth of the Arrians: r if the Sonne were a creature, how was he able to forgive sinnes? it being written in the Prophets, that this is the work of God.

n Peccata nemo condonat, nisi unus Deus: quia æque scriptum est; Quis potest peccata donare nisi solus Deus? *Ambros. de Spir. sanct. lib. 3. cap. 19.*

o Istud enim solum malicia Iudæorum verè dicebat, quòd nullus potest dimittere peccata, nisi solus Deus, qui legis Dominus est *Grill. Alexandr. The. sanct. lib. 12. cap. 4.*

p Εἰ μὲν ὁ ἱ-  
μῆς ἀπαλλὰ τῆς  
ὁ τοῦ ὁλοῦ θεοῦ  
πληρῆς ἀληθείας,  
ἐν ἑαυτῷ περὶ πάντων  
τῶν μυστηρίων χα-  
ρίζεται, εἰ καὶ τὸ  
κεῖνός ἐστι μὴ ἐξ-  
ουσίας θεοῦ, οὐκ ἔστι,

πῶς ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι θεὸν; *Id. in lib. de rectâ fide ad Reginas.*

q Quòd si cùm nullus sit nisi Dei, cordis nosse secreta, Christus secreta conspiciat cordis: quòd si, cùm nullus sit nisi Dei, peccata dimittere, idem Christus peccata dimittit: &c. meritò Deus est Christus. *Novatian de Trinitat. cap. 13.* r Πῶς δὲ εἰπὼν ἡμεῖς τὸν λόγον, ὅτι τὸν ἀποφασίζοντες τὸν θεὸν λέγομεν, οὐκ ἀποφασίζομεν ἀμαρτίας, καὶ χαρίζομεν παρὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας, ὅτι τὸν θεὸν εἶναι. τίς γὰρ θεὸς ὁ ἀποφασίζων ἀμαρτίας καὶ χαρίζων ἀνομίας; *Athanas. orat. 3. contra Arian. pag. 239. tom. 1. edit. Græcolat.*

Γ' ο' ζ' υ' ε' ε' λ' ε' ι' ν'   
 ο' ι' ε' δ' ε' λ' ε' ι' ν' ο' ρ' i' α' ν'   
 τ' α' ι' σ' ι' α' ι' α' μ' α' ρ' τ' i' α'   
 σ' α' ο' τ' i' α' ι' α' ι' α' ι' α'   
 δ' α' ι' α' ν' γ' ο' γ' ε' ζ' ο' ν' τ' α' ν'   
 ε' ρ' γ' α' ι' α' α' ρ' ο' σ' i'   
 δ' ε' i' α' ν' u' s' λ' ε' γ' ω' ν' τ' i'   
 π' α' ρ' α' λ' υ' τ' i' α' ι' α'   
 ρ' α' ι' α' ι' α' κ' ε' ρ' α' β'   
 λ' α' τ' i' ο' ν' u' s' ε' γ' ε' ρ' α'   
 ο' i' s' τ' o' i' δ' i' α' δ' i' σ' u'   
 Id. in epist. de Sy-   
 nodis Arimin.   
 & Seleuc. pag.   
 712. Vid. etiam   
 Orat. 4. contra   
 Arrian. pag.   
 254. & 281.   
 t Sed multo   
 dementius er-   
 rant Arriani,   
 qui cum Iesum   
 & Christum   
 esse, & peccata   
 posse dimitte-   
 re, Evangelii   
 verbis devicti   
 negare non au-   
 deant; nihilo-   
 minus Deum   
 negare non ti-   
 ment. Bed. in   
 Marc. lib. I.   
 cap. 10.   
 u Si & Deus   
 est iuxta Psal-

For who is a God like unto thee, that taketh away sinnes and passeth over iniquities? But the sonne (saith hee) said unto whom he would; Thy sinnes are forgiven thee: when the Iewes murmuring also he demonstrated this forgivenesse in deed, saying to the man that was sicke of the palsie; Arise, take up thy bedd, and goe unto thine house. And therefore Bede rightly inferreth, that the Arrians doe erre here much more madly then the Iewes: who when they dare not denie, being convicted by the words of the Gospell, that Iesus is both the Christ and hath power to forgive sinnes; yet feare not for all that to denie him to be God. and concludeth himselfe most soundly: that if he be God according to the Psalmist, who removeth our iniquities from us as farr as the East is from the West, and the sonne of man hath power upon earth to forgive sinnes; therefore the same is both God and the sonne of man, that the man Christ by the power of his divinitie might forgive sinnes, and the same Christ God by the frailtie of his humanitie might dye for sinners. Whereunto wee will adde another sweete passage of his (borrowed from some ancients author:) \* No man taketh away sinnes (which the Law, although holy and just and good, could not take away) but he in whom there is no sinne. Now hee taketh them away, both by pardoning those that are done, and by assisting us that they may not be done, & by bringing us to the life where they cannot at all be done.

y Peter Lombard alledgeth this as the saying of S. Au-   
 gustine, qui quantum distat oriens ab occasu elongavit a nobis iniquitates nostras, & filius hominis potestatem habet in terrâ dimittendi peccata: ergo idem ipse & Deus, & filius hominis est; ut & homo Christus per divinitatis suæ potentiam peccata dimittere possit, & idem Deus Christus per humanitatis suæ fragilitatem pro peccatoribus mori. Id. ibid.   
 x Nemo tollit peccata (quæ nec Lex, quamvis sancta & iusta & bona, potuit auferre) nisi ille in quo peccatum non est. Tollit autem, & dimittendo quæ facta sunt, & adiuvando ne fiant, & perducendo ad vitam ubi fieri omnino non possint. Bed. in 1. Iohan. 3. y P. Lom-   
 bard. lib. 4. Sentent. distinct. 18 D.

gustine:



gustine : the former sentence only being thus changed.  
 z None taketh away sinnes, but Christ alone, vwho is the  
 Lamb that taketh away the sinnes of the world. agreeable  
 to that, which in the same place he citeth out of S. Am-  
 brose : a He alone forgiveth sinnes, who alone dyed for our  
 sinnes. and to that of Clemens Alexandrinus : b He alone  
 can remit sinnes, who is appointed our Master by the father  
 of all, who alone is able to discern disobedience from obe-  
 dience. to which purpose also, S. Ambrose maketh this  
 observation upon the historie of the woman taken in  
 adulterie, Ioh. 8. 9. that c Iesus being about to pardon sin,  
 remayned alone. For it is not the ambassador (saith hee)  
 nor the messenger, but the Lord himselfe that hath saved  
 his people. He remaineth alone, because it cannot be com-  
 mon to anie man with Christ to forgive sinnes. This is  
 the office of Christ alone, who taketh away the sinne of the  
 world. Yea S. Chrysostom himselfe, who of all the Fa-  
 thers giveth most in this point unto Gods ambassa-  
 dors and messengers, is yet carefull withall to preserve  
 Gods priviledge entire, by often interposing such sen-  
 tences as these. d None can forgive sinnes, but God alone.  
 e To forgive sinnes, belongeth to no other. f To forgive  
 sinnes, is possible to God onely. g God alone doth this :  
 which also hee worketh in the washing of the new birth.  
 Wherein, that the work of cleansing the soule is whol-  
 ly Gods, and the minister hath no hand at all in effect-  
 ing anie part of it ; Optatus proveth at large in his  
 fifth booke against the Donatistes : shewing that

z Nemo tollit  
 peccata, nisi so-  
 lus Christus,  
 qui est agnus  
 tollens peccata  
 mundi. *August.*

a Ille solus  
 peccata dimit-  
 tit, qui solus  
 pro peccatis  
 nostris mortuus  
 est. *Ambros.*

b Μόνος ἔστι  
 θεός τι ἀφίεναι τὰ  
 ἡμαρτημάτων,  
 ὡς οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ ὁ παρθεὶς παρ.  
 μαρτυρῶν,  
 μόνος ὁ ὅτι ὡς α-  
 κούει διακρίνει καὶ  
 παρακαλεῖ διὰ τοῦ  
 ὕδατος. *Clem. A-*  
*lexandr. Peda-*  
*gog. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

c Donatus  
 peccatum, solus  
 remanet Iesus.  
 &c. Non enim  
 legatus neque  
 nuncius, sed ip-  
 se Dominus  
 saluum fecit  
 populum suum.  
 Solus remanet,  
 quia non po-  
 test hoc cuiquā  
 hominum cum

Christo esse commune ut peccata condonet. Solius hoc munus est Christi, qui tulit pecca-  
 tum mundi. *Ambros. epist. 76. ad Studium.* d Οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται ἀφίεναι ἡμαρτίας, εἰ μὴ  
 μόνος ὁ θεός. *Chrysost. in 2. Corinth. 3. homil. 6.* e Τὸ γὰρ ἀφίεναι ἡμαρτίας, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ ὁ παρθεὶς παρ. μαρτυρῶν, μόνος ὁ ὅτι ὡς α-  
 κούει διακρίνει καὶ παρακαλεῖ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος. *Clem. A-*  
*lexandr. Peda-*  
*gog. lib. 1. cap. 3.* f Οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται ἀφίεναι ἡμαρτίας, εἰ μὴ  
 μόνος ὁ θεός. *Chrysost. in 2. Corinth. 3. homil. 6.* g Οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται ἀφίεναι ἡμαρτίας, εἰ μὴ  
 μόνος ὁ θεός. *Chrysost. in 2. Corinth. 3. homil. 6.*

h Sordes et maculas mentis lavare non potest, nisi qui ejusdem fabricator est mentis Optat. lib. 5.

i Dei est mundare, non hominis: ipse per Prophetam Esaiam promissit se loturum, dum ait; Et si fuerint peccata vestra velut coccum, ut nivem in albabo. In albabo dixit; non dixit, faciam in albari. Si hoc Deus promissit: quare vos vultis reddere, quod vobis nec promittere licet, nec reddere, nec habere? Ecce in Esaiam se promissit, Deus in albare peccatis affectos, non per hominem. Id. ibid.

k 1. Cor. 4. 1, 2. l Chrysostom. in 1. Cor. 4. hom. 10. m Id. in 2. Cor. 4. homil. 8. circa init.

n xj γαρ τὸ το αὐτό, φησιν, τὸ διακονήσαντες τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅτι ἡμεῖς καὶ φιλοθεσμίας. Id. ibid. o 1. Cor. 3. 5. p Est ergo in universis servantibus non dominium, sed ministerium. Optat. lib. 5. q Id. ibid. similiter Chrysostom. in 1. Cor. 3. homil. 8. Τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸ μὴ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, αἵμα καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα μυστήρια: ὅτι τὸ ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀγαθότητος, ἡ δὲ καὶ ἡ διακονία τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ θεός, ὅς ἐστι ὁ δορυρτής.

h none can wash the filth and spots of the minde, but hee who is the framer of the same minde; and convincing the hereticks, as by manie other testimonies of holy Scripture, so by that of Esai. 1. 18. which he presseth in this maner. i It belongeth unto God to cleanse, and not unto man: he hath promised by the Prophet Esai that hee himselfe would wash, when he saith; If your sinnes were as scarlet, I will make them as white as snow. I will make them white, he said: he did not say, I will cause them to be made white. If God hath promised this, why will you give that, which is neyther lawfull for you to promise, nor to give, nor to have? Behold in Esai God hath promised that he himselfe will make white such as are defiled with sinnes; not by man.

Having thus therefore reserved unto God his prerogative royall in cleansing of the soule, we give unto his under-officers their due, when we <sup>k</sup> account of them, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God. l not as Lords, that have power to dispose of spiritual graces as they please: m but as servants that are tyed to follow their Masters prescriptions therein; & in following therof do but bring their external ministerie (n for which it self also they are beholding to Gods mercie & goodnes) God conferring the inward blessing of his spirit thereupon, when & where he will. o Who then is Paul, (saith S. Paul himselfe) and who is Apollo? but Ministers by whom yee beleaved, even as the Lord gave to every man? Therefore, saith Optatus, p in all the servants there is no dominion, but a ministerie. q Cui creditur,

n xj γαρ τὸ το αὐτό, φησιν, τὸ διακονήσαντες τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅτι ἡμεῖς καὶ φιλοθεσμίας. Id. ibid. o 1. Cor. 3. 5. p Est ergo in universis servantibus non dominium, sed ministerium. Optat. lib. 5. q Id. ibid. similiter Chrysostom. in 1. Cor. 3. homil. 8. Τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸ μὴ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, αἵμα καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα μυστήρια: ὅτι τὸ ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀγαθότητος, ἡ δὲ καὶ ἡ διακονία τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ θεός, ὅς ἐστι ὁ δορυρτής.



*ipse dat quod creditur, non per quem creditur. It is hee who is beleaved, that giveth the thing which is beleaved, not he by whom we doe beleave. Whereas our Saviour then saith unto his Apostles, Ioh. 20. Receive the holy Ghost, Whose sinnes you forgive shall be forgiven: r S. Ambrose, f S. Augustine, t S. Chrysostome, and u S. Cyrill, make this observation thereupon; that this is not their work properly, but the worke of the holy Ghost, who remit- teth by them, and therein performeth the worke of the true God. For indeed (saith S. x Cyrill) it belongeth to the true God alone, to be able to loose men from their sinns. for who else can free the transgressors of the law from sin, but he who is the author of the law it selfe? y The Lord (saith S. Augustine) was to give unto men the holy Ghost, and he would have it to be understood, that by the holy Ghost himselfe sinnes should be forgiven to the faithfull, and not that by the merits of men sins should be forgiven. For what art thou, o man, but a sick-man that hast need to be healed? Wilt thou be a physician to me? Seek the physician together with mee. So S. Ambrose: z Behold, that by the holy Ghost sinnes are forgiven. But men to the remission of sinnes bring their ministry, they exercise not the authoritie of any power. S. Chrysostom, though he make this to be the exercise of a great power (which also hee a elsewhere amplifieth, after his maner, exceeding hyperbolically) yet in the maine matter accordeth fully with S. Ambrose; that it lyeth in b God alone to bestowe the things wherein the Priests service is employed.*

r Ambros. de Spir. sanct. lib. 3. cap. 19.  
f August. contr. epist. Parmenian. lib. 2. cap. 11 & homil. 23. ex 50.  
t Chrysost. in 2. Corin. 3. homil. 6.  
u Cyrill. Alex. andr. in Iohan. lib. 12. cap. 56.  
x Et certe solius veri Dei est, ut possit à peccatis homines solvere. Cui enim alii pravaricatores legis liberare à peccato licet, nisi legis ipsius auctori? Id. ibid.  
y Daturus erat Dominus hominibus Spiritum sanctum; & ab ipso Spiritu sancto fidelibus suis dimitti peccata, non meritis hominum volebat intelligi dimitti pecca.

12. Nam quid es homo, nisi æger sanandus? Vis mihi esse medicus? mecum quære medicum. Augustin. homil. 23. ex 50. z Ecce quia per Spiritum sanctum peccata donantur. Homines autem in remissionem peccatorum ministerium suum exhibent, non jus alicujus potestatis exercent. Ambros. de Spir. Sanct. lib. 3. cap. 19. a Chrysost. lib. 3. de Sacerdotio. b Α' γὰρ ἡ χάρις καὶ τὸ δῶρον ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Id. in Iohan. 20. homil. 86. edit. Græc. vol 85. Latin.





And <sup>m</sup> though it be the proper worke of God to remit sins, (saith *Ferus* :) yet are the Apostles (and their successors) said to remit also, not simply, but because they apply those meanes whereby God doth remit sinnes. Which meanes are, the Word of God and the Sacraments. Whereunto also wee may adde, the relaxation of the Censures of the Church, and Prayer, for in these foure the whole exercise of this ministerie of reconciliation (as the <sup>n</sup> Apostle calleth it) doth mainly consist. of each whereof it is needefull that wee should speake somewhat more particularly.

That Prayer is a meanes ordayned by God for procuring remission of sinnes, is plaine by that of S. *Iames*.  
 ° The prayer of faith shall save the sicke, and the Lord shall raise him up : and if he have committed sinnes, they shall be forgiven him. Confesse your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed : for the fervent prayer of a righteous man avayleth much. The latter of which sentences hath reference to the prayers of everie good Christian, whereunto we finde a gracious promise annexed, according to that of S. *Iohn*. P If anie man see his brother sinne a sinne which is not unto death, he shall aske, and he shall give him life for them that sinne not unto death. But the former, as the verse immediately going before doth manifestly prove, pertaineth to the prayers made by the ministers of the Church; who have a speciall charge to be the Lords remembrancers for the good of his people. And therefore, as S. *Augustin* out of the later proveth, that q one brother by this meanes may cleanse another from the contagion of sinne: so doth S. *Chrysostom* out of the former, that Priests doe performe this, not <sup>r</sup> by teaching onely and admonishing, but by assisting us also with their prayers.

R 2

and

<sup>m</sup> Quamvis Dei proprium opus sit, remittere peccata : dicuntur tamen etiam Apostoli remittere, non simpliciter, sed quia adhibent media, per quae Deus remittit peccata. Haec autem media sunt, Verbum Dei & Sacramenta. Io. *Ferus*, annotat. in Io. han 20. Item, lib. 3. Comment. in Matth. cap. 16. n 2. Cor. 5. 18. o Iam. 5. 15, 16.

q Quod etiam frater fratrem a delicti poterit contagione mundare. Aug. in Evangelio. Io. han. tract. 53. r u tñ dñs dñs pñs xñs dñs rñs, am xñs tñ dñs xñs dñs rñs. Chrysost. lib. 3. de Sacerdot. tom. 6. edit. Savil pag. 17.

f *Augustin. de  
Baptismo contra  
Donatist. lib. 3.  
cap. 17. 18.*

t *Id. homil. 49.  
ex 50. Agite  
pœnitentiam  
qualis agitur in  
Ecclesiâ, ut o-  
ret pro vobis  
Ecclesia.*

u *Tom. 2. Vis.  
Sanct. ab Aloy-  
sio Lipomano e-  
dit. Venet. ann.  
1553. fol. 298.*

v *ii. Patrum, ab  
Her. Rosweydo  
edit. Antwerp.  
an. 1615. pag.  
160. Miscellan.*

â *Gerardo Voffio  
edit. Mogunt. an.  
1604 pag. 136.*

x *Alex. in Sum.  
part. 4. quæst. 21.  
membr. 1.*

y *Bonaventur.  
in lib. 4. Sent.  
dist. 18. art. 2.  
quæst. 1.*

z *Nostrium est  
donante ipso  
ministerium  
charitatis &  
humilitatis ad-  
hibere: illius  
est exaudire, ac  
nos ab omni*

*peccatorum contaminatione mundare per Christum, & in Christo; ut quod aliis etiam  
dimittimus, hoc est in terrâ solvimus, solvatur & in cœlo. Augustin in fine tractat. 58. in evan-  
gel. Iohann.*

and the faithfull prayers, both of the one and of the other, are by S.<sup>c</sup> *Augustin* made the especiall meanes whereby the power of the keyes is exercised in the remitting of sinnes: who thereupon exhorteth offenders to shew their repentance publicly in the Church, *that the Church might pray for them*, and impart the benefite of absolution unto them.

In the life of S. *Basil*, fathered upon *Amphilochius*, (of the credite whereof we have before spoken) a certaine gentlewoman is brought in, comming unto S. *Basil* for obtayning remission of her sinnes: who is said there to have demanded this question of her. *Hast thou heard, ô woman, that none can forgive sinnes but God alone?* and shee to have returned him this answer. *I have heard it, Father: and therefore have I moved thee to make intercession unto our most mercifull God for mee.* Which agreeth well with that which *Alexander of Hales* and *Bonaventure* doe maintaine: that the power of the keyes extend to the remission of faults, by way of intercession onely and deprecation, not by imparting anie immediate absolution. And as in our private forgiving and praying one for another, S. *Augustin* well noteth, that *it is our part, God giving us the grace, to use the ministerie of charitie and humilitie; but it is his, to heare us, and to cleanse us from all pollution of sinnes for Christ, and in Christ; that what we forgive unto others, that is to say, what wee loose upon earth, may be loosed also in heaven: so doth S. Ambrose* shew that the case also standeth with the ministers of the Gospell, in the execution of that commission given unto them



for the remitting of sinnes, Ioh. 20. 23. <sup>a</sup> They make request, (saith he) the Godhead bestoweth the gift: for the service is done by man, but the bountie is from the power above. The reason which hee rendreth thereof, is, because in their ministerie it is the holy Ghost that forgiveth the sinne; and it is God onely that can give the holy Ghost. <sup>b</sup> For this is not an humane worke (saith he in another place) neyther is the holy Ghost given by man, but being called upon by the Priest, is bestowed by God: wherein the gift is Gods, the ministry is the Priests. For if the Apostle Paul did judge, that hee could not conferre the holy Ghost by his authoritie; but beleevved himselfe to be so farre unable for this office, that hee wished wee might be filled with the spirit from God: who is so great as dare arrogate unto himselfe the bestowing of this gift? Therefore the Apostle did intimate his desire by prayer, hee challenged no right by anie authoritie: hee wished to obtaine it, he presumed not to command it. Thus farre S. Ambrose. of whom Paulinus writeth, that whensoever anie penitents came unto him, <sup>c</sup> the crimes which they confessed unto him hee spake of to none, but to God alone unto whom he made intercession; leaving a good example to the Priests of succeeding ages, that they be rather intercessors for them unto God, than accusers unto men. The same also, and in the selfe same words, doth <sup>d</sup> Ionas write of Eustachius, the scholler of Columbanus our famous countrey-man.

Hitherto appertaineth that sentence cyted by <sup>e</sup> Tho-

Apostolus votum precatatione detulit, non jus authoritate aliquâ vindicavit: impetrare optavit, non imperare præsumpsit. *Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 7.* <sup>c</sup> Causas autem criminum, quas illi confitebantur, nulli nisi Domino soli, apud quē intercedebat, loquebatur: bonū relinquens exemplū posteris sacerdotibus, ut intercessores apud Deū magis sint, quā accusatores apud homines. *Paulinus, in vitā S. Ambrosij.* <sup>d</sup> Ionas, in vitā S. Eustachij Luxovienfis abbatis, cap. 1. apud Surium, tom. 2. Mart. 29. <sup>e</sup> Tho. Waldens. tom. 2. de Sacramentis, cap. 147.

<sup>a</sup> Illi rogant, divinitas donat. Humanum enim obsequium, sed munificentia supernæ est potestatis. *Ambrosij. de Spir. sanct. lib. 3. cap. 19.*

<sup>b</sup> Non enim humanum hoc opus, neque ab homine datur; sed invocatus à Sacerdote, à Deo traditur: in quo Dei munus, ministeriū Sacerdotis est. Nam si Paulus Apostolus iudicavit, quod ipse donare Spiritum sanctum suā auctoritate non posset; & intantum se huic officio imparē credidit, ut à Deo nos spiritu optaret impleri: quis tantus est, qui huius traditionē muneris sibi audeat arrogare? Itaque

f Quotidie in unoquoque nostrum flammam libidinis per confessionem & gratiam Spiritus sancti intercidit, id est, per orationem Sacerdotis facit cessare. Hieronymus, in exposit.

Psalm. 28. in edit.

g Qui pro delictis poenitentium precator accedit Leo, in fin. epist. 80. ad episc. Campan.

h Multum enim utile ac necessarium est, ut peccatorum reatus ante ultimum diem sacerdotali supplicatione solvatur.

Id. epist. 91. ad Theodor. episc.

i Gregor. in 1. Reg. lib. 2. cap. 3.

ad illud: Si peccaverit vir in virum, &c.

k Domine De-

us omnipotens, propitius esto mihi peccatori, ut condigne possim tibi gratias agere, qui me indignum propter tuam misericordiam ministrum fecisti sacerdotalis officii, & me exiguum humilemque mediatorem constituisti ad orandum & intercedendum ad Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, pro peccatoribus ad poenitentiam revertentibus. Ideoque dominator Domine, qui omnes homines vis salvos fieri, & ad agnitionem veritatis venire, qui non vis mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur & vivat: suscipe orationem meam, quam fundo ante conspectum clementiae tuae, pro famulis & famulabus tuis, qui ad poenitentiam & misericordiam tuam confugerunt. Ordo Roman. antiqu. de officiis divinis, pag. 18. edit. Rom. ann. 1591. Baptizatorium & Confessionum Ceremonia antiqua, edit. Colon. an. 1530. Alcuin. de divinis officiis, cap. 13 in capite Iejunii.

mas Waldensis out of S. Hieroms exposition upon the Psalmes: that the voyce of God <sup>f</sup>cutteth off daily in everie one of us the flame of lust by confession and the grace of the holy Ghost, that is to say, by the prayer of the Priest maketh it to cease in us. and that which before hath been alledged out of Leo; of the confession offered first to God, and then to the Priest, <sup>g</sup>who commeth as an intreater for the sinnes of the penitent. which hee more fully expresseth in another epistle, affirming it to be <sup>h</sup>very profitable and necessarie, that the guilt of sinnes (or sinners) be loosed by the supplication of the Priest before the last day. See S.<sup>i</sup> Gregory, in his morall exposition upon 1. Sam. 2. 25. Anastasius Sinaita or Nicanus, in his answer to the 141. question ( of Gretsers edition: ) and Nicolaus Cabasilas, in the 29. chapter of his exposition of the Liturgie: where he directly affirmeth, that remission of sinnes is given to the penitents by the prayer of the Priests. And therefore by the Order used of old in the Church of Rome, the Priest before hee began his worke, was required to use this prayer. <sup>k</sup>O Lord God almightie, be mercifull unto me a sinner, that I may worthily give thanks unto thee, who hast made mee an unworthy one, for thy mercies sake, a minister of the Priestly office; and hast appointed me a poore and humble mediator, to pray and make intercession unto our Lord Iesus

Christ,



Christ, for sinners that returne unto repentance. And therefore, O Lord the ruler, who wouldest have all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, who dost not desire the death of a sinner, but that he may be reconciled and live: receive my prayer, which I poure forth before the face of thy mercie, for thy servants and hand-maydes, who have fledd to repentance and to thy mercy.

Yea, in the dayes of Thomas Aquinas there arose a learned man among the Papists themselves, who found fault with that *indicative* forme of absolution then used by the Priest, *I absolve thee from all thy sinnes*, and would have it delivered by way of *deprecation*. alledging, that this was not onely the opinion of *Gulielmus Altisiodorensis*, *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Hugo Cardinalis*; but also that <sup>1</sup> *thirtie* yeares were scarce passed, since all did use this forme onely, *Absolutionem & remissionem tribuat tibi omnipotens Deus*, Almighty God give unto thee absolution and forgivenesse. What Thomas doth answer hereunto, may be scene in his little treatise of the forme of absolution, which upon this occasion he wrote unto the Generall of his order. This onely will I adde, that aswell in the ancient *Ritualls* and in the new <sup>m</sup> *Pontificall* of the Church of Rome, as in the present practise of the Greek Church, I finde the absolution expressed in the *third* person, as attributed wholly to God, and not in the *first*, as if it came from the Priest himselfe. One ancient forme of <sup>n</sup> *Absolution* used among the Latins, was this. *Almighty God be mercifull unto thee, and forgive thee all thy sinnes, past, present, and to come, visible and invisible, which thou hast* <sup>aliquam negligentiam seu oblivionem vel malevolentiam abscondisti: liberet te Deus ab omni malo, hic & in futuro, conserve & confirmet te semper in omni opere bono: & perducatur te Christus filius Dei vivi ad vitam sine fine manentem.</sup> *Consensium Cereemonie antiqu.*

<sup>1</sup> Addit etiam obijciendo, quod vix 30. anni sunt, quod omnes hac solâ formâ utebantur; Absolutionem & remissionem &c. Thom. Opusc. 22. cap. 5. in Pontificale Roman. edit. Rom an. 1615. pag. 567. 568. in Absolutio Criminum. Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, & dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua, præterita, præsentia & futura, quæ commisisti coram eo & sanctis eius, quæ confessus es, vel per

committed

ἵνα δὲ διὰ τὴν  
 δυνάμειν αἰσθάνομαι  
 μελάνητα ἰσχυροῦ  
 δυνάμειν τοῦ ἰσχυ-  
 ροῦ καὶ παροικί-  
 μων τοῦ καὶ ταύ-  
 τε συγχωρηθῶν  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ παρὶς-  
 ρῶν τὸ συγχωρηθῶν  
 τέτοιον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ  
 ἰσχυροῦ. *Jerem. Pa-*  
*triarch. C. P.*  
*respons. I. ad Tu-*  
*bingenses, cap.*  
*II.*

p Secundum  
 quod ascendit,  
 habet se per  
 modum infe-  
 rioris & sup-  
 plicantis : se-  
 cundum quod  
 descendit, per  
 modum supe-  
 rioris & judi-  
 cantis. Secun-  
 dum primum  
 modum potest  
 gratiam impe-  
 trare, & ad hoc est idoneus : secundum secundum modum potest Ecclesie reconciliare. Et  
 ideo in signum hujus, in forma absolutionis præmittitur oratio per modum deprecativum,  
 & subiungitur absolutio per modum indicativum : & deprecatio gratiam impetrat, & ab-  
 solutio gratiam supponit. *Alexand. Halens. Summ. part. 4. quæst. 21. membr. 1. & Bonaventur. in*  
*4. Sentent. dist. 13. art. 2. quæst. 1.*

committed before him and his Saints, which thou hast con-  
 fessed or by some negligence or forgetfulness or evill vwill  
 hast concealed : God deliver thee from all evill, here and  
 hereafter, preserve and confirme thee alwayes in everie  
 good worke ; and Christ the sonne of the living God bring  
 thee unto the life which remayneth without end: And so  
 among the Grecians : ° whatsoever sinnes the penitent  
 for forgetfulness or shamefastnesse doth leave unconfessed,  
 we pray the mercifull and most pitifull God that those also  
 may be pardoned unto him, and we are perswaded that hee  
 shall receive pardon of them from God ; saith Ieremy the  
 late Patriarch of Constantinople. Where by the way  
 you may observe, no such necessitie to be here held of  
 confessing everie knowne sinne unto a Priest, that if  
 either for shame or for some other respect the penitent  
 doe not make an intire confession, but conceale some-  
 what from the notice of his ghostly father ; his confes-  
 sion should thereby be made voyde, and hee excluded  
 from all hope of forgiveness. which is that engine,  
 whereby the Priests of Rome have lift up themselves  
 into that height of domineering and tyrannizing over  
 mens conscience, wherewith we see they now hold the  
 poore people in most miserable awe.

*Alexander of Hales and Bonaventure* in the forme  
 of absolution used in their time, p observe that prayer  
 was premised in the optative, and absolution adjoynded af-  
 terward in the indicative mood. whence they gather,  
 that the Priests prayer obtayneth grace, his absolution pre-  
 supposeth it : that by the former he ascenderth unto God

and



and procureth pardon for the fault, by the later he descendeth to the sinner and *reconcileth him to the Church.* for <sup>q</sup> *although a man be loosed before God, (saith the Master of the Sentences) yet is he not held loosed in the face of the Church but by the judgement of the Priest.* And this loosing of men by the judgement of the Priest, is by the *Fathers* generally accounted nothing else but a restoring of them to the peace of the Church, and an admitting of them to the Lords table againe: which therefore they usually expresse by the termes of *bringing them to the communion, reconciling them to or with the communion, restoring the communion to them, admitting them to fellowship, granting them peace, &c.* Neyther doe we finde that they did ever use anie such formall absolution as this, *I absolve thee from all thy sinnes*: wherein our Popish Priests notwithstanding doe place the verie forme of their late devised sacrament of Penance, nay hold it to be so absolute a forme, that (according to *Thomas Aquinas* his new divinitie) y it would not be sufficient to say, *Almightie God have mercie upon thee, or, God grant unto thee absolution and forgiveness.* because, forsooth, *the Priest by these words doth not signifie that the absolution is done, but intreateth that it may be done.* which how it will accord with the *Romane Pontificall*, where the forme of Absolution is layd downe prayer-wise, the Iesuites who follow *Thomas* may doe well to consider.

I passe this over, that in the dayes not onely of S. <sup>a</sup> *Cyprian* but of <sup>a</sup> *Alcinius* also (who lived 800. yeares

<sup>z</sup> *Cyprian. epist. 13.* <sup>a</sup> *Alcinius de divin. offic. cap. 13. in capite Iejunii.* <sup>y</sup> In sacramentali absolutione non sufficeret dicere, Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, vel, Absolutionem & remissionem tribuat tibi Deus: quia per hæc verba Sacerdos absolutionem non significat fieri, sed petit ut fiat. *Thom. part. 3. quest. 84. art. 3. ad 1.*

<sup>q</sup> Quia etsi aliquis apud Deum sit solutus, non tamē in facie Ecclesiæ solutus habetur, nisi per iudicium Sacerdotis. *Peir. Lombard. lib. 4. Sentent. distinct. 18. Vid. Ivon. Carnotens. epist. 228. & Anselm. in Luc. 17.*

<sup>r</sup> ἁποκατάστασις καὶ ἡμεῖς. *Concil. Laodiceen. can. 2.*

<sup>f</sup> Communio- ni, vel communione reconciliari. *Concil. Eliberitan. can. 72. t Reddi ei cōmunionē. Amb. de Penitent. lib. 1. cap. 1. & lib. 2. cap. 9.*

<sup>u</sup> Ad communicationem admittere. *Cypr. epist. 53. communicatio- nem dare. Id. epist. 54. tribuere communica- tionem. Id. de lapsis.*

<sup>x</sup> Pacem dare. concedere pa-

b Vt secundum  
formam Cano-  
num antiquorū  
dentur pœni-  
tentia, hoc est,  
ut prius cum,  
quem sui pœ-  
nitet facti, a  
communione  
suspensum, fa-  
ciat inter reli-  
quos pœniten-  
tes ad manus  
impositionem  
crebrò recurre-  
re; expleto au-  
tem satisfactio-  
nis tempore,  
sicuti Sacerdo-  
talis contem-  
platio probave-  
rit, cum com-  
munioni resti-  
tuat. Concil. To-  
letan. III. cap.

II.

c ὁ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμαρ-  
τίας λήγοντα  
μετανοεῖν ἀφο-  
εῖται χρόνον ὡ-  
ρισμένον κατὰ  
τὴν ἀναλογία τῆς  
ἡμαρτίας. &  
ὅταν μετανοή-  
ταις ἀπολαμβάνειν, ὡς πατέρις ἡμεῖς. Constitut. Apostolic. lib. 2 cap. 16.

d Qui egerit vera-  
citer pœnitentiam, & solutus fuerit a ligamento quo erat constrictus, & a Christi corpore  
separatus, & bene post pœnitentiam vixerit: post reconciliationem cum defunctus fuerit,  
ad Dominum vadit, ad requiem vadit, regno Dei non privabitur & a populo Diaboli se-  
parabitur. Ambros. in Exhortat. ad Penitens. Augustin. homil. 41. ex 50. & inter Casarū Arelas.  
sermone homil. 43. & 44.

after Christ) the reconciliation of Penitents was not  
held to be such a proper office of the Priest; but that a  
Deacon, in his absence, was allowed to performe the  
same. The ordinarie course that was held herein,<sup>b</sup> ac-  
cording to the forme of the ancient Canons, is thus layde  
down by the fathers of the third Councell of Toledo.  
that the Priest should first suspend him that repented of  
his fault from the communion, and make him to have of-  
ten recourse unto imposition of hands among the rest of  
the penitents: then, when hee had fulfilled the time of his  
satisfaction, as the consideration of the Priest did approve  
of it, he should restore him to the communion. And this  
was a Constitution of old fathered upon the Apostles:  
that Bishops<sup>c</sup> should separate those vvhho said they repen-  
ted of their sinnes, for a time determined according to the  
proportion of their sinne; and afterward receive them be-  
ing penitent, as fathers would doe their children. To this  
Penitential excommunication and absolution, belong-  
eth that saying eyther of S. Ambrose or S. Augustin (for  
the same discourse is attributed to them both:)<sup>d</sup> Hee  
who hath truely performed his repentance, and is loosed  
from that bond wherewith he was tyed, and separated from  
the body of Christ, and doth live well after his repentance:  
whensoever after his reconciliation he shall depart this life,  
he goeth to the Lord, he goeth to rest, he shall not be depri-  
ved of the kingdome of God, and from the people of the  
Divell he shall be separated. and that which we read in

Anastasi



*Anastafius Sinaita* : *c* Binde him, and till thou hast appeased God, doe not let him loose; that he be not more bound with the wrath of God. for if thou bindest him not; there remaine bonds for him that cannot be broken. Neither doe we enquire, whither the wound were often bound; but whither the binding hath profited. If it have profited, although in a short time, use it no longer. Let the measure of the loosening, be the profit of him that is bound. and that exhortation which another maketh unto the Pastors of the Church : *f* Binde with separation such as have sinned after baptisme; and loose them againe when they have repented, receiving them as brethren. for the saying is true : Whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed in heaven.

That this authoritie of loosening remaineth still in the Church, wee constantly maintaine against the heresie of the *g* Montanists and *h* Novatians, who (upon this pretence among others, that God onely had power to remit sinnes) took away the ministeriall power of reconciling such penitents as had committed haynous sinnes; denying that the Church had anie warrant to receive them to her communion againe, and to the participation of the holy mysteries, notwithstanding their repentance were ever so sound. Which is directly contrarie to the doctrine delivered by *S. Paul*, both in the generall; that *i* if a man be overtaken in a fault, they who are spirituall should restore such a one in the spirit of meekenesse : and in the particular of the incestuous *Corinthian*, who though hee had beene excommunicated for such a crime *k* as was not so much as named

*e* Δις σὺν αὐτῷ  
καὶ ἵνα ἀνέξω  
σὺ δὲ δὸν, μὴ ἀφῇ  
καλυμμένον, ἵνα μὴ  
πλείον διδῇ τῇ τῇ  
δουλοῦν. ἀντὶ τούτου  
μὴ δῶν, τὰ ὅτι  
ῥακτα αὐτὸν μίση  
δομῆ. ἔστι. ἀλλ'  
ἐὰν γὰρ εἰ πάλιν  
καὶ ἐπιστῇ τὸ  
ῥαυμα, ζῆλον  
ἀλλ' ἢ οὐκ ἔστι  
δικαίως; εἰ μὲν  
ἐάντι. καὶ εἰ χεῖρα  
βραχέει, μὴ κίπ  
προσκαίῳ. καὶ  
ὁρᾷ τὸ ἴσον  
λύσις τῷ διδῶν  
καὶ τὸ κάρδ. *A.*  
*anastaf. Sinait.*  
*g* ματ. 6.  
*f* δόξατι ἀφορμα-  
μα τῷ μὲν τὸ  
ἐκ πίστεως ἀμάρτια  
συνταί, καὶ λύσις  
αὐτῶν πάλιν μα-  
ταροῦνται, ὡς ἀ-  
δελφοὶ αὐτῶν  
προσδοχόμενοι.  
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι  
ὁ λόγος. Ὅσα ἀν-  
λύσῃ ὁ θεὸς ἢ γῆς,  
ἔστι καλυμμένα ἐν  
τῇ ἐκείνῃ. *Homil.*  
*in illud. Quae-*  
*cunque ligave-*  
*ritis, &c. inter*  
*opera Chrysost.*  
*tom. 7. edit. Sa-*  
*vil. pag. 268.*  
*g* Hieronym. *e-*

*pist. 54. contra Montanum, & lib. 2. adversus Iovinian. Tertullianus Montanizans, in lib. de Pu-*  
*dicitia, cap. ult. h* Ambros. *lib. 1. de Paenitent. cap. 2. Socrat. lib. 1. histor. cap. 7. Sozomen. lib. 1.*  
*cap. 21. i* Galas. 6. 1. *k* 1. Cor. 5. 1.

1 2. Cor. 2. 7.

m Ambros. de  
Panis. lib. 1.

cap. 16.

n 2. Cor. 2. 10.

o 1. Cor. 5. 4. 5.

p 2. Tim. 2. 25,  
26.

q 2. Cor. 5. 20.

r Math. 18. 18,  
20.

ἢ ἂν θεωρεῖται  
καὶ ἐνδεσφύσει  
συνεργεῖ εἰς σωτηρίαν,  
καὶ ὑποκαταστήσει,  
καὶ οἰκοδομήσει, καὶ  
καταστήσει, καὶ ἰ-  
δύσκει τὰς ἀποστο-  
λὰς, κατὰ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸν ἀποστόλου. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐξαιρεῖται τὰς ἀμαρτίας τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἀλλὰ  
ἀλλὰ. Ἐγὼ εἶμι. ὁ ἰσχυρὸς τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐν ἡμῶν, καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐν, καὶ ἡ μὴ μνηστὴρ. Α-  
ναστά. φησὶ. 6.

amongst the Gentiles; yet upon his repentance the Apostle telleth the Church, that they <sup>ought</sup> to forgive him and comfort him, lest he should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow. Where that speech of his is specially noted and pressed against the hereticks by S. m Ambrose: <sup>n</sup> To whom yee forgive anie thing, I forgive also: for if I forgave anie thing, to whom I forgave it, for your sakes I forgave it, in the person of Christ. <sup>o</sup> For as in the name, and by the power of our Lord Jesus, such a one was delivered to Satan; so God having given unto him repentance, to recover himselfe out of the snare of the Divell, in the same name and in the same power was hee to be restored againe: the ministers of reconciliation standing <sup>q</sup> in Christs stead, and Christ himselfe being <sup>r</sup> in the mids of them that are thus gathered together in his name, to binde or loose in heaven, whatsoever they according to his commission shall binde or loose on earth. And here it is to be noted, that Anastasius (by some called Nicanus, by others Sinaita and Antiochenus) who is so eager against them which say that Confession made unto men profiteth nothing at all; confesseth yet, that the minister in hearing the confession and instructing and correcting the sinner, doth but give furtherance onely thereby unto his repentance, but that the pardoning of the sinne is the proper worke of God. <sup>r</sup> For man (saith he) cooperateth with man unto repentance, and ministreth, and buildeth, and instructeth, and reproveth, in things belonging unto salvation, (according to the Apostle, and the Prophet:) but God blotteth out the sinnes of those that have confes-



sed, saying; I am he that blotteth out thine iniquities for mine owne sake, and thy finnes, and will not remember them.

There followeth now another part of the *ministry* of *reconciliation*, consisting in the due administration of the *Sacraments*: which being the proper scales of the promises of the Gospel (as the Censures are of the threats) must therefore necessarily also have reference to the *remission of finnes*. And so we see, the ancient Fathers doe hold, that <sup>u</sup> the commission, *Ioh. 20. 23.* *Whose finnes yee remit, they are remitted unto them, &c.* is executed by the ministers of Christ, aswell in the conferring of Baptisme, as in the reconciling of Penitents: yet so in both these, and in all the sacraments likewise of both the Testaments, that <sup>x</sup> the *ministerie* onely is to be accounted mans, but the *power* Gods. For, as *S. Augustin* well observeth, *y* it is one thing to baptize by way of ministerie, another thing to baptize by way of power: <sup>z</sup> the power of baptizing the Lord retayneth to himselfe, the ministerie hee hath given to his servants: <sup>a</sup> the power of the Lords Baptisme was to passe from the Lord to no man, but the ministry was; the power was to be transferred from the Lord unto none of his ministers, the ministry was both unto the good and unto the bad. And the reason which hee assigneth hercof is verie good: <sup>b</sup> that the hope of the baptized might be in him, by whom they did acknowledge themselves to have beene baptized. The Lord therefore would not have a servant to put his hope in a servant. And therefore those Schoole-

*Ioh. tract. 5.* <sup>z</sup> Sibi tenuit Dominus baptizandi potestatem, servis ministerium dedit. *Id. ibid.* <sup>a</sup> Potestatem dominici baptismi in nullum hominem a Domino transituram, sed ministerium plane transiturum; potestatem a Domino in neminem ministrorum, ministerium & in bonos & in malos. *Id. ibid.* <sup>b</sup> Hoc noluit ideo, ut in illos spes esset baptizatorum, a quo se baptizatos agnoscerent. Noluit ergo servum ponere spem in servo. *Id. ibid.*

*Act. 2. 38.*  
*Matth. 26. 28.*  
<sup>u</sup> *Cyprian. epist. 76 (sect. 4. edit. Pameliy, 8. Goulersty.)* *Cyrill. Alexandr. in Ioann. lib. 12. cap. 56. Ambros. de Penitent. lib. 1. cap. 7. Chrysost. lib. 3 de Sacerdot. tom. 6 edit. Savil. pag. 17. lin. 25. Vid. & tom. 7. pag. 268. lin. 37.*  
<sup>x</sup> *August. quaest. in Levitic. cap. 84. Optat. lib. 5. contra Donatist. Chrysost. in Mat. 26. homil. 82. (edit. Grac. vel 83. Latin.) in 1. Cor. 3. homil. 8. & in 2. Tim. 1. homil. 2. (circa finem)*  
<sup>y</sup> *Aliud enim est baptizare per ministerium, aliud baptizare per potestatem. Aug. in Evang.*

c Paris potestatis est interius baptizare, & a culpa mortali absolvere. Sed Deus non debuit potestatem baptizandi interius communicare; ne spes poneretur in homine: Ergo pari ratione nec potestatem absolvendi ab actuali. *Alexand. de Hales.*

*Summ. pars. 4. quest. 21. memb. 1.*

d Officium baptizandi Dominus concessit multis, potestatem verò & auctoritatem in baptismo remittendi peccata sibi soli retinuit: unde Ioannes antonomasticè & discretivè de co dixit; Hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu sancto. *Scal. Paradis.*

*cap. 3. tem. 9. operum Augustini.*

e *Mark. 1. 8. Ioh. 1. 26, 33.* f Illo operante dabat Deus, qui dando non deficit. Et nunc operantibus cunctis, humana sunt opera, sed Dei sunt munera. *Optat. lib. 5. contra Donatist.* g Remissio peccatorum, sive per baptismum sive per alia sacramenta donetur propriè Spiritus sancti est; & ipsi soli huius efficientiæ privilegium manet. *Arnald. abbas Bonavallis, trakt. de Baptismo Christi.* h *2. Cor. 5. 18, 19.*

men argued not much amisse, that gathered this conclusion thence. c *It is a matter of equall power to baptize inwardly, and to absolve from mortall sinne. But it was not fit, that God should communicate the power of baptizing inwardly unto any; lest our hope should be reposed in man. Therefore by the same reason it was not fit, that hee should communicate the power of absolving from actuall sinne unto any.* So Bernard, or whosocver was the author of the booke intituled *Scala Paradisi*: d *The office of baptizing the Lord granted unto many, but the power and authoritie of remitting sinnes in baptisme he retayned unto himselfe alone. whence Iohn by way of singularitie and differencing said of him; He it is which baptizeth with the holy Ghost.* And the Baptist indeed doth make a singular difference betwixt the conferrer of the external and the internal baptisme, in saying: e *I baptize with water, but it is hee which baptizeth with the holy Ghost.* While Iohn f *did his service, God did give, who sayeth not in giving: and now when all others doe their service, the service is mans, but the gift is Gods; saith Optatus.* and *Arnaldus Bonavallensis* (the author of the twelve treatises *de Cardinalibus operibus Christi*, falsely ascribed to S. Cyprian: ) touching the Sacraments in generall: g *Forgivenesse of sinnes, whether it be given by Baptisme or by other sacraments, is properly of the holy Ghost; and the priviledge of effecting this remayneth to him alone.*

But the word of reconciliation is it, wherein the h Apostle doth especially place that ministerie of reconcilia-



tion, which the Lord hath committed to his Ambassadors here upon earth. This is that key of knowledge: which doth both open the conscience to the confession of sinne, and include therein the grace of the healthfull mystery unto eternitie; as Maximus Taurinensis speaketh of it. This is that powerfull meanes, which God hath sanctified for the washing away of the pollution of our soules. Now ye are cleane (saith our<sup>k</sup> Saviour to his Apostles) through the word which I have spoken unto you. And whereas everie transgressor is<sup>l</sup> holden with the cords of his owne sinnes: the Apostles, according to the commission given unto them by their Master, that whatsoever they should loose on earth should be loosed in heaven, did loose those cords by the word of God, and the testimonies of the Scriptures, and exhortation unto virtues. as<sup>m</sup> saith S. Hierome. Thus likewise doth S. Ambrose note, that<sup>n</sup> sinnes are remitted by the word of God, whereof the Levite was an interpreter and a kinde of an executer: & in that respect concludeth, that<sup>o</sup> the Levite was a minister of this remission. As the Iewish Scribes therefore, by<sup>p</sup> taking away the key of knowledge, did shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: so<sup>q</sup> every Scribe which is instructed unto the kingdome of heaven, by<sup>r</sup> opening unto his hearers the doore of faith, doth as it were unlock that kingdome unto them; being the instrument of God herein<sup>s</sup> to open mens eyes, and to turne them from darkenesse to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sinnes, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith

i Clavis, quæ & conscientia ad confessionem peccati aperit, & gratiam ad æternitatem mysterii salutaris includit.

Maxim. Taurin. de natali Petri & Pauli, hom. 5. k Ioh. 15. 13.

Vid. Ephes. 5. 26. & August. in Evangel. Iohann. tract. 80.

l Proverb. 5. 22.

m Funibus peccatorum suorum unusquisque constringitur,

Quos funes atque vincula solvere possunt

& Apostoli, imitantes magistrum suum qui eis dixerat:

Quæcunque solveritis super terram, erunt soluta & in celo.

Solvunt autem eos Apostoli sermone Dei, & testimoniis scripturarum, & ex-

hortatione virtutum.

Hieronym. lib. 6. comment. in Esai. cap. 14.

o Levites igitur minister remissionis est. Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 4.

red with Matth. 23. 13.

q Matth. 13. 52.

r Act. 14. 27.

n Remittuntur peccata

Ambros. de Abel & Cain,

p Luk. 11. 52. compa-

r Act. 26. 18.

in.

t *Act.* 10. 44.  
*Gal.* 3. 2.  
 z *Cor.* 3. 6.  
 u *1. Cor.* 4. 15.  
*Gal.* 4. 19.  
 x *Rom.* 10. 17.  
*Ioh.* 17. 20.  
 1 *Cor.* 3. 5.  
*Act.* 14. 27. and  
*chap.* 26. ver. 18.  
 20.  
 y *Mark.* 1. 4.  
 z *Act.* 19. 4.  
 a *Luk.* 1. 16, 17.  
 b *Ibid.* vers 77.

c *Act.* 20. 32.  
*Psal.* 19. 7. and  
 119. vers. 50, 93.  
 d *Lam.* 5. 20.

e *Rom.* 4. 6, 7.  
*Jerem.* 31. 18.  
*Revel.* 1. 18.  
*1. Thess.* 1. 10.  
*Act.* 3. 6.  
*Matth.* 1. 21.  
 f *2. Cor.* 5. 19.

in Christ. And here are we to understand, that the ministers of Christ, by applying the word of God unto the consciences of men both in publick and in private, doe discharge that part of their function which concerneth forgiveness of sinnes, partly *operatively*, partly *declaratively*. *Operatively*: inasmuch as God is pleased to use their preaching of the Gospell as a meanes of conferring his spirit upon the sonnes of men, of <sup>u</sup> begetting them in Christ, and of <sup>x</sup> working faith and repentance in them; whereby the remission of sinnes is obtayned. Thus Iohn <sup>y</sup> preaching the Baptisme of repentance for the remission of sinnes, and teaching <sup>z</sup> the people, that they should beleeve on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Iesus; is said to <sup>a</sup> turne manie of the children of Israel to the Lord their God, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, by <sup>b</sup> giving knowledge of salvation to Gods people, unto the remission of their sins. Not because he had properly anie power given him to turne mens hearts, and to worke faith and repentance for forgiveness of sinnes when and where he thought good: but because he was trusted with the ministerie of the <sup>c</sup> word of Gods grace, which is able to convert and quicken mens soules, and to give them an inheritance among all them which are sanctified. by the powerfull application of which word, <sup>d</sup> he who converteth the sinner from the error of his way, is said to save a soule from death, and to hide a multitude of sinnes. For howsoever in true proprietic, <sup>e</sup> the covering of sinnes, the saving from death, and turning of men from their iniquities, is a priviledge peculiar to the Lord our God; unto whom alone it appertayneth to <sup>f</sup> reconcile the world to himselfe, by not imputing their sinnes unto them: yet inasmuch as he hath committed unto his ambassadors



dors the word of reconciliation, they in performing that worke of their ministerie, may be as rightly said to be employed in reconciling men unto God, and procuring remission of their sinnes; as they are said to <sup>h</sup> deliver a man from going downe into the pit, when they <sup>h</sup> declare unto him his righteousness, and to <sup>i</sup> save their hearers, when they <sup>k</sup> preach unto them the Gospel, by which they are saved.

g *Ibid.*h *Iob. 33. 23.*

24.

i *1. Tim. 4. 16.*k *1. Cor. 13. 1, 2.**Act. 11. 14.*

For as the word it selfe which they speake, is said to be <sup>l</sup> their word, which yet <sup>m</sup> is in truth the word of God: <sup>l</sup> so the worke which is effectually wrought by that word in them that beleeve, is said to be their worke, though in truth it be the proper worke of God. And as they that beleeve by their word, are said to be their *Epistle*, *2. Cor. 3. 2.* that is to say, the *Epistle of Christ ministered by them* (as it is expounded in the verse following:) in like maner, forgiveness of sinnes and those other great graces that appertain to the beleevers, may be said to be their worke, that is to say, the worke of Christ ministered by them. For in verie deed (as *Optatus* speaketh in the matter of Baptisme) <sup>n</sup> not the minister, but the faith of the beleever and the Trinitie doe bring these things unto every man. And where the preaching of the Gospel doth prove <sup>o</sup> the power of God unto salvation; onely the weakenesse of the externall ministerie must be ascribed to men, but <sup>p</sup> the excellency of the power must ever be acknowledged to be of God, and not of them: <sup>q</sup> neyther he that planteth, being here any thing, neyther he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase. For howsoever in respect of the former, such as take paines in the Lords husbandry may be accounted *θεοῦ συνεργοί*, as the Apostle termeth them, labourers together with God (though that little peece of ser-

l *Iob. 17. 20.*m *1. Thess. 2. 13.*

n Has res unicuique, non e-  
iusdem rei ope-  
rarius, sed cre-  
dentis fides &  
Trinitas præ-  
stat. *Optat. lib. 5.  
contra Donatist.*

o *Rom. 1. 16.*i *Cor. 7. 18.*p *2. Cor. 4. 7.*q *1. Cor. 3. 7.*r *Ibid. vers. 9.*

f *Ibid.* vers. 10.

i *Iam vero*

quod sequitur,

Sed Deus in-

crementum de-

dit; non per il-

los, sed per seip-

sum facit. Ex-

cedit hoc hu-

manam humi-

litate, exce-

dit angelicam

sublimitatem,

ac omnino

pertinet, nisi ad

agricolam Tri-

nitatem, *Aug.*

*in Evangel. lo-*

*ann. tract. 80.*

u *1. Cor. 12. 11.*

x *1. Cor. 2. 12.*

y *1. Cor. 3. 6.*

z *Act. 20. 24.*

a *Revel. 16. 1.*

b *2. Cor. 10. 6.*

c *Ierem. 15. 1.*

d *Psal. 94. 1.*

e *Rom. 12. 19.*

*Hebr. 10. 30.*

vice. it selfe also bee not performed by their owne strength, but <sup>f</sup> according to the grace of God which is gi-  
ven unto them: ) yet <sup>t</sup> that which followeth, of giving  
the increase, God effecteth not by them, but by himselfe.  
This (saith S. Augustin) exceedeth the lowlinesse of man,  
this exceedeth the sublimitie of Angels, neither appertay-  
neth unto anie but unto the husbandman the Trinity.

Now as the Spirit of God doth not onely <sup>u</sup> worke  
diversities of graces in us, distributing to every man seve-  
rally as he will; but also maketh us to <sup>x</sup> know the things  
that are freely given to us of God: so the ministers of the  
New Testament, being <sup>y</sup> made able ministers of the same  
spirit, are not onely ordayned to be Gods instruments  
to worke faith and repentance in men, for the obtay-  
ning of remission of sinnes, but also to declare Gods  
pleasure unto such as beleeve and repent, and in his  
name to certifie them and give assurance to their con-  
sciences that their sinnes are forgiven. they having <sup>z</sup> re-  
ceived this ministerie of the Lord Iesus, to testifie the Go-  
spell of the grace of God; and so by their function being  
appointed to be witnesses rather then conferrers of that  
grace. For it is here with them in the *loosing* part, as it  
is in the *binding* part of their ministerie; where they  
are brought in, like unto those seven Angels in the  
book of the Revelation, <sup>a</sup> which powre out the vialls of  
the wrath of God upon the earth; <sup>b</sup> having vengeance  
ready against all disobedience, and a charge from God, to  
<sup>c</sup> cast men out of his sight: not because they are properly  
the avengers (for that <sup>d</sup> title God challengeth unto him-  
selfe) or that vengeance did anie way appertaine unto  
them (for <sup>e</sup> it is written: *Vengeance is mine, I will repay;*  
*saith the Lord*) but because they were the denouncers,  
not the *inflicters* of this vengeance. So though it be  
the



the Lord that <sup>f</sup> speaketh concerning a nation, to pluck up <sup>f</sup> *Jerem. 18. 7. 9.*  
 and to pull down and to destroy, or on the other side, to  
 build and to plant it; yet he <sup>g</sup> in whose mouth God put <sup>g</sup> *Jerem. 1. 9. 10*  
 those words of his, is said to be set by him over the na-  
 tions and over the kingdoms, to roote out, and to pull  
 downe, and to destroy, and to throw downe, to build and to  
 plant: as if he himselfe were a doer of those great mat-  
 ters, who was onely <sup>h</sup> ordeyned to be a Prophet unto the  
 nations, to speake the things unto them which God  
 had commanded him. Thus likewise in the thirteenth  
 of Leviticus, where the Lawes are set downe that con-  
 cerne the leprosie, which was a type of the pollution of  
 sinne, wee meet often with these speeches, <sup>i</sup> *The Priest*  
*shall cleanse him, and, k The Priest shall pollute him, and in*  
 the 44. verse, <sup>l</sup> *The Priest with pollution shall pollute him:*  
<sup>m</sup> not (saith S. Hierome) that he is the author of the pol-  
 lution, but that he declareth him to be polluted, who before  
 did seeme unto many to have beene cleane. Whereupon  
 the Master of the Sentences (following herein S. Hie-  
 rome, and being afterwards therein followed himselfe  
 by manie others) observeth, that <sup>n</sup> in remitting or retay-  
 ning sinnes the Priests of the Gospell have that right and  
 office, which the legall Priests had of old under the Law in  
 curing of the lepers. These therefore (saith hee) forgive  
 sinnes or retaine them, whiles they shew and declre that  
 they are forgiven or retayned by God. For the Priests put  
 the name of the Lord upon the children of Israel, but it was  
 he himselfe that blessed them, as it is read in Numbers.  
 The place that he hath reference unto, is in the sixth  
 chapter of that booke, where the Priests are comman-

h Ibid vers. 5, 7.

i מִן הַכֹּהֲנִים

x καὶ ἀπορεῖ αὐτοῦ

ὁ ἱερεὺς.

k מִן הַכֹּהֲנִים

x καὶ μολεῖ αὐτοῦ ὁ

ἱερεὺς.

l מִן הַכֹּהֲנִים

x καὶ μολεῖ αὐτοῦ

ὁ ἱερεὺς.

m Contami-

natione conta-

minabit eum,

haud dubium

quin Sacerdos:

non quo con-

taminationis

author sit, sed

quo ostendat

eum contami-

natum, qui pri-

us mundus plu-

rimis videba-

tur. Hieronym.

lib. 7. in Esai.

cap. 23.

n In remitten-

dis vel in reti-

nendis culpis

id juris &amp; offi-

cii habent E-

vangelici sacer-

dotes, quod o-

lim habebant

sub lege legales

in curandis le-

profis. Hi ergo peccata dimittunt vel retinent, dum dimissa á Deo vel retenta indicant &  
 ostendunt. Ponunt enim sacerdotes nomen Domini super filios Israel, sed ipse benedixit;  
 sicut legitur in Numeris, Petr. Lombard. lib. 4. Sentent. diff. 14. f.

ded to *blesse* the people, by saying unto them, *The Lord blesse thee, &c.* and then it followeth (in the last verse of that chapter: ) *So they shall put my Name upon the children of Israel, and I will blesse them.*

o Bellarmin. de  
Panisens. lib 3.  
cap. 2. sect. ult.

p 1. Cor. 4. 19,  
20.

q 2. Cor. 3. 6.

p 1. Thess. 1. 5.

f Rom. 10. 15.

e Ephes. 4. 29.

Neyther doe we grant hereupon, (as the o Adversarie falsely chargeth us) that a *lay-man*, yea or a *woman*, or a *childe*, or any *infidell*, or the *Devell* (the Father of all calumniators and lyars) or a *Parrat* likewise, if hee be taught the words, may as wel *absolve* as the *Priest* as if the speech were all the thing that here were to be considered, and not the *power*: where we are taught, that *the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power*. Indeed if the Priests by their office brought nothing with them but the ministerie of the bare letter, a *Parrat* peradventure might be taught to sound that letter as well as they: but we beleeve, that q God hath made them able ministers of the *New Testament*, not of the letter, but of the *spirit*. and that the Gospel ministred by them r cometh unto us not in word anely, but also in power, and in the holy Ghost, and in much assurance. For God hath added a speciall f beautie to the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace, that howsoever others may bring glad tydings of good things to the penitent sinner as truely as they doe; yet neyther can they doe it with the same authority, neyther is it to be expected that they should doe it with such power, such assurance, and such full satisfaction to the afflicted conscience. The speech of everie Christian (we know) should be employed to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace unto the hearers; and a private brother in his place may deliver sound doctrine, reprehend vice, exhort to righteousness, verie commendably: yet hath the Lord notwithstanding all this, for the necessarie use of his Church, appointed publick



publicke officers to doe the same things, and hath given unto them a peculiar <sup>u</sup> power for edification, <sup>u</sup> 2. Cor. 10. 3. 13. 10. wherein they may boast above others; and in the due execution whercof God is pleased to make them instruments of ministring a more plentifull measure of grace unto their hearers, then may be ordinarily looked for from others. These men are appointed to bee of Gods high commission, and therefore they may <sup>x</sup> speake, and exhort, and rebuke with all authoritie. they <sup>x</sup> Tit. 2. 15. are Gods <sup>y</sup> Angels and <sup>z</sup> Ambassadors for Christ, and <sup>y</sup> Revel. 1. 20. therefore in delivering their message are to be <sup>z</sup> received <sup>z</sup> 2. Cor. 5. 20. as an Angel of God, yea as Christ Iesus. that looke how the Prophet Esay was comforted, when the Angel said unto him, <sup>b</sup> Thyne iniquitie is taken away, and thy sinne <sup>b</sup> Esay. 6. 7. purged; and the poore woman in the Gospell, when Iesus said unto her, <sup>c</sup> Thy sinnes are forgiven: the like <sup>c</sup> Luk. 7. 48. consolation doth the distressed sinner receive from the mouth of the Minister, when hee hath compared the truth of Gods word faithfully delivered by him, with the worke of Gods grace in his owne heart. according to that of Elihu: <sup>d</sup> If there be an Angel or a messenger <sup>d</sup> Iob. 33. 23. with him, an Interpreter, one of a thousand, to declare <sup>24.</sup> unto man his righteousness; then will God have mercy upon him and say, Deliver him from going downe to the pit, I have received a reconciliation. For as it is the office of this messenger and interpreter, to <sup>e</sup> pray us in Christs <sup>e</sup> 2. Cor. 5. 20. stead, that we would be reconciled to God: so when wee have listened unto this motion, and submitted our selves to the Gospell of peace, it is a part of his office likewise to declare unto us in Christs stead, that we are reconciled to God: and <sup>f</sup> in him Christ himselfe must <sup>f</sup> 2. Cor. 13. 3a. bee acknowledged to speake, who to us ward by this meanes is not weake, but is mightie in us.

g Oportet dicere, in summo Pontifice esse plenitudinem omnium gratiarum; quia ipse solus confert plenam indulgentiam omnium peccatorum, ut competat sibi, quod de primo principe Domino dicimus; quia de plenitudine eius nos omnes accepimus. *De regimine Principum, lib. 3. cap. 10 inter opuscula Thomae, num. 20.*  
 h Negatur remissio illis, quibus noluerint Sacerdotes remittere. *Bellar. de Pœnit. lib. 3. cap. 2.*  
 i Activè, & proximè, atque instrumentaliter efficit gratiam justificationis. *Id. de Sacrament. in genere, lib. 2. cap. 1.*  
 k Vt flatus extinguit ignem, & dissipat nebulas; sic etiam Absolutio Sacerdotis peccata dispergit, & evanescere facit. *Id. de Pœnitent. lib. 3. cap. 2.*  
 l *Id. ibid. sect. penult.*

But our new Masters will not content themselves with such a ministeriall power of forgiving sinnes as hath beene spoken of; unlesse we yeeld that they have authoritie so to doe properly, directly, and absolutely: that is, unlesse wee acknowledge that their high Priest sitteth in the Temple of God as God, and all his creatures as so manie demi-gods under him. For we must say (if we will be drunke with the drunken) *that in this high Priest there is the fulnesse of all graces; because hee alone giveth a full indulgence of all sinnes: that this may agree unto him, which we say of the chiefe prince our Lord, that of his fulnesse all we have received.* Nay wee must acknowledge, that the meanest in the whole armie of Priests that followeth this king of pride, hath such fulnesse of power derived unto him for the opening and shutting of heaven before men: that <sup>h</sup> *forgivenessse is denied to them, whom the Priest will not forgive;* and his Absolution on the other side is a sacramentall act, which conferreth grace *by the worke wrought, that is, (as they <sup>i</sup> expound it) actively, and immediately and instrumentally effecteth the grace of justification in such as receive it. that <sup>k</sup> as the winde doth extinguish the fire, and dispell the clowdes; so doth the Priests absolution scatter sinnes, and make them to vanish away:* the sinner being thereby immediately acquitted before God, howsoever that sound conversion of heart be wanting in him, which otherwise would be requisite. for <sup>l</sup> *a conditionall Absolution, upon such termes as these, If thou dost beleeve and repent as thou oughtest to doe, is (in these mens judgement) to no purpose, and can give no securitie to*



the penitent; seeing it dependeth upon an uncertaine condition. Have wee not then just cause to say unto them, as *m Optatus* did unto the Donatistes: *Nolite vobis Majestatis dominium vendicare?* Intrude not upon the royall prerogative of our Lord and Master. No man may challenge this absolute power of the keyes, but *n he that hath the key of David, that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth*; hee to whom *o the Father hath given power over all flesh, yea p all power in heaven and in earth*; even the eternall Sonne of God, who hath in his hands *q the keyes of death, and is able to r quicken whom he will.* *m Optat. lib. 5. n Revel. 3. 7. o Job. 17. 2. p Matth. 18. 18. q Revel. 1. 18. r Job. 5. 21.*

The Ministers of the Gospell may not meddle with the matter of soveraigntie, and thinke that they have power to proclaime warre or conclude peace betwixt God and man, according to their owne discretion: they must remember, that they are *f Ambassadors for Christ*, and therefore in this treatie are to proceed according to the instructions which they have received from their soveraigne; which if they doe transgresse, they goe beyond their commission, therein they doe not *περὸ βεβήκειν* but *παρὰ πρὸς βεβήκειν*, and their authoritie for so much is plainly voyde. The Bishop (saith *S. Gregory*, and the Fathers in the Councell of *Aquisgran* following him) *t in loosing and binding those that are under his charge, doth follow oftentimes the motions of his owne will, and not the merit of the causes. Whence it cometh to passe, that he depriveth himselfe of this power of binding and loosing, who doth exercise the same according to his owne will, and not according to the manners of them which be subject unto him. that is to say, he maketh him-* *t Sæpè in solvendis ac ligandis subditis suæ voluntatis motus, non autem causarum merita sequitur. Vnde fit ut ipsâ hâc ligandi & solvendi potestate se privet; qui hanc pro suis voluntatibus, & non pro subjectorum moribus exercet. Greger. in Evangel. homil. 26. Concil. Aquisgran sub Ludovico Pio, cap. 37.*

u Qui indig-  
nos ligat vel  
solvit, propria  
potestate se  
privat, id est,  
dignum priva-  
tione se facit.  
*Petr. Lombard.*  
*lib. 4. Sentent.*  
*dist. 18. C.*  
x Privat, id est,  
meretur priva-  
ri. *10. Semeca.*  
*Gloss. Grat. caus.*  
*11. quest. 3. cap.*  
*60. Ipse li-*  
*gandi.*  
y *Ephes. 1. 13.*  
*Iam 1. 18.*  
z *2. Cor. 13. 8.*  
\* *Rom. 2. 2.*  
a Scio frater,  
hanc ipsam  
pœnitentiæ ve-  
niam non pas-  
sim omnibus  
dari, &c. *Paci-*  
*an. epist. 1.*  
b Magno pon-  
dere magno-  
que libramine,  
post multos ge-  
mitus effuso-  
nemque la-  
chrymarum, post  
totius Ecclesiæ  
preces, ita veni-  
veræ pœniten-  
tiæ non negari,  
ut iudicatus  
Christo nemo  
præiudicet. *Ibid.* c Reddet quidem ille rationem, si quid perperam fecerit, vel si corrupte  
& impiè iudicabit. Nec præiudicatur Deo, quo minus mali ædificatoris opera rescindat :  
intercæ, si pia illa administratio est, adiutor Dei operum perseverat, *Id. ibid.*

selfe worthy to be deprived of that power, which he hath thus abused; (as the <sup>u</sup> Master of the Sentences and <sup>x</sup> *Semeca* in his Gloss upon *Gratian*, would have *S. Gregories* meaning to be expounded) and *pro tanto* (as hath beene said) actually voideth himselfe of this power, this unrighteous judgement of his given upon earth, being no wayes ratified, but absolutely disannulled in the court of heaven. For hee who by his office is appointed to be a minister of <sup>y</sup> the word of truth, hath no power given him to <sup>z</sup> do any thing against the truth, but for the truth : neyther is it to be imagined, that the sentence of man, who is subject to deceive and be deceived, should anie wayes prejudice the sentence of God, whose <sup>\*</sup> judgement wee know to be alwayes according to the truth. Therefore doth *Pacianus*, in the end of his first epistle to *Sympronianus* the Novatian, shew that at that time, absolution was <sup>a</sup> not so easily given unto penitents, as now a dayes it is : but <sup>b</sup> with great pondering of the matter and with great deliberation, after manie sighes and shedding of teares, after the prayers of the whole Church, pardon was so not denied unto true repentance, that Christ being to judge, no man should pre-  
judge him. and a little before, (speaking of the Bishop by whose ministerie this was done : <sup>c</sup> He shall give an account (saith he) if hee have done anie thing amisse, or if he have judged corruptly and wickedly. Neyther is there anie prejudice done unto God, whereby he might not undoe the workes of this evill builder : but in the meane time, if that administration of his be godly, he continueth a helper of the workes of God. Wherein he doth but tread in the



steps of S. Cyprian, who at the first rising of the Novatian heresie, wrote in the same maner unto Antonianus.

*d Wee doe not prejudice the Lord that is to judge, but that hee, if he finde the repentance of the sinner to be full and just, he may then ratifie that which shall be here ordayned by us: but if any one doe deceive us with the semblance of repentance, God (who is not mocked, and who beholdeth the heart of man) may judge of those things which we did not well discern, and the Lord may amend the sentence of the servants.*

Hereupon S. Hierome, expounding those words, Daniel 4. 24. *It may be God will pardon thy sinnes; repro- veth those men of great rashnesse, that are so peremp- torie and absolute in their absolutions. e When blessed Daniel (saith he) who knew things to come, doth doubt of the sentence of God: they do a rash deed, that boldly pro- mise pardon unto sinners. S. Basil also resolveth us, that f the power of forgiving is not given absolutely; but upon the obedience of the penitent, and his consent with him that hath the care of his soule. For it is in loosing, as it is in binding. g Thou hast begun to esteeme thy brother as a publican, (saith S. Augustin:) thou bindest him up- on earth. But looke that thou bindest him justly. For un- just bonds justice doth breake. So when the Priest saith, I absolve thee: Maldonat confesseth, that hee meaneth no more thereby but, h As much as in me lyeth, I absolve thee: and Suarez acknowledgeth, that it implicitly in- cludeth this condition, i Vnlesse the receiver put some im-*

*d Neque enim præjudicamus Domino judi- caturus, quo minus si pœni- tentiam plenā & justam pec- catoris invenc- rit, tunc ratum faciat quod a nobis fuerit hic statutum. si ve- rō nos aliquis pœnitentiæ si- mulatione de- luserit; Deus qui non deri- detur, & qui cor hominis intuetur, de his quæ nos minus perspeximus judicet, & ser- vorum senten- tiam Dominus emendet. Cyp. epist. 52 sect. 11. (edis Goulars.) e Cum beatus Daniel, præsci- us futurorum, de sententiâ Dei dubitet: rem temerariâ faciunt, qui au- dacter pecca- toribus indul-*

gentiam pollicentur. Hieronym. in Daniel. cap. 4. f H' ἡ κρίσις τῆ ἀρετῆς ἐν δόλῳ τῶς δίδωται, ὅτι ἐν τῷ αἵματι τῆ μετανοίας, καὶ συμφωνίας πρὸς τὸν ὀπίσθιόν αὐτοῦ τὸ ψῆφισ. Basil regul. brevior. qu. 25. g Cœpisti habere fratrem tuum tanquam publicanum: ligas illum in terrâ. Sed ut justé alliges, vide. Nam injusta vincula dirumpit justitia. August. de verbis Domini, serm. 16. cap. 4. h Quantum in me est, ego te absolvo. Maldonat. tom. 2. de penitent. pars. 3. thes. 5. i Nisi suscipiens obicem ponat. Fr. Suarez. in Thom. tom. 4. disp. 19 sect. 2. num. 20.

k Hanc formā  
magis signifi-  
care virtutem  
suam, quā e-  
ventum. *Hugo.*  
l Ita & hic a-  
pertē ostendi-  
tur, quod non  
semper sequi-  
tur Deus Eccle-  
siæ iudicium:  
quæ per surre-  
ptionem & ig-  
norantiam in-  
terdum iudi-  
cat; Deus au-  
tem semper iu-  
dicat secun-  
dum veritatē.  
*Petr. Lombard.*  
*Sentent. lib. 4.*  
*distinct. 18. f.*  
m Aliquando  
enim ostendunt  
solutos vel li-  
gatos, qui ita  
non sunt apud  
Deum: & pœ-  
nā satisfactio-  
nis vel excom-  
municationis  
interdum in-  
dignos ligant  
vel solvunt; &  
indignos sacra-  
mentis admit-  
tunt, & dignos admitti arcent. Sed intelligendum est hoc in illis, quorum merita solvi vel ligari postulant. Tunc enim sententia Sacerdotis iudicio Dei & totius cœlestis curiæ ap-  
probatur & confirmatur, cum ita ex discretionē procedit, ut reorum merita non contradi-  
cant. Quoscunque ergo solvunt vel ligant, adhibentes clavem discretionis reorum meri-  
tis, solvuntur vel ligantur in cœlis, id est, apud Deum: quia divino iudicio Sacerdotis senten-  
tia sic progressa approbatur & confirmatur. *Id. ibid. h. Vid. Gabriel Biel, in eand. distinct. 18.*  
*quest. 1. lit. b.*

pediment; for which hee alledgeth the authority of *Hugo de S. Victore, lib. 2. de Sacramentis, pa. 14. f. 8.* affirm-  
ing,<sup>k</sup> that this forme doth rather signifie the power and  
vertue, then the event of the absolution. And there-  
fore doth the Master of the Sentences rightly observe,  
that<sup>l</sup> God doth not evermore follow the judgement of the  
Church: which sometimes judgeth by surreption and ig-  
norance; whereas God doth alwayes judge according to the  
truth. So the Priests<sup>m</sup> sometime declare men to be loo-  
sed or bound, who are not so before God: with the penaltie  
of satisfaction or excommunication they sometime binde  
such as are unworthy, or loose them; they admit them  
that be unworthy to the Sacraments, and put backe them  
that be worthy to be admitted. That saying therefore of  
Christ must be understood to be verified in them (saith  
he) whose merits doe require that they should be loosed or  
bound. For then is the sentence of the Priest approved and  
confirmed by the judgement of God and the whole court of  
heaven, when it doth proceed with that discretion, that  
the merits of them who be dealt withall doe not contradict  
the same. Whomsoever therefore they do loose or binde,  
using the key of discretion according to the parties merits,  
they are loosed or bound in heaven, that is to say, with God:  
because the sentence of the Priest proceeding in this ma-  
ner, is approved and confirmed by divine judgement. Thus  
farre the Master of the Sentences: who is followed  
herein by the rest of the Schoolemen; who generally



agree, that the power of binding and loosing committed to the Ministers of the Church, is not absolute, but must be limited with *Clave non errante*, as being then only of force when matters are carried with right judgement, and no error is committed in the use of the keys.

Our Saviour therefore must stil have the priviledge reserved unto him, of being the absolute Lord over his *owne house*: it is sufficient for his officers, that they be esteemed as *Moses was*, *faithfull in all his house as servants*. The place wherein they serve, is a *Stewards place*: and the Apostle telleth them, *that it is required in Stewards, that the man be found faithfull*. They may not therefore carrie themselves in their office, as the *unjust steward* did, and presume to strike out their Masters debt without his direction, and contrarie to his liking. Now we know that our Lord hath given no authoritie unto his stewards, to grant an acquittance unto anie of his debtors, that bring not unfayned faith and repentance with them. *Neyther Angell nor Archangell can*, neyther yet *the Lord himselfe*, (*who alone can say; I am with you*) *when we have sinned, doth release us, unlesse wee bring repentance with us*: saith *S. Ambrose*. and *Eligius Bishop of Noyon*, in his Sermon unto the Penitents: *Before all things it is necessary you should know, that howsoever you desire to receive the imposition of our hands; yet you cannot obtaine the absolution of your sinnes, before the divine piety shall vouchsafe to absolve you by the grace of compunction*. To thinke therefore that it lyeth in the power of anie Priest truely to

*a* Quod in terra Sacerdos clave non errante, & recto iudicio procedens retinet, nec dimittit; Deus etiam in cœlo retinet, nec dimittit.

*Tales. comment. in Iohan. 20.*

*o* Hebr. 10. 5, 6.

*p* 1. Cor. 4. 2.

*q* Luk. 16. 6, 7, 8.

*r* Nec angelus potest, nec archangelus: Dominus ipse, (qui solus potest dicere; Ego vobiscum) si peccaverimus, nisi poenitentiam deferentibus non relaxat.

*Ambr. epist. 28. ad Theodosium Imp.*

*f* Ante omnia autem vobis scire necesse est; quia licet impositionem manuum nostrarum accipere cupiatis,

tamen absolutionem peccatorum vestrorum consequi non potestis, antequam per compunctionis gratiam divina pietas vos absolvere dignabitur. *Eligius Neutomens. homil. 11. tom. 7. Biblioth. Patr. pag. 248. edit. Colon.*

r Nam qui di-  
 cit; Ego te  
 baptizo, vel ab-  
 solvo, non af-  
 firmat se abso-  
 lutè baptizare  
 vel absolvere,  
 cùm non igno-  
 ret, multis mo-  
 dis fieri posse,  
 ut neque bap-  
 tizet neque ab-  
 solvat, licet ea  
 verba pronun-  
 ciet: nimirum  
 si is, qui Sacra-  
 mentum susci-  
 pere videtur,  
 fortè non ha-  
 beat suscipien-  
 di intentionem,  
 vel non sit ritè  
 dispositus, aut  
 obicem ponat.  
 Igitur Minister  
 illis verbis ni-  
 hil aliud signi-  
 ficat, nisi se,  
 quod in se est,  
 Sacramentum  
 reconciliationis vel absolutionis impendere, quod vim habet in homine disposito pecca-  
 ta omnia dimittendi, *Bellarmin. de Penitent. lib. 2. cap. 14. sect. penult.* u *Concil. Tridentin.*  
*sess. 14. cap. 4.*

absolve a man from his sinnes, without implying the  
 condition of his *beleeving and repenting as he ought to*  
*doe*; is both presumption and madnesse in the highest  
 degree. Neyther dareth Cardinall *Bellarmino*, who  
 censureth this conditionall absolution in us for idle  
 and superfluous, when he hath considered better of the  
 matter, assume unto himselfe, or communicate unto  
 his brethren, the power of giving an absolute one. For  
 he is driven to confesse with other of his fellowes, that  
 when the Priest saith, *I absolve thee*, he doth not affirme  
 that he doth absolve absolutely; as not being ignorant,  
 that it may many wayes come to passe that he doth not ab-  
 solve, although he pronounce those words: namely if hee  
 who seemeth to receive this Sacrament (for so they call it)  
 peradventure hath no intention to receive it, or is not  
 rightly disposed, or putteth some blocke in the way. There-  
 fore the Minister (saith hee) signifieth nothing else by  
 those words, but that hee, as much as in him lyeth, con-  
 ferreth the sacrament of reconciliation or absolution,  
 which in a man rightly disposed hath vertue to forgive all  
 his sinnes.

Now that *Contrition* is at all times necessarily requi-  
 red for obtayning remission of sinnes and iustification,  
 is a matter determined by the Fathers of *u Trent*. But  
 marke yet the mysterie. They equivocate with us in  
 the terme of *Contrition*: and make a distinction there-  
 of into *perfect* and *imperfect*. The former of these is  
*Contrition* properly: the latter they call *Attrition*.  
 which howsoever in it selfe it be not true *Contrition*,  
 yet when the Priest with his power of forgiving sinnes

interposeth



interposeth himselfe in the businesse, they tell us that  
*x attrition by vertue of the keyes is made contrition*: that  
 is to say, that a sorrow arising from a servile feare of  
 punishment, and such a fruitlesse *y repentance* as the re-  
 probate may carry with them to hell, by vertue of the  
 Priests absolution is made so fruitfull, that it shall serve  
 the turne for obteyning forgivenesse of sinnes; as if it  
 had beene that *z godly sorrow which worketh repentance*  
*to salvation not to be repented of*. By which spirituall  
 coosenage, many poore soules are most miserably de-  
 luded, while they perswade themselves that upon the  
 receipt of the Priests acquittance upon this carnall sor-  
 row of theirs, all skores are cleered untill that day: and  
 then beginning upon a new reckoning, they sinne and  
 confesse, confesse and sinne afresh, and tread this round  
 so long till they put off all thought of saving repen-  
 tance; and so the ablinde following the blinde, both at  
 last fall into the pit.

*b Evill and wicked, carnall, naturall, and divellish men*  
*(saith S. Augustin) imagine those things to be given unto*  
*them by their seducers, which are onely the gifts of God,*  
*whether sacraments, or any other spirituall workes, concer-*  
*ning their present salvation.* But such as are thus sedu-  
 ced, may doe well to listen a little to this grave admo-  
 nition of S. Cyprian. *c Let no man deceive, let no man*  
*beguile himselfe: it is the Lord alone that can shew mercy.*  
*He alone can grant pardon to the sinnes committed against*

*de Baptismo, contra Donatist lib. 3. cap. ult.*

*c Nemo se fallat, nemo se decipiat: solus Do-*  
 minus misereri potest. Veniam peccatis, quæ in ipsum commissæ sunt, solus potest ille lar-  
 giri, qui peccata nostra portavit, qui pro nobis doluit, quem Deus tradidit pro peccatis no-  
 stris. Homo Deo esse non potest major; nec remittere aut donare indulgentiâ suâ servus  
 potest, quod in Dominum delicto graviore commissum est: ne adhuc lapsus & hoc accedat  
 ad crimen, si nesciat esse prædictum; Maledictus homo qui spem habet in homine. Cyprian.  
*de Lapsis (sect. 7. edit. Pamel. 14. Goulart.)*

*x* Attritio vir-  
 tute clavium  
 fit contritio.  
*Romani Corre-*  
*ptores Gloss.*  
*Gratian, De*  
*penit. d. dist.*  
*1. in principio:*  
*& aliq. passim.*  
*y* Mat. 27. 3.  
 4. 5.  
*z* 2. Cor. 7. 10.

*a* Mat. 15. 14.  
*b* Mali & faci-  
 norosi, carna-  
 les, animales,  
 diabolici, a se-  
 ductoribus suis  
 sibi dari arbi-  
 trantur, quæ  
 non nisi munera  
 Dei sunt, si-  
 ve sacramenta  
 five spirituales,  
 aliquas opera-  
 tiones, circa  
 præsentem sa-  
 lutem. August.

d Ministri-  
nim sunt, pro  
iudiciis ha-  
beri nolunt,  
spem in se poni  
exhorrescunt.

August. in E-  
vangel. Iohan.  
tract. 5.

e Non secun-  
dum arbitrium  
hominum, sed  
secundum ar-  
bitrium Dei.

August. de Bap-  
tism. contra Do-  
natis. lib. 3.

cap. 18.

f Christus in-  
stituit Sacerdo-  
tes iudices su-  
per terram cum  
eâ potestate, ut  
sine ipsorum  
sententiâ nemo  
post Baptismū  
lapsus reconci-  
liari possit. Bel-  
larm. de Penit.  
lib. 3. cap. 2.

g Igitur in ho-  
rum arbitrio  
munus solvendi  
& ligandi, re-  
mittendi & re-  
tinendi pec-

cata hominum, à Christo Domino, per Spiritum sanctum fuisse positam; liquido constat.  
Baron. Annal. rom. 1. ann. 34. sect. 197. h Qui claves regni cœlorum habentes, quo-  
dammodo ante iudicii diem iudicant. Hieronym. epist. 1. ad Heliodorum. i Principatum  
superni iudicii sortiuntur, ut vice Dei quibusdam peccata retineant, quibusdam relaxent.  
Gregor. h. mil. 26. in Evangel.

him, who did himselfe beare our sinnes, who suffered grieve for us, whom God did deliver for our sinnes. Man cannot be greater then God; neyther can the servant by his indulgence remit or pardon that which by haynous trespassse is committed against the Lord: lest to him that is fallen this yet be added as a further crime, if hee be ignorant of that which is said; Cursed is the man that putteth his trust in man. Whereupon S. Augustin sticketh not to say, that good ministers doe consider that <sup>d</sup> they are but ministers, they would not be held for Iudges, they abhorre that any trust should be put in them: and that the power of remitting and retayning sinnes is committed unto the Church, to be dispensed therein, <sup>e</sup> not according to the arbitrement of man, but according to the arbitrement of God. Whereas our adversaries lay the foundation of their Babel upon another ground: that <sup>f</sup> Christ hath appointed Priests to be Iudges upon earth with such power, that none falling into sinne after Baptisme may be reconciled without their sentence; and hath <sup>g</sup> put the authoritie of binding and loosing, of forgiving and retayning the sinnes of men, in their arbitrement.

Whether the Ministers of the Gospell may be accounted Iudges in some sort, we wil not much contend: for we dislike neyther that saying of S. Hierome, that <sup>h</sup> having the keyes of the kingdome of heaven, they judge after a sort before the day of judgement; nor that other of S. Gregory, that the Apostles, & such as succeed them in the governement of the Church, <sup>i</sup> obtaine a principa-  
litie of judgement from above, that they may in Gods stead

retayne



retayne the sinnes of some, and release the sinnes of others. All the question is, in what sort they doe judge, and whether the validitie of their judgement doe depend upon the truth of the conversion of the penitent: wherein if our Romanists would stand to the judgement of S. Hierome or S. Gregory (one of whom they make a Cardinall, and the other a Pope of their owne Church) the controversie betwixt us would quickly be at an end. For S. Hierome, expounding that speech of our Saviour, touching the keyes of the kingdome of Hea-  
*ven*, in the sixteenth of S. Matthew; <sup>k</sup> *The Bishops and Priests*, saith he, *not understanding this place, assume to themselves somewhat of the Pharisees arrogancie: as imagining, that they may either condemne the innocent, or absolve the guiltie; whereas it is not the sentence of the Priests, but the life of the parties that is inquired of with God. In the booke of Leviticus wee reade of the Lepers, where they are commanded to shew themselves to the Priests, and if they shall have the leprosie, that then they shall be made uncleane by the Priest. not that the Priests should make them leprous and uncleane, but that they should take notice who was a leper and who was not, and should discern who was cleane and who uncleane. Therefore as there the Priest doth make the leper cleane or uncleane; so here the Bishop or Priest doth binde or loose: not binde the innocent, or loose the guiltie; but when according to his office hee heareth the variety of sinnes, hee knoweth who is to be bound and who to be loosed. Thus farre S. Hierome.*

faciant & immundos: sed quò habeant notitiam leprosi & non leprosi, & possint discernere, qui mundus quive immundus sit. Quomodo ergo ibi leprosum Sacerdos mundum vel immundum facit: sic & hîc alligat vel solvit Episcopus & Presbyter, non eos qui insones sunt vel noxii, sed pro officio suo, cum peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus scit quive solvendus, Hieronym. commentar. in Matth. cap. 16.

k- Istum locū Episcopi & Presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Phariseorum assumunt supercilio: ut vel damnent innocentes vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur: cum apud Deū non sententia Sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quærat. Legimus in Levitico de leprosis, ubi iubentur, ut ostendant se Sacerdotibus, & si lepram habuerint, tunc à Sacerdote immundi fiant: non quò Sacerdotes leprosi!

S. Gregory

1 Causæ ergo  
pensandæ sunt,  
& tunc ligandi  
atque solvendi  
potestas exer-  
cenda. Videndū  
est quæ culpa,  
aut quæ sit  
pœnitentia se-  
cuta post cul-  
pam: ut quos  
omnipotens  
Deus per com-  
punctionis gra-  
tiam visitat,  
illos Pastoris  
sententia absol-  
vat. Tunc er-  
um vera est  
absolutio præ-  
sidentis: cum  
æterni arbitri-  
um sequitur  
Iudicis. *Gregor.  
in Evangel. ho-  
mil. 26. Concil.  
Aquisgran. cap.  
37.*

m Ecce illum  
discipuli iam  
viventem sol-  
vunt: quem

magister resuscitaverat mortuum. Si enim discipuli Lazarum mortuum solverent: fac-  
torem magis ostenderent quàm virtutem. Ex quâ consideratione intuendum est: quòd  
illos nos debemus per pastorem auctoritatem solvere, quos auctorem nostrum cogno-  
scimus per suscitantem gratiam vivificare. *Idem ibidem. & Eligius Noviomens. homil. 11. tom.  
7. Bibliothec. Patr. pag. 248. edit. Colon. n P. Lombard. lib. 4. Sent. dist. 18. l. 2. f. Alexand. de  
Hales, Summ. part. 4. quæst. 2. membr. 1. & c.*

S. Gregory likewise in the very same place from  
whence the Romanists fetch that former sentence,  
doth thus declare in what maner that principalitie of  
iudgement, which he spake of, should be exercised: be-  
ing therein also followed step by step, by the Fathers of  
the Councell of *Aquisgran*. <sup>1</sup> *The causes ought to bee  
weighed, and then the power of binding and loosing exer-  
cised. It is to be seene, what the fault is, and what the re-  
pentance is that hath followed after the fault: that such as  
almightie God doth visite with the grace of compunction,  
those the sentence of the Pastor may absolve. For the ab-  
solution of the Prelate is then true, when it followeth the  
arbitrement of the eternall Iudge. And this doe they  
illustrate by that which we reade in the Gospell of the  
raising of Lazarus, Ioh. 11. 44. that Christ did first of all  
give life to him that was dead by himselfe, and then  
commanded others to loose him, and let him goe. m Be-  
hold (say they) the disciples doe loose him being now a-  
live; whom their Master had raysted up being dead. For if  
the disciples had loosed Lazarus being dead: they should  
have discovered a stinche more then a vertue. By which  
consideration wee may see: that by our Pastorall au-  
thoritie wee ought to loose those, vvhom wee know  
that our Authour and Lord hath revived vvith his  
quickning grace. The same application also doe wee  
finde made, not onely by <sup>n</sup> Peter Lombard, and other  
of the Schoolemen, but also by Iudocus Clichtovens,  
not long before the time of the Councell of Trent.*

Lazarus



o Lazarus (saith Clichtoveus) first of all came forth alive out of the sepulchre, and then was commandement given by our Lord that hee should be loosed by the disciples and suffered to go his way: because the Lord doth first inwardly by himselfe quicken the sinner, and afterwards absolveth him by the Priests ministerie. For no sinner is to be absolved, before it appeareth that hee be amended by due repentance, and be quickned inwardly. But inwardly to quicken the sinner, is the office of God alone, who saith by the Prophet: I am he that blotteth out your iniquities.

The truth therefore of the Priests absolution, dependeth upon the truth and sinceritie of Gods quickning grace in the heart of the Penitent: which if it be wanting, all the absolutions in the world will stand him in no stead. For example, our Saviour saith: *P If yee forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but, if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neyther will your Father forgive your trespasses.* and in this respect (as is observed by *Sedulius*) *q in other mens persons we are eyt her absolved or bound:*

————— *r graviusque soluti*

*Nectimur, alterius si solvere vincla negamus.*

Suppose now, that a man who cannot find in his heart to forgive the wrong done unto him by another, is absolved here by the Priest from all his sinnes (according to the usuall forme of Absolution: ) are wee to thinke that what is thus loosed upon earth, shall be loosed in heaven? and that Christ, to make the Priests word true, will make his owne false? And what wee say of charitie toward man, must much more be understood of the love of God and the love of righteousness: the

o Sed ante prodit redivivus Lazarus ex sepulchro, & deinde ut solveretur a discipulis & finiretur abire a Domino iussu est: quia peccatorem etiam consuetudine committendi reatus gravatum, prius Dominus intrinsecus per seipsum vivificat, postea vero eundem per Sacerdotum ministerium absolvit. Nullus quippe peccator absolvendus est, antequam per dignam poenitentiam correctus, & intrinsecus appareat vivificatus. Vivificare autem interius peccatorem solus Dei munus est, qui per Prophetam dicit: Ego sum qui deleo iniquitates vestras.

*Clichtov. in Evangel. Iohann. lib. 7. cap. 23. inter opera Cyrilli.*

p *Matth. 6. 14. 15. & c. 18. 35.*  
dwl. lib. 2. *Paschalis Operis*, cap. 11.

q In aliorum personis aut absolvimur aut ligamur. *Se. Id. lib. 2. Paschalis Carm.*

f Odenunt pec-  
care boni vir-  
tutis amore,  
*Horat. lib. 1.*

*epist. 16.*

t Fatemur e-  
nim perfectum  
odium peccati  
esse illud, quod  
ex amore Dei,  
iustitiæque  
procedit; &  
ideò dolorem,  
five odium ex  
timore poenæ  
conceptū, non  
Contritionem,  
sed Attritionē  
nominamus.

*Billarm. lib. 2.*

*de Pœnitent.*

*cap. 18.*

u *Id. ibid.*

x Argumentū  
recte probat  
eos, qui timo-  
rem servilem  
habent, inordi-  
natos ac malos  
esse &c. *Id. ibid.*

y *Prov. 17. 15.*

z *Prov. 24. 24.*

a *1. Ioh. 4. 18.*

defect whereof is not to be supplied by the absoluti-  
on of anie Priest. It hath beene alwayes observed for a  
speciall difference betwixt good and bad men, that the  
one hated sinne for the love of vertue, the other onely  
for the feare of punishment. The like difference do our  
Adversaries make betwixt *Contrition* and *Attrition*:  
that the hatred of sinne, in the one proceedeth from  
the love of God and of righteousnesse; in the other,  
from the feare of punishment. and yet teach for all  
this, that *Attrition* ( which they confesse would not  
otherwise suffice to iustifie a man ) being ioyned with  
the Priests Absolution, is sufficient for that purpose:  
he that was *attrite* being by vertue of this Absolution  
made *contrite*, and iustified, that is to say, hee that was  
led onely by a servile feare, and consequently was to be  
ranked among disordered and evill persons, being by  
this meanes put in as good case for the matter of the  
forgivenesse of his sinnes, as hee that loveth God sin-  
cerely. For they themselves doe graunt, that *x* such as  
have this servile feare, from whence *Attrition* issueth,  
are to be accounted evill and disordered men, by reason  
of their want of charitie: to which purpose also they  
alledge that saying of *Gregory*, *Recti diligunt te, non recti  
adhuc timent te. Such as be righteous love thee, such as be  
not righteous as yet feare thee.*

But they have taken an order notwithstanding, that  
*non recti* shall stand *recti in curia* with them: by assu-  
ming a strange authoritie unto themselves of iustify-  
ing the wicked ( a thing, we know, that hath the curse  
of y God and z man threatned unto it ) & making men  
friends with God, that have not the love of God dwel-  
ling in them. For although we be taught by the word  
of God, that a *perfect love casteth out feare*; that wee  
have



<sup>b</sup> have not received the spirit of bondage to feare againe, <sup>b</sup> Rom. 8. 15. but the spirit of adoption whereby wee cry Abba, father; that mount Sinai (which <sup>c</sup> maketh those that come <sup>c</sup> Heb. 12. 18, unto it to feare and quake) <sup>d</sup> engendreth to bondage, <sup>21.</sup> and is to be cast out with her children, from inheriting <sup>d</sup> Gal. 4. 24. 25, the promise; & that <sup>e</sup> without love, both we our selves <sup>31.</sup> are nothing, and all that we have doth profit us nothing: <sup>e</sup> 1. Cor. 13. 2, 3. yet these wonderfull men would have us beleewe, that <sup>Vid. authorem libri de verâ & fal. â penitentiâ cap. 17 inter opera Augustini, 10m. 4.</sup> by their word alone they are able to make something of this nothing; that feare without love shall make men capable of the benefite of their pardon, as well as love without feare; that whether men come by the way of mount Sinai or mount Sion, whether they have Legall or Evangelicall repentance, they have authoritie to absolve them from all their sinnes. as if it did lye in their power, to confound Gods Testaments at their pleasure, and to give unto a servile feare not the benefite of manumission only, but the priviledge of adoption also; by making the children of the bondwoman children of the promise, and giving them a portion in that blessed inheritance together with the children of her that is free.

<sup>f</sup> Repentance from dead workes, is one of the foundations and principles of the doctrine of Christ. <sup>f</sup> Hebr. 6. 1. <sup>g</sup> Nothing maketh repentance certaine, but the hatred of sinne, <sup>g</sup> Poenitentiâ certam non facit, nisi odium peccati, & amor Dei. August. serm. 7. de Tempore. and the love of God. and without true repentance all the Priests under heaven are not able to give us a discharge from our sinnes, and deliver us from the wrath to come. <sup>h</sup> Except ye be converted, ye shall not enter into the kingdome of heaven. <sup>h</sup> Mat. 18. 3. <sup>i</sup> Except yee repent, yee shall all perish: is the Lords saying in the new Testament. and <sup>i</sup> Luk. 13. 3, 5. in the old: <sup>k</sup> Repent, and turne from all your transgressions: so iniquitie shall not be your ruine. Cast away from <sup>k</sup> Ezech. 18. 30, 31.

you all your transgressions, whereby yee have transgressed, and make you a new heart and a new spirit: for why will yee dye, O house of Israel? Now put case one commeth to his ghostly father, with such sorrow of minde as the terrours of a guiltie conscience usually doe produce, and with such a resolution to cast away his sins, as a man hath in a storme to cast away his goods, not because he doth not love them, but because he feareth to loose his life if he part not with them: doth not he betray this mans soule, who putteth into his head, that such an extorted repentance as this, which hath not one graine of love to season it withall, wil qualifie him sufficiently for the receiving of an absolution, by I know not what sacramentall facultie that the Priest is furnished withall to that purpose? For all doe confesse with S. Augustin, that <sup>1</sup> this feare which loveth not justice, but dreadeth punishment, is servile, because it is carnall, and therefore doth not crucifie the flesh. For the willingness to sinne liveth, which then appeareth in the work, when impunitie is hoped for: but when it is beleevved that punishment will follow, it liveth closely, yet it liveth. For it would wish rather, that it were lawfull to doe that which the Law forbiddeth, and is sorry that it is not lawfull: because it is not spiritually delighted with the good thereof, but carnally feareth the evill which it doth threaten. What man then, doe we thinke, will take the paynes to get him a new heart and a new spirit, and undertake the toylsome worke of crucifying the flesh with the lustes thereof; if without all this adoe, the Priests absolution can make that other imperfect or rather equivocall contrition, arising from a carnall and servile feare, to

I Timor namque iste quo non amatur justitia, sed timetur poena, servilis est, quia carnalis est, & ideo non crucifigit carnem. Vivit enim peccandi voluntas, quae tunc apparet in opere, quando speratur impunitas. Cum vero poena creditur secutura, latenter vivit, vivit tamen. Mallet enim licere & dolet non licere quod lex vetat: quia non spiritaliter delectatur ejus bono, sed carnaliter malum metuit quod minatur. August. in Psalm. 118, conc. 25.



be sufficient for the blotting out of all his finnes? Or are wee not rather to thinke that this sacramentall penance of the Papists is a device invented by the enemy to hoodwinke poore soules, and to diuert them from seeking that true repentance which is onely able to stand them in stead? and that such as take upon them to helpe lame dogges over the stile after this maner, by substituting *quid pro quo*, attrition in stead of contrition, servile feare in stead of filiall love, carnall sorrow in stead of godly repentance; are physicians of no value, may such as minister poyson unto men under colour of providing a soveraigne medicine for them? Hee therefore that will have care of his soules health, must consider, that much resteth here in the good choyce of a skilfull physician; but much more, in the paines that must be taken by the patient himselfe. For that every one who beareth the name of a Priest, is not fit to be trusted with a matter of this moment; their owne Decrees may give them faire warning, where this admonition is m<sup>o</sup>twise laid down, out of the author that wrote of true and false repentance. *Hee who will confesse his finnes, that he may finde grace, let him seeke for a Priest that knoweth how to binde and loose: least, while he is negligent concerning himselfe, he be neglected by him who mercifully admonisheth and desireth him, that both fall not into the pit, which the foole would not avoid.* And when the skilfullest Priest that is, hath done his best: S. Cyprian will tell them, that *to him that repenteth, to him that worketh, to him that prayeth, the Lord of his mercie can grant a pardon; hee can make good that which for*

m Decret. de  
Panis. distinct.  
1. ca. 88. Quem  
pœnitet. & dist.  
6. ca. 1. Qui vult  
n Qui confite-  
ri vult peccata,  
ut inveniatur gra-  
tiam, quærat  
sacerdotem sci-  
entem ligare &  
solvere: ne,  
cum negligens  
circumextiterit,  
negligatur ab  
illo, qui eum  
misericorditer  
monet, & pe-  
tit, ne ambo in  
foveam cadant,  
quam stultus  
evitare noluit.  
Lib. de ver. &

fals. pœnitent. cap 10. inter opera. Augustini, tom. 4. o Pœnitenti, operanti, roganti potest clementer ignoscere; potest in acceptum referre, quidquid pro talibus & petierint martyres, & fecerint sacerdotes. Cyprian. de Lapsis. (sect. 13. edit. Pamel. 29 Goulart.)

such men eyther the Martyrs shall request or the Priest shall doe.

p 2. Pet. 2. 19.  
 q Quanti pa-  
 nem non ha-  
 bentes & vesti-  
 menta, cum ipsi  
 esuriant & nu-  
 di sint, nec ha-  
 beant spiritua-  
 les cibos neque  
 Christi tunicā  
 integram re-  
 servarint; aliis  
 & alimonia &  
 vestimenta pro-  
 mittunt, & ple-  
 ni vulneribus  
 medicos esse  
 se jactant: nec  
 servant illud  
 Mosaicū, Pro-  
 vide alium quē  
 mittas; aliud  
 quē mandatū,  
 Ne quæras ju-  
 dex fieri, ne  
 forte non pos-  
 sis auferre ini-  
 quitates. Solus  
 Iesus omnes  
 languores san-  
 nat & infirmi-  
 tates: de quo  
 scriptum est;  
 Qui sanat con-  
 tritos corde, &  
 alligat contri-  
 tiones eorum.  
 Hic onym. lib. 3.  
 comment. in  
 Esai. cap. 3.

If we inquire, who they were that first assumed unto themselves this exorbitant power of forgiving sins: we are like to finde them in the Tents of the ancient here- ticks and schismatics; who *promised unto others li- bertie, when they themselves were the servants of corrup- tion.* q How manie (saith S. Hierom) *which have ney- ther bread nor apparell, when they themselves are hungry and naked, and neyther have spirituall meates, nor pre- serve the coate of Christ intire; yet promise unto others food and rayment, and being full of wounds themselves bragge that they be physicians: and doe not observe that of Moses, (Exod. 4. 13.) Provide another vvhom thou mayest send; & that other commandement (Ecclesiastic. 7. 6.) Doe not seeke to be made a Iudge, lest peradventure thou be not able to take away iniquitie. It is Iesus alone, who healeth all sicknesses and infirmities: of vvhom it is written, (Psalm. 147. 4.) He healeth the contrite in heart, and bindeth up their soares.* Thus farre S. Hierom.

The Rhemists in their marginall note upon Luke 7. 49. tell us, that *as the Pharisees did alwayes carp Christ for remission of sinnes in earth, so the Hereticks reprehend his Church that remitteth sinnes by his authoritie.* But S. Augustin treating upon the selfe same place, might have taught them, that hereby they bewrayed them- selves to be the off spring of Hereticks, rather then chil- dren of the Church. For whereas our Saviour there had said unto the penitent woman, *Thy sinnes are for- given;* and they that sate at meate with him began to say within themselves, *Who is this that forgiveth sinnes also?* S. Augustin first compareth their knowledge and the knowledge of the woman thus together.

Shée



*Shee knew that hee could forgive sinnes; but they knew that a man could not forgive sinnes. And wee are to beleeve that all, that is, both they which sat at table, and the woman which came to our Lords feet, they all knew that a man could not forgive sinnes. Seeing all therefore knew this, shee who beleeved that hee could forgive sinnes, understood him to be more then a man. and a little after: (That doe you know well, that doe you hold well; saith that learned Father. Hold, that a man cannot forgive sinnes. Shee who beleeved that her sinnes were forgiven her by Christ, beleeved that Christ was not only man, but God also. Then doth hee proceede to compare the knowledge of the Iewes then with the opinion of the Heretickes in his dayes. Herein (saith he) the Pharisee was better then these men: for when he did thinke that Christ was a man, he did not beleeve that sinnes could be forgiven by a man. It appeared therefore that the Iewes had better understanding then the Hereticks. The Iewes said; Who is this that forgiveth sinnes also? Dare a man challenge this to himselfe? What saith the Heretick on the other side? I do forgive, I doe cleanse, I doe sanctifie. Let Christ answer him, not I: O man, when I was thought by the Iewes to be a man, I ascribed the forgivenesse of sinnes to faith. Not I, but Christ doth answer thee. O Heretick, Thou when thou art but a man sayest; Come woman, I doe make thee safe. I when I was thought to be but a man said; Goe woman, thy faith hath made thee safe.*

*ti credidit, Christū non hominē tantū, sed & Deū credidit id. ibid. Phariseus; quia cū putaret hominē Christū, non credebat ab homine posse dimitti peccata. Melior ergo Iudæis quā hæreticis apparuit intellectus. Iudæi dixerant, Quis est hic qui etiam peccata dimittit? Audet sibi homo usurpare? Quid contra Hæreticus? Ego mundo, ego sanctifico. Respondeat illi, non ego, sed Christus. O homo, quando ego à Iudæis putatus sum homo, dimissionem peccatorum fidei dedi. Non ego, respondet tibi Christus. O Hæretice, tu cū sis homo, dicis: Veni mulier, ego te salvam facio. Ego cū putarer homo, dixi, Vade mulier, fides tua te salvam fecit. Id. ibid. cap. 8.*

*r Noverat ergo illum posse dimittere peccata: illi autem noverant hominem non posse peccata dimittere. Et credendum est, quod omnes, id est, & illi discumbentes, & illa mulier accedens ad pedes Domini, omnes hi noverant hominē non posse peccata dimittere. Cum ergo omnes hoc noscent: illa quæ credidit cum posse peccata dimittere, plus quā hominē esse intellexit.*

*August. hom. 23. ex 30. cap. 7.*

*f Tamen illud bene nostis, bene tenetis Tene, quia homo non potest peccata dimittere. Illa quæ sibi à Christo peccata dimit-*

*t Sed in eo melior*

u Intelligite  
ves vel sero o-  
perarios esse,  
non dominos.  
Et si Ecclesia  
vineam est, sunt  
homines & or-  
dinati cultores.  
Quid in domi-  
nium patris fa-  
milias irruistis?  
Quid vobis,  
quod Dei est,  
vindictis?  
*Optat. lib. 5. con-  
tra Donatist.*  
x. Concedite  
Deo, præstare  
quæ sua sunt.  
Non enim po-  
test munus ab  
homine dari,  
quod divinum  
est. Si sic puta-  
tis, Prophetarum  
voces, & Dei  
promissa ina-  
niter contendi-  
tis, quibus pro-  
batur, quia De-  
us lavat, non  
homo *Id. ibid.*  
y *ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν  
ἀμαρτυροῦντα  
ὡς ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς  
ἐσμεν.* Theodoret.

*heretic fabul. lib. 4.*

z Vix enim aut rarissime aliquis talium confitetur nisi per verba generalia: vix unquam aliquod grave specificant. Quod dicunt unâ die, dicunt & alterâ: ac si in omni die æqualiter offendant. *Alvar. de Planct. eccles. lib. 2. artic. 78. A.* a Omnia peccata etiam sine poenitentia ipsis confitentibus relaxarunt; super quibuslibet irregularitatibus dispensarunt interuentu pecuniæ: dicentes se omnem potestatem habere super hoc, quam Christus Petro ligandi & solvendi contulisset in terris. *Niem de schismate, lib. 1. cap. 68.*

they

The Hereticks at whom S. *Augustin* here aymeth, were the *Donatists*: whom *Optatus* also before him did thus roundly take up for the same presumption. *Understand at length, that you are servants, and not Lords. And if the Church be a vineyard, and men be appointed to be dressers of it: why doe you rush into the dominion of the householder? Why doe you challenge unto your selves, that which is Gods? \* Give leave unto God to performe the things that belong unto himselfe. For that gift cannot be given by man, which is divine. If you think so, you labour to frustrate the words of the Prophets, & the promises of God, by which it is proved that God washeth (away sinne,) and not man. It is noted likewise by Theodoret, of the Audian hereticks: that y they bragged they did forgive sinnes. The maner of Confession which he saith was used among them, was not much unlike that which *Alvarus Pelagius* acknowledgeth to have beene the usuall practise of them that made greatest profession of religion and learning in his time. z For scarce at all (saith hee) or very seldome doth any of them confesse otherwise then in generall termes: scarce doe they ever specifie any grievous sinne. What they say one day, that they say another, as if every day they did offend alike. The maner of Absolution was the same with that, which *Theodoricus de Niem* noteth to have beene practised by the pardoners sent abroad by Pope *Boniface* the ninth: who a released all sinnes to them that confessed, without any penance (or repentance;) affirming that*



they had for their warrant in so doing, all that power which Christ gave unto Peter of binding and loosing upon earth. just as Theodoret reporteth the Audians were wont to doe: who presently<sup>b</sup> after confession graunted remission; not prescribing a time for repentance, as the lawes of the Church did require, but giving pardon by authority.

The lawes of the Church prescribed a certaine time unto Penitents,<sup>c</sup> wherein they should give prooffe of the soundnesse of their repentance: and gave order that afterwards they should be<sup>d</sup> forgiven and comforted, lest they should be swallowed up with overmuch heavinesse. So that first their penance was injoynd unto them, and thereby<sup>e</sup> they were held to be bound: after performance whereof they received their absolution, by which they were loosed againe. But the Audian hereticks, without anie such triall taken of their repentance, did of their owne heads give them absolution presently upon their confession: as the Popish Priests use to doe now a dayes. Onely the Audians had one ridiculous ceremonie more then the Papists; that having placed the Canonickall bookes of Scripture upon one side, and certaine Apocryphall writings on the other, they caused their followers to passe betwixt them, and in their passing to make confession of their sinnes: as the Papists, another idle practise more then they; that after they have given absolution, they injoyne penance to the partie absolved, that is to say, (as they of old would have interpreted it) they first loose him and presently after binde him. which howsoever they hold to be done in respect of the temporall punishment remayning due after the remission of the fault: yet it appeareth plainly, that the penitentiall workes

Y

required

b *ἡ τὰ τοῦ ἀπο-  
στολικοῦ ἐκτελέ-  
ουσι τὴν ἀφί-  
εσιν ἐκ τῆς ἐκ-  
κλησίας, καὶ*

*οὐ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκ-  
κλησίας ἐκτελέ-  
ουσι τὴν ἀφί-  
εσιν. Theodor.  
her. lib. 4.*

c *August. En-  
chirid ad Laur.  
cap. 65.*

d *2. Cor. 2. 7.*

e *Vid. Nomoca-  
nonem Nestleia  
in Theod. Balsa-  
monis collect.*

*Canon, edit. Pa-  
ris, an. 1620. pag.  
1101. lin. ult. &  
Niconis epist. ad  
Enclitium, ibid.  
pag. 1096 1097.*

*& Anastas. Si-  
nait, quest. 6.  
pag. 64. edit.  
Gracolas. Gresi-  
seri.*

f Si quis pos-  
tus in ultimâ  
necessitate æ-  
gritudinis suæ,  
voluerit acci-  
pere pœniten-  
tiam & accipit,  
& mox recon-  
ciliatur, & hinc  
vadit: fateor  
vobis, non illi  
negamus quod  
petit, sed non  
præsumimus  
quia bene hinc  
exit. Non præ-  
sumo, non vos  
fallo, non præ-  
sumo. *August.*  
*homil. 41. ex 30.*  
*Ambros. exhort.*  
*ad pœnitent.*  
g Agens pœ-  
nitentiam ad  
ultimum & re-  
conciliatus, si  
securus hinc  
exit, ego non  
sum securus.  
c. Pœniten-  
tiam dare pos-  
sum, securitatē  
dare non possum. *Ibid.*

h Nunquid dico, damnabitur? Non dico Sed dico etiam, libe-  
rabitur? Non. Et quid dicis mihi? Nescio: non præsumo, non promitto nescio. Vis te de  
dubio liberare; vis quod incertum est evadere? Age pœnitentiam dum sanus es. *Ibid.*  
i Pœnitentia quæ ab infirmo petitur, infirma est. Pœnitentia quæ a moriente tantum  
petitur, timo ne ipsa moriatur. *Augustin. serm. 57. de Tempore.*

required in the ancient Church, had reference to the  
fault it selfe; and that no absolution was to be expect-  
ed from the Minister for the one, before all reckonings  
were ended for the other. Onely where the danger of  
death was imminent, the case admitted some excepti-  
on: reconciliation being not denied indeed unto them  
that desired it at such a time, yet so granted, that it was  
left verie doubtfull, whether it would stand the parties  
in anie great stead or no. *f* If any one being in the last ex-  
tremitie of his sicknesse, saith S. *Augustin*, is willing to re-  
ceive penance, and doth receive it, and is presently reconci-  
led, and departeth hence: I confesse unto you, wee doe not  
denie him that which hee asketh, but wee doe not presume  
that he goeth well from hence. I doe not presume, I deceive  
you not, I doe not presume. *g* Hee who putteth off his pe-  
nance to the last, and is reconciled; whether hee goeth se-  
cure from hence, I am not secure. Penance I can give him,  
securitie I cannot give him. *h* Doe I say, hee shall be dam-  
ned? I say not so. But doe I say also, he shall be freed? No.  
What dost thou then say unto mee? I know not: I pre-  
sume not, I promise not, I know not. Wilt thou free thy  
selfe of the doubt? wilt thou escape that which is uncer-  
taine? Doe thy penance while thou art in health. *i* The  
penance which is asked for by the infirme man, is infirme.  
The penance which is asked for onely by him that is a dy-  
ing, I feare lest it also dye.

But with the matter of penance we have not here to  
deale: those formal absolutions and pardons ot course,  
immediately granted upon the hearing of mens con-



fessions, is that which wee charge the Romish Priests  
 to have learned from the *Audian* hereticks. *\* Some re-*  
*quire penance to this end, that they might presently have*  
*the communion restored unto them : these men desire, not*  
*so much to loose themselves, as to binde the Priest ; saith*  
*S. Ambrose.* If this be true, that the Priest doth binde  
 himselfe, by his hastie and unadvised loosing of others :  
 the case is like to go hard with our Popish Priests, who  
 ordinarily in bestowing their absolutions, use to make  
 more hast then good speed. Wherein, with how little  
 judgement they proceed, who thus take upon them the  
 place of Iudges in mens consciences, may sufficiently  
 appeare by this : that whereas the maine ground,  
 whereupon they would build the necessitie of Auricu-  
 lar confession, and the particular enumeration of all  
 knowne sinnes, is pretended to be this, that the ghostly  
 Father having taken notice of the cause may judge  
 righteous judgement, and discern who should be  
 bound and who should be loosed ; the matter yet is so  
 carried in this court of theirs, that everie man com-  
 monly goeth away with his absolution, and all sorts of  
 people usually receive one and the selfe same iudge-  
 ment. *1 If thou seperate the pretious from the vile, thou*  
*shalt be as my mouth : saith the Lord.* Whose mouth  
 then may we hold them to be, who seldome put anie  
 difference betweene these, and make it their ordinarie  
 practise to pronounce the same sentence of absolution  
 as well upon the one as upon the other ?

If we would know, how late it was before this trade  
 of pardoning mens sinnes after this maner was esta-  
 blished in the Church of Rome : wee cannot discover  
 this better, then by tracing out the doctrine publickly  
 taught in that Church touching this matter, from the

*k Nonnulli  
 ideo poscunt  
 poenitentiam,  
 ut statim sibi  
 reddi commu-  
 nionem velint :  
 hi non tam se  
 solvere cupi-  
 unt, quam Sa-  
 cerdotem liga-  
 re. Suam enim  
 conscientiam  
 non exiunt,  
 Sacerdotis in-  
 dunt. Ambros.  
 de Panis. lib. 2.  
 cap. 9.*

*1 Jerem. 15. 19.*

m Potestas  
peccata rela-  
xandi solius  
Dei est. Mini-  
sterium verò,  
quod impro-  
prie etiam po-  
testas vocatur,  
vicariis suis  
concessit; qui  
modo suo li-  
gant vel absol-  
vunt, id est, li-  
gatos vel abso-  
lutos esse o-  
stendunt. Prius  
enim Deus in-  
terius peccato-  
rē per cōpūcti-  
onem absolvit;  
Sacerdos verò  
exteriorius, sen-  
tentiam profe-  
rendo, eum esse  
absolutum o-  
stendit. Quod  
bene significa-  
tur per Lazarū,  
qui prius in  
tumulo à Do-  
mino suscita-  
tur, & post, mi-  
nisterio disci-  
pulorum, à vi-  
tiis (*ferre vittis*)  
quibus ligatus  
fuerat absolvi-

tur. Rad. A. d. d. h. mil. Domin. i. post Pascha.

n Per internum gemitum satisfit inter-  
no iudici, & idcirco indilata datur ab eo peccati remissio, cui manifesta est interna conver-  
sio. Ecclesia verò, quia occulta cordis ignorat non solvit ligatum, licet suscitatum, nisi de  
monumento elatum, id est, publicā satisfactione purgatum. Ivo Carnotens. epist. 228.

time of Satans loosing untill his binding againe by the  
restoring of the puritie of the Gospell in our dayes.  
And here *Radulphus Ardens* doth in the first place offer  
himselfe: who toward the beginning of that time  
preached this for sound divinitie. <sup>m</sup> *The power of relea-  
sing sinnes, belongeth to God alone. But the ministry  
(which improperly also is called a power) hee hath granted  
unto his substitutes; who after their maner doe binde and  
absolve, that is to say, doe declare that men are bound or  
absolved. For God doth first inwardly absolve the sinner  
by compunction: and then the Priest outwardly by giving  
the sentence doth declare that he is absolved. Which is well  
signified by that of Lazarus: who first in the grave was  
raysted up by the Lord, and afterward by the ministry of  
the disciples was loosed from the bands wherewith he was  
tyed. Then follow both the Anselmes, ours of Canter-  
bury and the other of Laon in France: who in their ex-  
positions upon the ninth of S. Matthew, cleerely teach,  
that none but God alone can forgive sinnes. Ivo Bi-  
shop of Chartres writeth, that <sup>n</sup> by inward contrition the  
inward judge is satisfied, and therefore without delay for-  
givenessse of the sinne is granted by him, unto whom the  
inward conversion is manifest: but the Church, because it  
knoweth not the hidden things of the heart, doth not loose  
him that is bound, although he be raysted up, untill hee be  
brought out of the tombe, that is to say, purged by publick  
satisfaction. and if presently upon the inward conver-  
sion God be pleased to forgive the sinne: the absoluti-  
on of the Priest which foiloweth, cannot in anie sort*

properly



properly be accounted a remission of that sinne, but a further manifestation onely of the remission formerly granted by God himselfe.

The Master of the Sentences after him, having propounded the diverse opinions of the Doctors touching this point, demandeth at last, *o In this se great varietie what is to be held?* and returneth for answer. *Surely this we may say and thinke: that God alone doth forgive and retayne sinnes, and yet hath given power of binding and loosening unto the Church; but He bindeth and looseth one way, and the Church another. For he only by himselfe forgiveth sinne, who both cleanseth the soule from inward blot, and looseth it from the debt of everlasting death. But this hath he not granted unto Priests: to whom notwithstanding he hath given the power of binding and loosening, that is to say, of declaring men to be bound or loosed. Whereupon the Lord did first by himselfe restore health unto the leper, and then sent him unto the Priests, by whose judgement he might be declared to be cleansed: so also he offered Lazarus to his disciples to be loosed, having first quickned him. In like maner Hugo Cardinalis sheweth, that it is P onely God that forgiveth sinnes: and that the Priest cannot binde or loose the sinner, with or from the bond of the fault and the punishment due thereunto; but onely declare him to be bound or loosed. as the Leviticall Priest did not make nor cleanse the leper, but onely declared him to be infected or cleane. And a great number of the*

*o In hac tantâ varietate quid tenendum? Hoc sanè dicere ac sentire possumus; quòd solus Deus dimittit peccata & retinet, & tamen Ecclesiæ contulit potestatem ligandi & solvendi: sed aliter ipse solvit vel ligat, aliter Ecclesia. Ipse enim per se tantum dimittit peccatum; qui & animam mundat ab interiori maculâ, & à debito æternæ mortis solvit. Non autem hoc Sacerdotibus concessit: quibus tamen tribuit potestatem solvendi & ligandi, id est, ostendendi homines ligatos vel so-*

lutos. Vnde Dominus leprosum sanitati prius per se restituit, deinde ad Sacerdotes misit, quorum iudicio ostenderetur mundatus. Ita etiam Lazarum jam vivificatum obtulit discipulis solvendum. *Peir. Lombard. lib. 4. Sentent. distinct. 18. e f. p* Solius Dei est dimittere peccata. *Hugo Card. in Luc. 5. q* Vinculo culpæ & pœnæ debitæ, non potest eum Sacerdos ligare vel solvere; sed tantum ligatum vel absolutum ostendere. Sicut Sacerdos Leviticus non faciebat vel mundabat leprosum; sed tantum infectum vel mundum ostendebat. *Idem Math. 16.*

r *Altissiodorens.*  
Summ. lib. 4. cap.  
de generali usu  
clavium.

f *Alexand. Ha-*  
lens. Summ. part.  
4. quest. 21.  
membr. 1.

t *Bonavent. in*  
4. dist. 18. art. 2.  
quest. 1. & 2.

u *Guil. Ockam.*  
in 4. Sent. quest.  
9. li. Q.

x *Argentin. in*  
4. Sent. dist. 18.  
art. 3.

y *Mich. Angri-*  
an. in Psal. 29. &  
31.

z *Biel. in 4.*  
Sent. dist. 14.  
quest. 2. d. u. &  
dist. 18. quest.  
1. k.

a *Henr. de Oyta*  
(al. losa) in pro-  
positionib. apud  
Illyricum, in Ca-  
tal. test. veritat.

b *Major in 4.*  
Sent. dist. 18.  
quest. 1.

c *Hadrian in*

*Quodlibet. quest. 5 art. 3 b.*

d *Major in 4. dist. 14 qu. 2. concl. 3.* e *Et illam opinio-*  
nem communiter sequuntur doctores antiqui. *Biel in 4. dist. 14. quest. 2. d.* f *Verunta-*  
men hæc sententia Magistri falsa est, & jam hoc tempore erronea. *Fr. Suarez, in Thom. tom. 4.*  
*disp. 19 s. 2. n. 4.* g *Non quod homo propriè remittat peccatum; sed quod ostendat*

ac certificet à Deo remissum. Neque enim aliud est Absolutio, quam ab homine accipis,  
quam si dicat: En fili, certifico te tibi remissa esse peccata, annuncio tibi te habere propitiū  
Deum; & quæcunque Christus in Baptismo & Evangelio nobis promisit, tibi nunc per me  
annunciat & promittit. *Io. Ferus, lib. 2. comment. in Matth. cap. 9. edit. Mogunt. an. 1559.*

then

Schoolemen afterward shewed themselves to be of the same judgement: that to pardon the fault and the eternall punishment due unto the same, was the proper worke of God; that the Priests absolution hath no reall operation that way, but presupposeth the partie to be first justified and absolved by God. Of this minde were, *r Guilielmus Altissiodorensis*, *f Alexander of Hales*, *t Bonaventure*, *u Ockam*, *x Thomas de Argentinâ*, *y Michael de Bononiâ*, *z Gabriel Biel*, *a Henricus de Hueceta*, *b Iohannes Major*, and others.

To lay downe all their words at large would be too tedious. In generall, *Hadrian the sixth* (one of their owne Popes) acknowledgeth, that *c the most approved Divines were of this minde, that the keyes of the Priesthood doe not extend themselves to the remission of the fault*: and *d Major* affirmeth, that this is *the common Tenet of the Doctors*. So likewise is it avouched by *Gabriel Biel*, that *e the old Doctors commonly* follow the opinion of the Master of the Sentences; that Priests do forgive or retaine sinnes, while they iudge and declare that they are forgiven by God or retained. But all this notwithstanding, *Suarez* is bold to tell us, that *f this opinion of the Master is false, and now at this time erroneous*. It was not held so the other day, when *Ferus* preached at Mentz, that *g man did not properly remit sinne, but did declare and certifie that it was remitted by God. so that the Absolution received from man, is nothing else*



then if he should say: Behold my sonne, I certifie thee that thy sinnes are forgiven thee, I pronounce unto thee that thou hast God favourable unto thee; and whatsoever Christ in Baptisme and in his Gospell hath promised unto us, he doth now declare and promise unto thee by me. Of this shalt thou have me to be a witnesse: goe in peace, and in quiet of conscience. But *jam hoc tempore* the case is altered: these things must be purged out of <sup>h</sup> *Ferus* as erroneous; the opinion of the old Doctors must give place to the sentence of the new Fathers of Trent. And so we are come at length to the end of this long question: in the handling whereof I have spent <sup>the</sup> more time, ~~than~~ <sup>than</sup> ~~any of the rest~~, by reason our Priests doe make this facultie of pardoning mens sinnes to be one of the most principall parts of their occupation, and the particular discoverie thereof is not ordinarily by the writers of our side so much insisted upon. The performance therefore of my promise of brevitie, is to be expected in the briefer treating upon those articles that remaine: the first whereof we are now to take into our consideration, which is

<sup>h</sup> *Ferus* in *Matth.*  
edit. *Amuerp.*  
an. 1559. 1570.  
c.

## OF PURGATORIE.

FOR extinguishing the imaginarie flames of Popish Purgatory, wee need not goe farre to fetch water: seeing the whole current of Gods word runneth mainly upon this; that <sup>a</sup> the blood of Iesus Christ cleanseth us <sup>a</sup> 1. *Ioh.* 1. 7. from all sinne; that all Gods children <sup>b</sup> dye in Christ, and <sup>b</sup> 1. *Cor.* 15. 13. that such as <sup>c</sup> dye in him, doe rest from their labours; <sup>c</sup> 1. *Thess.* 4. 16. that, as they be <sup>d</sup> absent from the Lord while they are in the bodie, so when they be absent from the bodie they are <sup>d</sup> 2. *Cor.* 5. 6, 8. present with the Lord; and in a word, that they <sup>e</sup> come <sup>e</sup> 1. *Ioh.* 5. 24. not

not into judgement, but passe from death unto life. And if we need the assistance of the ancient Fathers in this businesse: behold they be here readie, with full buckets in their hands.

f Christum lædimus, cum evocatos quosque ab illo, quasi miserandos non æquanimitè accipimus. Cupio,

ut Apostolus accipi jam, & cum Christo. quanto melius ostendit votum Christianorum. Ergo votum si alios consequentes impatienter dolemus, ipsi consequi nolumus. *Terull. lib. de Patient. cap. 9.*

g The Supplication of soules, made by Sir Tho. Moore.

h Ejus est mortem timere, qui ad Christum non it ire: ejus est ad Christum non ire, qui se non credat cum Christo incipere regnare. Scriptum est enim, justū

fide vivere. Si justus es, & fide vivis, si vere in Deum credis: cur non cum Christo futurus, & de Domini pollicitatione securus, quod ad Christum voceris, amplecteris, & quod Diabolo carcas, gratularis? *Cyprian. de Mortalis. sect. 2. edit. Goulart.*

*Tertullian*, to begin withall, f counteth it iniurious unto Christ, to hold that such as be called from hence by him are in a state that should be pittied. whereas they have obtrayned their desire of being with Christ: according to that of the Apostle, Philip. 1. 23. *I desire to depart, and to be with Chrest.* What pitie was it, that the poore soules in Purgatorie should finde no spokesman in those dayes, to informe men better of their ruefull condition; nor no Secretarie to draw up such another supplication for them as this, which of late years Sir Thomas Moore presented in their name, g *To all good Christen people. In most piteous wise continually calleth and cryeth upon your devoute charitie and most tender pitie, for helpe, comfort and reliefe, your late acquaintance, kindred, spouses, companions, playfellowes, and friends, and now your humble and unacquainted and halfe forgotten suppliants, poore prisoners of God, the sely soules in Purgatorie, here abiding and enduring the grievous paynes and hote clensing fire, &c.* If S. Cyprian had understood but halfe thus much: doubtlesse he would have stricken out the best part of that famous treatise which hee wrote of *Mortalitie* (to comfort men against death, in the time of a great plague) especially such passages as these are, which by no meanes can be reconciled with Purgatorie.

h *It is for him to feare death, that is not willing to goe*



unto Christ : it is for him to bee unwilling to goe unto Christ, who doth not beleeeve that hee beginneth to raigne with Christ. For it is written, that the just doth live by faith. If thou be just and livest by faith, if thou dost truly beleeeve in God ; why, being to be with Christ, and being secure of the Lords promise, doest not thou embrace the message whereby thou art called unto Christ, and rejoycest that thou shalt be ridd of the Divell ? Simeon said ; Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word : for mine eyes have seene thy salvation. <sup>i</sup> proving thereby, and witnessing that the servants of God then have peace, then injoy free and quiet rest ; when being drawn from these stormes of the world, wee arrive at the haven of our everlasting habitation and securitie, vwhen this death being ended wee enter into immortalitie. <sup>k</sup> The righteous are called to a refreshing, the unrighteous are haled to torment : safety is quickly granted to the faithfull, and punishment to the unfaithfull. <sup>l</sup> Wee are not to put on black mourning garments here, when our friends there have put on white. <sup>m</sup> This is not a going out, but a passage, and, this temporall journey being finished, a going over to eternitie. <sup>n</sup> Let us therefore embrace the day that bringeth every one to his owne house ; which having taken us away from hence, and loosed us from the suares of this world, returneth us to Paradise and to the kingdome of heaven.

The same holy Father in his Apologic which hee wrote for Christians unto Demetrian the proconsul of Africk, affirmeth in like maner ; that *o the end of this*

<sup>i</sup> Proban sci. licet, atque cō- testans tunc esse servis Dei pacem, tunc liberam tunc tranquillam quietē, quādo de istis mundi turbinibus tracti, sedis & securitatis æternæ portum petimus, quando expunctā hāc morte ad immortalitē venimus. *Ibid.*  
<sup>k</sup> Ad refrigerium iusti vocantur, ad supplicium rapiuntur iusti : datur velocius tutela fidentibus, perfidis pœna. *Ibid.*  
<sup>l</sup> *sc. 11.*

<sup>l</sup> Nec accipien- das esse hīc a- tras vestes, quando illi ibi indumenta al- ba jam sumpse- rint. *Ibid. sect.*

14.

<sup>m</sup> Non est exitus iste, sed transitus, &, temporali itinere decurso, ad æterna transgressus. *Ibid. sect. 15.* <sup>n</sup> Amplectamur diem, qui assignat singulos domicilio suo ; qui nos istinc creptos, & laqueis secularibus exsolutos paradiso restituit & regno cœlesti. *Ibid. sect. 18.*  
<sup>o</sup> Donec ævi temporalis fine completo, ad æternæ vel mortis vel immortalitatis hospitia dividamur. *Id. ad Demetrian. sect. 16.*

Z

temporall

p Quando  
istinc excessum  
fuerit, nullus  
jam pœniten-  
tiæ locus est,  
nullus satisfa-  
ctionis effectus:  
hic vita aut a-  
mittitur, aut  
tenetur. Id. ibid.  
scilicet. 22.

q Tu sub ipso  
licet exitu &  
vitæ tempora-  
lis occasu, pro  
delictis roges:  
& Deum, qui  
unus & verus  
est, confessione  
& fidē agnitio-  
nis ejus implo-  
res. venia con-  
fidenti datur, &  
credenti indul-  
gentia salutaris  
de divinā pie-  
tate concedi-  
tur; & ad im-  
mortalitatem  
sub ipsâ morte  
transitur. Hanc  
gratiam Chri-  
stus impertit,  
hoc munus mi-  
sericordiæ suæ  
tribuit; subi-  
gendo mortem  
trophæo cru-

cis, redimēdo credentē pretio sanguinis sui, reconciliādo hominē Deo Patri, vivificādo mor-  
talē regeneratione cœlesti. Ib. 1. Καὶ ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἀποθνήσκοντες ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρίστῳ ζήσωμεν.  
is ὁ γὰρ παῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ κόσμου. Greg. Neocæsar. metaphras. in Ecclesiast. 1. Δὲ  
ὁ δὲ δαυὶδ καὶ χρίστῳ. Anton. Meliss. part. 1. serm. 58. &c. 1. Nos non nativitatis diem cele-  
bramus; cū sit dolorum atque tentationum introitus: sed mortis diem celebramus; ut-  
pote omnium dolorum depositionem, atque omnium tentationum effugationem. Author  
lib. 3. in Job, inter opera Origenis. Vide S. Basil. homil. in Psalm. 115. pag. 318. edit. Græcolat.

temporall life being accomplished, we are divided into the  
habitations of everlasting eyther death or immortalitie.

p When we are once departed from hence, there is now no  
farther place for repentance, neyther any effect of satisfa-  
ction. here life is eyther lost or obtayned. But if q thou  
(faith. he) even at the very end and setting of thy tempo-  
rall life, dost pray for thy sinnes, and call upon the onely  
true God with confession and faith: pardon is given to  
thee confessing, and saving forgivenesse is granted by the  
divine piety to thee beleeving; and at thy very death thou  
hast a passage unto immortalitie. This grace doth Christ  
impart, this gift of his mercy doth he bestow; by subduing  
death with the triumph of his crosse, by redeeming the be-  
leever with the price of his blood, by reconciling man unto  
God the Father, by quickening him that is mortall with  
heavenly regeneration.

Where Salomon sayeth, Ecclesiast. 12. 5 that man go-  
eth to his everlasting house, and the mourners goe about  
in the street: S. Gregory of Neocæsarea maketh this pa-  
raphrase upon those words; *The good man shall goe re-  
joycing unto his everlasting house, but the wicked shall fill  
all with lamentations.* Therefore did the Fathers teach,  
that men should<sup>t</sup> rejoyce at their death: and the anci-  
ent Christians framed their practise accordingly; *not  
celebrating the day of their nativitie*, which they ac-  
counted to be the entry of sorrowes and temptations, but  
celebrating the day of death, as being the putting away of



all sorrowes, and the escaping of all temptations. And so being filled with <sup>u</sup> a divine rejoycing they came to the extremitie of death as vnto the end of their holy combates: <sup>x</sup> where they did more clearely behold the way that ledd vnto their immortalitie, as being now made neerer; and did therefore prayse the gifts of God, and were replenished with diuine joy, as now not fearing any change to worse, but knowing well that the good things which they possessed shall be firmly and everlastingly enjoyed by them.

The author of the Questions and Answeres attributed to *Iustin Martyr*, writeth thus of this matter. *After the departure of the soule out of the body, there is presently made a distinction betwixt the just and the unjust. For they are brought by the Angels to places fit for them: the soules of the righteous to Paradise, vvhere they have the commerce and sight of Angels and Archangels, &c. the soules of the unjust to the places in hell. That is not death (saith Athanasius) that befalleth the righteous, but a translation: for they are translated out of this world into everlasting rest: and as a man would goe out of a prison, so doe the Saints goe out of this troublesome life unto those good things that are prepared for them. S. Hilary* out of that which is related in the Gospell of the *rich man* and *Lazarus* observeth; that as soon as this life is ended, everie one without delay is sent over either to *Abrahams* bosome, or to the place of torment;

γ. μετα τῆς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐξόδου, ἡ δὲ γένεσις τῆς δικαίτης τοῦ καὶ ἀδίκου ἢ διαβολῆς, ἀγοντα γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 ἀγγέλου εἰς αἴθρας ἀντὶ τούτων. αἱ μὲν οὖν δικαίων ψυχαί, εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν, ἵδου σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν δια-  
 τὴν ἀρχαγγέλου εἰς. αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων ψυχαί, εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῇ αἰδή τούτους. Iustitiam, resp. ad Orthodoxos. quæst. 75.  
 ζ. Οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς δικαίοις θάνατος, ἀλλὰ μετάθωσις· μετατίθεται γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, εἰς τὸν  
 αἰώνιον αἰάπασιν. καὶ ὡς περὶ τοὺς φυλακῆς ἐξέλθοις, ὥστε καὶ οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες ἐξέρχονται ἀπὸ τοῦ κοχλίου εἰς τὸν  
 εἰς τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ὑπομνησμένα ἀπὸ τοῦ Athanas. de Virginitate. a Nihil illic dilationis aut mor-  
 tæ est. Iudicii enim dies, vel beatitudinis retributio est æterna vel poenæ : tempus verò mor-  
 tis habet unumquemque suis legibus, dum ad iudicium unumquemque aut Abraham refer-  
 vat aut poena. Hilari. in Psalm. 2.

cap. 4.

*Ibid.*

malorum expectant. *Ibid.* cap. 8.

ⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲓⲗⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲟ ⲥⲟⲩⲙⲁⲩⲟⲩ, ⲉⲓ ⲭⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲩ ⲁⲓⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲗⲁⲙⲉⲗⲁⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲩⲟⲩ ⲧⲁⲥ ⲡⲟⲭⲁⲥ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲓ ⲛⲓⲩⲁⲩⲁⲩⲟⲩ, ⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲓ ⲭⲁⲩⲁⲣⲓⲛ ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲩⲁⲩ, ⲭⲓ ⲉⲩⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲟⲩⲁⲓⲭⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲓⲩ ⲕⲩⲛⲉⲓⲱ. *Macar. Aegypti. bsmih. 22.*

**Ε** ὅταν ἐξέλθωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, οἱ χροὶ τῆς ἀγγέλου παρελμειάνουσιν αὐτῷ τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν, εἰς τὴν καθάρτην αἰώναν, καὶ ὁ πᾶς αὐτὸν φρονεῖ γινώσκων τὴν Κυρίαν. Masar. Aegypti. bsmihlaa.

*Macarius*, writing of the double state of those that depart out of this life, affirmeth that when the soule goeth out of the bodie; if it be guiltie of sinne, the Diuell carrieth it away with him unto his place: but when the holy servants of God <sup>f</sup>*remove out of their bodie,* the *quyers of Angells receive their soules unto their*

malorum expectunt. *Ibid. cap. 8.* c. His igitur freti, intrepidè pergamus ad redemptorem nostrum Iesum, intrepidè ad Patriarcharum Concilium, intrepidè ad patrem nostrum Abraham, cum dies advenerit, proficiscamur: intrepidè pergamus ad illum sanctorum cætum, justorumque conventum. Ibimus enim ad patres nostros, ibimus ad illos nostræ fidei præceptores: ut etiamsi opera desint, fides opituletur, defendat hæreditas. *Ibid. cap. 12.*

**Ε** ὅταν ἐξέλθωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος, οἱ χροὶ τῆς ἀγγέλου παρελμειάνουσιν αὐτῷ τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὴν θύραν, εἰς τὴν κρητάρην αἰώνου, καὶ ἔπειτα αὐτὸν φαντάζονται τῇ Κυρίῳ. Masar. Aegypt. bsmihlaa.





1 Lugeatur  
 mortuus; sed  
 ille, quem ge-  
 henna suscipit,  
 quem tartarus  
 devorat, in cu-  
 jus poenam æ-  
 ternus ignis æ-  
 stuat. Nos, quo-  
 rum exitum  
 Angelorum  
 turba comita-  
 tur, quibus ob-  
 viam Christus  
 occurrit, gra-  
 vemur magis, si  
 diutius in ta-  
 bernaculo isto  
 mortis habite-  
 mus. Quia  
 quamdiu hic  
 moramur, pere-  
 grinamur a  
 Domino. *Hie-  
 ronym. epist. 25.  
 m Omnes ve-  
 teres Græci &  
 Latini ab ipso  
 tempore Apo-  
 stolorum con-  
 stanter docue-  
 runt Purgato-  
 rium esse. Bel-  
 larmin. de Purg-  
 ator. lib. I. c. 15.  
 n Alphons. de  
 Castro advers.  
 hares. lib. 8. tit.  
 Indulgentia.  
 Jo. Rossens. Af-  
 fert. Lutheran.  
 Confusat. artic.  
 18. Polydor. Ver-  
 gil. de inveni-  
 er. lib. 8. cap. 1.*

*the torment there, where the time of punishing is, and not of purging. S. Hierome, comforteth Paula for the death of her daughter Blasilla, in this manner. 1 Let the dead be lamented; but such a one, whom Gehenna doth receive, whom Hell doth devoure, for whose paine the everlasting fire doth burne. Let us, whose departure a troupe of Angels doth accompanie, whom Christ commeth forth to meete, be more grieved, if we doe longer dwell in this tabernacle of death. Because, as long as wee remaine here, wee are pilgrims from God.*

By all that hath beene said, the indifferent Reader may easily discern, what may be thought of the craking Cardinall, who would face us downe, that <sup>m</sup>all the ancients, both Greek and Latine, from the very time of the Apostles, did constantly teach that there was a Purgatory. whereas his owne partners could tell him in his care, that <sup>n</sup>in the ancient writers there is almost no mention of Purgatory, especially in the Greek writers; and therefore that by the Grecians it is not beleev'd untill this day. He alledgeth indeed a number of authorities to bleare mens eyes withall: which being narrowly looked into, will be found eyther to be counterfeit stuffe, or to make nothing at all to the purpose; as belonging eyther to the point of praying for the dead onely, (which in those ancient times had no relation to Purgatory; as in the handling of the next article wee shall see) or unto the fire of affliction in this life, or to the fire that shall burne the world at the last day, or to the fire prepared for the Divell and his Angels, or to some other fire then that which hee intended to kindle thereby. This benefite onely have wee here gotten by his labours: that hee hath saved us the paynes of seeking farre for the forge, from whence the first sparkles of  
 that





lest it should breed in them a spice of *Origens* disease, and put out of their memorie the thought of eternall punishment, and by this meanes occasioning them to be more carelesse of their conversation, make them indeed fit fuell for those everlasting flames. Which feare of theirs, wee may perceiue not to have beene altogether causelesse; when the Purgatorie of *Origen* resembleth the Purgatorie of the *Pope* so neerely, that the wisest of his Cardinalls is so readie to mistake the one for the other. And, to speake the truth, the one is but an unhappie sprigge cut off from the rotten trunck of the other: which sundry men long since endeavored to graffe upon other stockes, but could not bring unto anie great perfection; untill the Popes followers tryed their skill upon it, with that successe which now we behold. Some of the ancient that put their hand to this worke, extended the benefite of this fiery purge unto all men in generall: others thought fit to restrain it unto such as some way or other bare the name of Christians, others to such Christians onely as had one time or other made profession of the Catholick faith, and others to such alone as did continue in that profession untill their dying day.

Against all these *S. Augustine* doth learnedly dispute; proving that wicked men, of what profession soever, shall be punished with everlasting perdition. And whereas the defenders of the last opinion did ground themselves upon that place in the third chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, which the Pope also doth make the principall foundation of his Purgatory (although it be a <sup>t</sup> *probatory*, and not a *purgatory* fire that the Apostle there treateth of) *S. Augustine* maketh answer, that <sup>u</sup> this sentence of the Apostle

t Vniuscuiusque opus quale sit, ignis probabit. 1. Cor. 3.

13.

u *Augustin. de fide & operib. cap. 15.*



postle is verie obscure, & to be reckoned among those things which S. Peter saith are hard to be understood in his writings, which men ought not to pervert unto their owne destruction: and freely \* confesseth that in this matter he would rather heare more intelligent and more learned men then himselfe. Yet this he delivereth for his opinion: that by *wood, hay, and stubble* is understood that over-great love which the faithfull beare to the things of this life; and by *fire*, that temporall tribulation which causeth grieve unto them by the losse of those things upon which they had too much placed their affections. But y *whether in this life onely* (saith he) *men suffer such things, or whether some such judgements also doe follow after this life; the meaning which I have given of this sentence, as I suppose, abhorreth not from the truth.* And againe. z *Whether they finde the fire of transitorie tribulation (burning those secular affections, which are pardoned from damnation) in the other world onely, or whether here and there, or whether therefore here that they may not finde them there; I gainsay it not, because peradventure it is true.* And in another place. a *That some such thing should be after this life, it is not incredible, and whether it be so it may be inquired, and either be found or remaine hidden; that some of the faithfull by a certaine purgatory fire, by how much more or lesse they have loved these perishing goods, are so much the more slowly or sooner saved.* Wherein the learned Father dealeth no otherwise, then when in disputing against the same men, he is content, if they would acknowledge that the wrath of God did remaine everlastingly upon

vitam fieri incredibile non est, & utrum ita sit quæri potest, & aut inveniri aut latere; nonnullos fideles per ignem quædam purgatoriū, quanto magis minusve bona percunctia dilexerunt, tanto tardius citiusque salvari, *Id. in Enchirid. ad Laurens. cap. 69.*

x *Id. ibid. cap. 16*

y Sive ergo in hac vitâ tantum homines ista patiuntur, sive etiam post hanc vitam talia quædam iudicia subsequuntur; non abhorret, quantum arbitror, a ratione veritatis iste intellectus huius sententiæ. *Id. ibid. c. 16.*

z Sive ibi tantum, sive hic & ibi, sive id eo hic ut non ibi, secularia (quavis a damnatione venialia) concremantem ignem transitorie tribulationis inveniāt; non redarguo, quia forsitan verum est. *Id. lib. 21 de Civit. Dei, cap. 26.*

a Tale aliquid etiam post hanc

b Quod quidem non ideo confirmo, quoniam non refello, *Id. de Civ. Dei, lib. 31. cap. 24.*

c Quod nobis magnæ spei fundamentum atque originē præbet. Credere namque debemus, quā a corporibus sanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris, bonitatis divinæ cōmendari; nec, ut quidam infidelium crediderunt, in terris conversari, quousque sepulture honoribus affectæ sint; nec, ut peccatorum animæ, ad immensi cruciatus locum, id est ad Inferos, deferri: itinere hoc nobis à Christo primum præparato, sed in manus potius patris evolare.

Tradidit enim animam suam manibus genitoris, ut ab illâ & per illam facto initio, certam huius rei spem habeamus: firmiter credentes, in manibus Dei nos post mortem futuros, vitamque multo meliorem ac perpetuam cum Christo victuros. ideo enim Paulus desideravit resolvi, & esse cum Christo. *Cyrril, Alexandr. in Iohann, lib. 12, cap. 36.*

the damned, to give them leave to thinke that their paines might some way or other be lightened or mitigated. Which yet notwithstanding (saith<sup>b</sup> he) *I doe not therefore affirme, because I oppose it not.*

What the Doctors of the next succeeding ages taught herein, may appeare by the writings of S. Cyrill, Gennadius, Olympiodorus, and others. S. Cyrill from those last words of our Saviour upon the Crosse, *Father into thy hands I commend my spirit,* delivereth this as the certaine ground and foundation of our hope. *Wee ought to beleieve that the soules of the Saints, when they are departed out of their bodies, are commended unto Gods goodnesse, as unto the hands of a most deare Father; and doe not remaine in the earth (as some of the unbelievers have imagined) untill they have had the honour of buriall; neyther are carried, as the soules of the wicked be, unto a place of unmeasurable torment, that is, unto Hell: but rather flye to the hands of the Father, this way being first prepared for us by Christ. For hee delivered up his soule into the hands of his Father, that from it, and by it a beginning being made, we might have certaine hope of this thing: firmly beleeving, that after death we shall be in the hands of God, and shall live a farre better life for ever with Christ. for therefore Paul desired to be dissolved, and to be with Christ.* Gennadius, in a booke wherein hee purposely taketh upon him to reckon up the particular points of doctrine received by the Church in his time, when he commeth to treat of the state of soules separated from the body, maketh no mention at all of Purgatorie; but layeth down this for one of his positions.

After



a After the ascension of our Lord into heaven, the soules of all the Saints are with Christ, and departing out of the bodie goe unto Christ, expecting the resurrection of their bodie, that together with it they may be changed unto perfect and perpetuall blessednesse: as the soules of the sinners also being placed in Hell under feare, expect the resurrection of their body, that with it they may be thrust unto everlasting paine. In like maner Olympiodorus, expounding that place of Ecclesiastes, *c* If the tree fall toward the South or toward the North, in the place where the tree falleth, there it shall be; maketh this inference thereupon. *f* In whatsoever place therefore, either light some or darke, that is, either in the foule station of sinnes or in the honest of vertues, a man is taken when he dyeth, in that degree and order he remaineth for ever. For either hee resteth in the light of eternall felicitie with the just and with Christ our Lord, or is tormented in darkenesse with the wicked and with the Divell the prince of this world.

The first whom we finde directly to have held, that *s* for certaine light faults there is a purgatory fire provided before the day of judgement; was Gregory the first, about the end of the sixth age after the birth of our Saviour Christ. It was his imagination, that the end of the world was then at hand, and that *h* as when the night beginneth to be ended and the day to spring, before

d Post ascensionem Domini ad celos, omnium sanctorum animarum cum Christo sunt, & exeuntes de corpore ad Christum vadunt, expectantes resurrectionem corporis sui, ut ad integram & perpetuam beatitudinem cum ipso pariter immutentur: sicut & peccatorum animarum in inferno sub timore positarum, expectant resurrectionem sui corporis, ut cum ipso ad poenam detrudantur æternam. Gennad. de Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus, cap. 79.

*e* Eccles. 11. 3.  
*f* In quocunque igitur loco

seu illustri seu tenebroso, hoc est, sive in turpi scelerum statione sive in honesta virtutum, deprehendatur homo cum moritur, in eo gradu atque ordine permanet in æternum. Nam vel requiescit in lumine felicitatis æternæ cum justis & Christo Domino, vel in tenebris cruciatur cum iniquis & principe mundi huius Diabolo. Olympiodorus, in Ecclesiasticis, cap. 11. *g* Sed tamen de quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante iudiciū purgatorius ignis credendus est. Gregor. Dialog. l. 6. 4. cap. 39. *h* Quemadmodū cum nox finiri & dies incipit oriri, ante Solis ortū simul aliquo modo tenebræ cum luce commixtæ sunt, quousque discedentes noctis reliquiae in luce diei subsequenti perfectè vertantur: ita huius mundi finis jam cum futuri sæculi exordio permiscetur, atque ipsarum reliquiarum tenebræ quādam iam rerum spiritualium permixtione translucent. *Id. ibid.*, cap. 41.





ted for purging of the dead ( which is that which the Church of Rome now striveth for ) but of certaine soules only that for their punishment were confined to <sup>n</sup> *bathes* and other such places here upon earth ; which our Romanists may beleeve if they list, but must seeke for the Purgatorie they looke for somewhere else. And yet may they save themselves that labour, if they will be advised by the Bishops assembled in the Councell of *Aquisgran* (240.yeares after these visions were published by Gregory) who will resolve them out of the word of God, how sinnes are punished in the world to come. <sup>o</sup> *The sinnes of men* (say they) are punished three *maner of wayes : two in this life, and the third in the life to come.* Of those two the Apostle saith : If we would judge our selves, we should not be judged of the Lord. This is the punishment, wherewith ( by the inspiration of God ) every sinner, by repenting for his offences, taketh revenge upon himselfe. But where the Apostle consequently adjoyneth ; When we are judged we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with this world : this is the punishment, which almightie God doth mercifully inflict upon a sinner, according to that saying ; Whom God loveth, he chasteneth, and he scourgeth everie sonne that hee receiveth. But the third is very fearefull and terrible, which by the most just judgement of God shall be executed, not in this world but in that which is to come, when the just Iudge shall say : Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the Drivell and his angells. Adde

<sup>n</sup> *Gregor. Dialog. lib. 4. cap. 40. & 55.*

<sup>o</sup> *Tribus itaque modis peccata mortaliū vindicantur : duobus in hac vitā, tertio in futurā vitā. De duobus ita Apostolus inquit : Si nosmetipsos judicaverimus, a Domino non judicabimur. Hæc est vindicta, quam inspirante Deo omnis peccator, pro suis admittis peccatis, penitendo, in seipso vindicat. Quod autem profectus idem Apostolus infert ; Cum judicamur autem, a Domino corri-*

*pimur, ut non cum mundo damnemur : hæc est vindicta quam omnipotens Deus misericorditer peccatori irrogat, iuxta illud : Deus quem amat, corripit, flagellat autem omnem filiū quem recipit. Tertia autem extat valde pertimescenda atque terribilis, quæ non in hoc sed in futuro, iustissimo Dei iudicio, fiet sæculo, quando iustus iudex dicturus est : Discedite a me maledicti in ignem æternum, qui paratus est diabolo & angelis eius. Capitulum. Aquisgran. Concil. ad Pipinum miss. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

p Scitote, quod cum anima a corpore evellitur, statim aut in paradiso pro meritis bonis collocatur, aut certe pro peccatis in inferni tartara precipitatur. *Lib. de vanit. seculi, cap. 1. tomo 9. Operum Augustini.*

q Esse apud inferos locum purgatorium, in quo salvan- di vel tenebris tantum affici- antur, vel expi- ationis igne decoquantur, QUIDAM asse- runt. *Otto Fri- sing lib. 8. Chron. cap. 26.*

r Sed tamen hoc de parvis minimisque peccatis fieri posse credendū est; sicut est as- siduus otiosus sermo, immo- deratus risus, &c. *Gregor. Dialog. lib. 4. cap. 39.*

s *Sexti. Proem.*

*in Glos. a. verb. Benedictionem. Francisc. à Victoria in Summā sacramentor. Eccles. num. 110. Ia- cob. de Grassijs, decis. cas. conscient. part. 1. lib. 1. cap. 6. num. 10.*

hereunto the saying of the author of the booke *De va- nitate seculi* (wrongly ascribed to *S. Augustine* : )  
 p Know, that when the soule is separated from the body, pre- sently it is eyther placed in Paradise for his good merites, or cast headlong into the bottom of hell for his sinnes. and, that in the dayes of *Otto Frisingensis* himselte ( who wrote in the year of our Lord *MCXLVI.* ) the doctrine of Purgatory was esteemed onely a private assertion held by some, and not an article of faith generally re- ceived by the whole Church. ( for why should hee else write of it in this maner ? ) That there is in Hell a place of Purgatory, wherein such as are to be saved are either only troubled with darkenesse, or decocted with the fire of expiation, *SOME doe affirme.* ) and lastly, that the Pur- gatorie wherewith the *Romish* clergie doth now delude the world, is a new devise, never heard of in the Church of God, for the space of a thousand yeares af- ter the birth of our Saviour *Christ*.

For the *Gregorian* Purgatorie, which reached no further then to the expiation of *small and very light faults*, would not serve these mens turne ; who verie providently considered, that little use could be made of that fire, if it had no other fuell but this to maintaine it. For such *peccadilloes* as these ( they say ) may be ta- ken away in this life ( by knocking the breast, by recei- ving the Bishops blessing, by being sprinkled with ho- ly water, and by such other easie remedies ; that if this were all the matter to be cared for, men needed not greatly to stand in feare of Purgatorie. Yea admit they should be so extremely negligent in their life time, that they forgot to use anie of these helpes : they

might



might for all this at the time of their death be more afraid then hurt ; yea this : *fear alone* ( if there were nothing else ) might prove a meanes to *purge their soules, at the very parting, from these faultis of the lightest kinde* ; if *Gregory* may be credited. Nay, which is more, diverse of their owne <sup>u</sup> elder Divines ( to whom wee may adjoyne Cardinall *x Caietan* also in these later dayes ) have taught ; that all the remaines of sinne in Gods children are quite abolished by finall grace, at the verie instant of their dissolution ; so that the staine of the least sinne is not left behinde to be carried unto the other world.

Now *Purgatory* ( as *Bellarmino* describeth it ) is a certaine place, in which as in a prison those soules are purged after this life, which were not fully purged in this life ; that being so purged they may be able to enter into heaven, whereinto no uncleane thing can enter. And of this, saith he, is all the controversie. If that be so : their own Doctors, you see, will quickly bring this controversie unto an end. For if the soules be fully purged here from all spot of sinne : what need have they to be sent unto anie other Purgatorie after this life ? Yes, say they, although the fault be quite remitted, and the soule clearely freed from the pollution thereof : yet may there remaine a temporall punishment due for the verie mortall sinnes that have beene committed ; which ( if reliefe doe not otherwise come, by the helpe of such as are alive ) must be soundly layd on in *Purgatory*. But why in *Purgatory*, say we ; seeing here there is no more purging worke left ? for the fault and the blot being

*ēā, in quo tanquā in carcere post hanc vitā purgātur animā, quæ in hāc non plenē purgatæ fuerunt ; ut nimirum sic purgatæ in cælum ingredi valeant, quò nihil intrabit coinquinatum. De hoc est tota controversia, Bellarmin de Purgator. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

taken

*t Sed plerumque de culpis minimis ipse solus pavor egredientes iustorum animas purgat. Gregor. Dialog. lib. 4.*

*cap. 46.*

*u Delet gratia finalis peccatū veniale in ipsā dissolutione corporis & animæ, &c. Hoc ab antiquis dictum est. sed*

*nunc communiter tenetur, quòd peccatū veniale cum hinc deferatur à multis, etiam quantum ad culpam, in*

*Purgatorio purgatur. Albert Magn. in Compend. Theologica veritate lib. 3. c. 13. Vid. Alexand. Ha-*

*lent Summ. part. 4. quæst. 15.*

*membr. 2. artic. 3. Durand. lib. 4. dist. 43. quæst. 1.*

*dye. x Caietan. O-*

*pusc. tom 1. tract. 23. de Purgator. quæst. 1.*

*y Locus qui-*

taken away already; what remaineth yet to be purged? The punishment onely they say is left behinde: and punishment, I hope, they will not hold to be the thing that is purged away by punishment. Againewed desire them to tell us, what Father or ancient Doctor did ever teach this strange divinity? that a man being cleerly purged from the blott of his sinne, and fully acquitted here from the fault thereof; should yet in the other world be punished for it with such grievous torments as the tongue of man is not able to expresse. And yet, as new and as absurd a doctrine as it is, the Pope and his adherents have builded thereupon both their guilefull *Purgatory* (with which it suteth as evill-favouredly as may be) and their gainfull *Indulgences*; which, by their own doctrine, <sup>z</sup> free not a man from the guilt of anie fault, either mortall or veniall, but onely from the guilt of the temporall punishment, which remaineth after the fault hath beene forgiven.

When *Thomas Aquinas* & other Friars had brought the frame of this new building unto some perfection, and fashioned all things therein unto their owne best advantage: the Doctors of the *Greeke Church* did publickely oppose themselves against it. *Matthæus Quæstor* by name wrote against *Thomas* herein: whose booke is still preserved in the Emperours Librarie at *Vienna*. So *Athanasius* his disputation against *Purgatory* is (or lately was) to be seen in the French Kings Librarie: and the like of *Germanus* (Patriarch of *Constantinople*) and others, elsewhere. The Apologie of the *Grecians* touching the same subject, is commonly to be had: which was penned by <sup>a</sup> *Marcus Eugenicus* archbishop of *Ephesus*, and <sup>b</sup> presented to Cardinall *Cusanus* and the deputies of the Councell of *Basil*, in the

<sup>z</sup> *Id. de Indul. gent. lib. 1. cap. 7. propos. 1.*  
<sup>a</sup> *Sixt. Senens. lib. 6. Bibliothec. Sanct. annotat. 259.*  
<sup>b</sup> *Responsio Græcorum ad positionē Latinorum, opinionem ignis purgatorii fundantium & probantium. Quæ lecta & data fuit reverendiss. & reverendis patribus, & Dominis deputatis, die sabbati, XI. III. mensis Junii, 1438. in sacristiā fratrum minorum, Basilæ Præsentata Nicolao Cusano. Martin. Crusius in Turco-Græciâ, pag. 136, ex libro MS. Ioan. Capnionis.*



the yeare MCCCCXXXVIII. the 14 of Iune; <sup>c</sup> the verie same day, wherein *Bessarion* Archbishop of Nice disputed with the *Latines* of the same matter in the Councell assembled at *Ferraria*. In that Apologie, the *Grecians* begin their disputation with this proposition. <sup>d</sup> *Ad τὸν καθάρου πυρὸς καὶ καύσεως διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμετέρας ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ παρὰ ἡμετέρας διδάσκοντες, καὶ ὁ δὲ τὸ ἀνατολῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμετέρας φρονεῖσιν.* *Apolog Grecor. de Purgator. à Bonan. P. M. can. edit.* Neither have we received it from any of our Doctors, and moreover no small feare doth trouble us, least by admitting a temporary fire both penall and purgatory, wee should destroy the full consent of the Church. And thereupon they conclude verie peremptorily. <sup>f</sup> For these reasons therefore, neyther have we ever hitherto affirmed any such thing, neither will we at all affirme it.

Yet within a yeare after, the Pope and his ministers prevailed so farre with them in the Councell at *Florence*, that they were content for peace sake to yeeld, that <sup>g</sup> the middle sort of soules were in a place of punishment; but whether that were fire, or darkenesse and tempest, or something else, they would not contend. And accordingly was the pretended *Union* betwixt them and the *Latines* drawne up: that, <sup>h</sup> if such as be truely penitent dye in Gods favour, before they have satisfied for their sinnes of commission and omission by worthy fruits of penance, their soules are purged after death with purgatory punishments; neither fire, nor anie other kinde of punishment being specified in particular. But neyther

<sup>c</sup> παρὰ τὴν μὲν ἐκκλησίαν ἡμετέραν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πύξης, ἐκ τῆς ζήσης καὶ θύλας, ἐκ τῆς πίστεως, καὶ διὰ τὸν ἡμετέρον. *Concil. Florentin. Sess 25.* <sup>h</sup> Si veré poenitentes in Dei charitate decesserint, antequàm dignis poenitentiae fructibus de commissis satisfecerint & omissis; eorum animas poenis purgatorii post mortem purgari. *Eugenij IV. Bulla Unionis. ibid.* *Cuius auctoritatem etiam inter καὶ ἐκκλησία Costentiana vidimus.*

would *Marcus* the Bishop of *Ephesus* ( who was one of the Legates of the Patriarches of *Antioch* and of *Ierusalem* ) consent to this union : neither could the *Greeke* Church afterwards by any meanes be drawne to yeeld unto it. And so unto this day, the *Romish* Purgatorie is rejected as well by the *Grecians*, as by the *Muscovites* and *Russians*, the *Coptites* and *Abassines*, the *Georgians* and *Armenians*, together with the *Syrians* and *Chaldeans* that are subject to the Patriarches of *Antioch* and *Babylon*, from *Cyprus* and *Palastina* unto the *East Indies*. And this may suffice for the discoverie of this new-found creeke of Purgatorie.

## O F P R A Y E R F O R T H E D E A D.

**P**Prayer for the dead, as it is used in the Church of *Rome*, doth necessarily suppose Purgatorie : and therefore whatsoever hath beene alledged out of the Scriptures and Fathers against the one, doth stand in full force against the other. so that here wee need not *actum agere*, and make a new worke of overthrowing that, which hath beene sufficiently beaten down already. But on the other side, the admittall of Purgatorie doth not necessarily inferre Prayer for the dead : nay, if we shall suppose (with our Adversaries) that Purgatorie is the <sup>a</sup>prison, from whence none shall come out, untill they have payde the utmost farthing ; their owne paying, and not other mens praying, must be the thing they are to trust unto, if ever they looke to be delivered out of that iayle. Our *Romanists* indeed doe commonly take it for granted, that <sup>b</sup>Purgatory and prayer for the dead

<sup>a</sup> *Matth. 5. 26.*

<sup>b</sup> *Bishop against Perkins reform. Catholike, pars. 2. pag. 149.*



dead be so closely lincked together, that the one doth necessarily follow the other : but in so doing, they reckon without their hoste, and greatly mistake the matter. For howsoever they may deale with their owne devises as they please, and lincke their Prayers with their Purgatorie as closely as they list : yet shall they never be able to shew, that the commemoration and prayers for the dead, used by the ancient Church, had anie relation unto their Purgatorie ; and therefore whatsoever they were, Popish prayers we are sure they were not. I easily foresee, that the full opening of the judgement of the Fathers in this point, will hardly stand with that brevity which I intended to use in treating of these latter questions : the particulars be so manie, that necessarily doe incur into the handling of this argument. But I suppose the Reader will be content rather to dispense with that promise, whereby I did abbridge my selfe of the libertie which otherwise I might freely have taken: than be sent away unsatisfied in a matter, wherein the Adversarie beareth himselfe confident beyond measure, that the whole streame of antiquity runneth clearly upon his side.

That the truth then of things may the better appeare : we are here prudently to distinguish the originall institution of the Church, from the private opinions of particular Doctors which waded further herein then the generall intendment of the Church did give them warrant ; and diligently to consider, that the memorialls, oblations and prayers made for the dead at the beginning, had reference to such as rested from their labours, and not unto anie soules which were thought to be tormented in that *Vtopian* Purgatorie, whereof there was no newes stirring in those dayes.

e Propterea & memorias sanctorum facimus, & parentum nostrorum vel amicorum in fide morientium devotè memoriam agimus; tam illorum refrigerio gaudentes, quam etiam nobis piam consummationem in fide postulantes. Celebramus nimirum, religiosos cum sacerdotibus convocantes, fideles unà cum clero; invitantes adhuc egenos & pauperes, pupillos & viduas saturantes: ut fiat festivitas nostra in memoriâ requiei defunctis animabus, nobis autem efficiatur in odorem suavitatis in conspectu æterni Dei Lib.

3. commentar. in

Iob, inter opera Origenis.

d Sacrificia pro eis semper, ut meministis, offerimus; quoties martyrum passiones & dies anniversariâ commemoratione celebramus. Cyprian. epist.

34. c Vid. sup. pag. 167.

This may be gathered, first, by the practise of the ancient Christians, laide down by the author of the Commentaries upon Iob, (which are wrongly ascribed unto Origen) in this manner. *c Wee observe the memorialls of the Saints, and devoutly keepe the remembrance of our parents or friends which dye in the faith; as well rejoycing for their refreshing, as requesting also for our selves a godly consummation in the faith. Thus therefore doe we celebrate the death, not the day of the birth: because they which dye, shall live for ever, and we celebrate it, calling together religious persons with the Priests, the faithfull with the Clergie; inviting moreover the needy and the poore, feeding the orphanes and widowes: that our festivity may be for a memoriall of rest to the soules departed whose remembrance we celebrate, and to us may become a sweet savour in the sight of the eternall God. Secondly, by that which S. Cyprian writeth of Laurentinus and Ignatius: whom he acknowledgeth to have received of the Lord palmes and crownes for their famous martyrdome, and yet presently addeth. *d Wee offer sacrifices alwayes for them, when we celebrate the passions and dayes of the martyrs with an anniversarie commemoration. Thirdly, by that which we read in the author of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy, set out under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite. For where the partie deceased is described by him to have departed out of this life *c replenished with divine joy, as now not fearing any change to worse, being come unto the end of all his labours; and to have been both privately acknowledged by his friends, and publicly pronounced by the ministers of the Church to***



be a happy man, and to be verily admitted into the society of the Saints that have beene from the beginning of the world: yet doth he declare, that the Bishop made prayer for him, (upon what ground we shall afterward heare) that God would forgive him all the sinnes that he had committed through humane infirmitie, and bring him into the light and the land of the living, into the bosomes of Abraham, Isaac and Iacob, into the place from whence paine and sorrow and sighing flyeth. Fourthly, by the funerall ordinances of the Church, related by S. Chrysostome: which were appointed to admonish the living, that the parties deceased were in a state of joy and not of griefe. <sup>h</sup> For tell me (saith he) what doe the bright lampes meane? doe wee not accompany them therewith as champions? What meane the Hymnes? Consider what thou dost sing at that time. Returne my soule unto thy rest; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee. and againe: I will feare no evill, because thou art with me. and againe: Thou art my refuge from the affliction that compasseth me. Consider what these Psalmes meane.

Fifthly, by the formes of the prayers that are found in the ancient Liturgies. as in that of the Churches of Syria, attributed unto S. Basil: <sup>k</sup> Be mindefull, O Lord, of them which are dead, and are departed out of this life, and of the orthodoxe Bishops which from Peter and Iames the Apostles untill this day have clearely professed the right word of Faith; and namely, of Ignatius, Dionysius, Iu-

αὐτὸν εὐχαρίστος σε, καὶ πάλιν, Οὐ φοβηθήσεμαι κενά, ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ. καὶ πάλιν, Σὺ μὲν εἰ καταργητὴς τῆς θανάσεως τοῦ σώματος ἐστίς, οἱ δὲ ψαλμοὶ. Id. ibid. <sup>k</sup> Memento etiam Domine eorum qui decesserunt migraruntq; ex hac vitá; & Episcoporum orthodoxorum qui inde á Petro & Iacobo Apostolis ad hunc usq; diem, rectū Fidei verbū claré sunt professi; & nomination Ignatii, Dionysij, Iulij, ac reliquorū Divorū laudabilis memoriz. Memento Domine eorū quoq; qui usq; ad sanguinem pro Religione steterūt, & Gregem tuū sacrum per iustitiā & sanctitatem paverunt, &c. Basilij Anaphora, ab Andr. Masio, ex Syriaco conversa.

1 Εἴ τι προσφέρω-  
μεν σοι ἢ ὑπὲρ  
πάντων τῶν ἀπ'  
ἀρχῆς ὡς ἀρχισι-  
ναίτην σοι ἔχον,  
πατριάρχων, προ-  
φητῶν, διδασκάλων,  
δοκσέων, μαρτύ-  
ρων, ὁμολογητῶν,  
ἐπισκόπων, ἁγί-  
ων, διακόνων,  
etc. Confut.  
Apostolic lib. 8.  
cap. 12.

m Memento  
Domine fan-  
ctorum tuorum :  
dignare ut re-  
corderis omniū  
sanctorum tuo-  
rum, qui tibi  
placuerunt ab  
initio, Patrum  
nostrorum fan-  
ctorum, Patri-  
archarum, Pro-  
phetarum, A-  
postolorum,  
Martyrū, Con-  
fessorum, Evan-  
gelizantium,  
Euangelistarū,  
& omnium spi-  
rituum iustorum,

qui obierunt in fide : & in primis sanctæ, gloriosæ semperq; virginis Dei genitricis Mariæ ;  
& sancti Ioannis Præcursoris, Baptistæ & Martyris ; Sancti Stephani protodiaconi & pro-  
tomartyris ; Sancti Marci Apostoli, Euangelistæ & Martyris ; &c. Liturg. Aegyptiac. Basilicæ,  
Gregoriæ & Cyrilli, à Victorio Scialach ex Arabico convers. pag. 22. 47. & 60. ed. i. Augusti ann.  
1604. n Εἴ τι προσφέρωμεν σοι τῶν λογικῶν ταυτῶν λόβους ὑπὲρ τῶν πνεύματι ἀναπαυσμένων, προπατόρων,  
πατριῶν, πατριάρχων, προφητῶν, καὶ δοκσέων, κηρύκων, διδασκάλων, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐκ ποταμῶν, καὶ  
πάντος πλείονος ὡς πνεύματι πληρωμένους. ἰσαίως τῇ παναγίᾳ, ἀρχαίᾳ, ὑπερυψωμένῃς διακρίσεως ἡμῶν  
δοκτοῖς, καὶ ἀγαθῇ μαρτυρίᾳ. Chrysost. Liturg. Græc.

lius, and the rest of the Saints of worthy memory. Be mind-  
full, O Lord, of them also which have stood unto blood for  
Religion, and by righteousness and holiness have fedd  
thy holy Flock. and in the Liturgie fathered upon the  
Apostles : <sup>l</sup> We offer unto thee for all the Saints which  
have pleased thee from the beginning of the world, Patri-  
arches, Prophets, Iust men, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors,  
Bishops, Priests, Deacons, &c. and in the Liturgies of the  
Churches of A Egypt, which carry the title of S. Basil,  
Gregory Nazianzen, and Cyrill of Alexandria. <sup>m</sup> Bee  
mindfull, O Lord, of thy Saints : vouchsafe to remember  
all thy Saints, which have pleased thee from the begin-  
ning, our holy Fathers, the Patriarches, Prophets, Apostles,  
Martyrs, Confessors, Preachers, Evangelists, and all the  
soules of the iust, which have dyed in the faith : and espe-  
cially, the holy, glorious, the evermore Virgin, Mary the  
mother of God ; and S. Iohn the forerunner, the Baptist  
and Martyr ; S. Stephen the first Deacon and Martyr ; S.  
Marke the Apostle, Evangelist and Martyr ; &c. and in  
the Liturgie of the Church of Constantinople, ascri-  
bed to S. Chrysostom : <sup>n</sup> We offer unto thee this reasonable  
service, for those who are at rest in the faith, our Forefa-  
thers, Fathers, Patriarches, Prophets, and Apostles, Prea-  
chers, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, religious persons,  
and every spirit perfected in the faith. but especially for our  
most holy, immaculate, most blessed Lady, the mother of  
God and aye-virgin Mary. which kinde of oblation for



the Saints sounding somewhat harshly in the eares of the Latines, *Leo Thuscus* in his translation thought best to expresse it to their better liking after this manner.

o *We offer unto thee this reasonable service for the faithfully deceased, for our fathers and fore-fathers; the Patriarches, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and all the Saints interceding for them.* As if the phrase of *proffering for the Martyrs*, were not to be found in *S. Chrysostom's* own workes: and more universally *q for the just, both the Fathers, and the Patriarches, the Prophets and Apostles, and Evangelists and Martyrs and Confessors, the Bishops and such as led a solitarie life, and the whole order; in the suffrages of the Church, rehearsed by Epiphanius.* yea and in the Western Church it selfe: *r for the spirits of those that are at rest, Hilary, Athanasius, Martin, Ambrose, Augustin, Fulgentius, Leander, Isidorus, &c.* as may be seene in the *Muzarabicall Office* used in *Spaine*.

o Adhuc offerimus tibi rationale hoc obsequium pro fideliter dormientibus, pro patribus & proavis nostris; intervenientibus Patriarchis, Prophetis, Apostolis, Martyribus, Confessoribus, & omnibus Sanctis. *Chrysost. Liturg. Latin.*  
p τί οὐκ τὸ εὐχριστίζεσθαι ὑμῶν; *Chrysost. homil. 21. in Act. tom. 4. edit. Saviil. pag. 736. & tom. 7. pag.*

Sixthly, this may be confirmed out of the funerall orations of S. *Ambrose*: in one whereof, touching the Emperour *Valentinian* and his brother *Gratian*, thus he speaketh. *Let us beleeve that Valentinian is ascended from the desert, that is to say, from this dry and unmanured place unto those flowry delights; where being conjoyned with his brother, hee enjoyeth the pleasure of everlasting life. Blessed are you both: if my orizons shall prevaile anie thing; no day shall overslip you in silence: no o-*

o Adhuc offerimus tibi rationabile hoc obsequium pro fideliter dormientibus, pro patribus & proavis nostris, intervenientibus Patriarchis, Prophetis, Apostolis, Martyribus, Confessoribus, & omnibus Sanctis. *Chrysoſt.*  
*Liturg. Latin.*

p τί οὐκ τὸ ἐν ἑνὶ  
μετατίρω ἔστι  
ῥήματι; Chrysost.  
homil. 21. in  
Act. rom. 4. edit.  
Savil. pag. 736.  
et rom. 7. pag.

928.  
 Ϟ Γ' πὲρ τῶν  
 μέσων καὶ πατέρων  
 καὶ πατριάρχων,  
 ἐκφύτων καὶ ἀπο-  
 στόλων, καὶ ὁμολογι-  
 σῶν καὶ μερῶν καὶ  
 ὁμολογητῶν, ὅτι  
 σκόπῳ τοῦ καὶ ἀνα-  
 χαριστῶν, καὶ πάντες  
 τῶν τάγματ' αὐτοῦ.  
 Epirhaph. hares.  
 75.

paufantiū Hilarij, Athanaſij, Martini, Ambroſij, Auguſtini, Fulgentij, Leandri, Iſidori, &c.  
*Offic. Nazarab. apud Eugen. Robeſſum, in vitâ Franciſci Ximenij.* ¶ Credamus quia aſcen-  
 dit à deſerto, hoc eſt, ex hoc arido & inculto loco ad illas florulentas delectationes, ubi cum  
 fratre conjunctus æternæ vitæ fruitor voluptate. Beati ambo: ſi quid meæ orationes vale-  
 bunt; nulla dies vos ſilentio præteribit. Nulla inhonoratos vos mea tranſibit oratio. Nulla  
 nox non donatos aliquâ precum mearum contextione tranſcurret Omnibus vos oblationi-  
 bus frequentabo. *Ambroſ. ac obitu Valentiniani imp.*

*ration*

† Da requiem  
 perfecto seruo  
 tuo Theodo-  
 sio, requiem  
 quam præpa-  
 rasti sanctis  
 tuis. *Id. de obitu*  
*Theodosij Imp.*  
 ‡ Absolutus  
 igitur dubio  
 certamine frui-  
 tur nunc angu-  
 stæ memoriæ  
 Theodosius  
 luce perpetuâ,  
 tranquillitate  
 diuturnâ; &  
 pro ijs quæ in  
 hoc gessit cor-  
 pore, munera-  
 tionis divinæ  
 fructibus gra-  
 tulatur. Ergo  
 quia dilexit  
 augustæ me-  
 moriæ Theo-  
 dosius Domi-  
 num Deum  
 suum, meruit  
 sanctorum con-  
 fortia. *Id. ibid.*  
 x Manet ergo  
 in lumine The-  
 odosius, & san-

ctorum cætibz gloriatur. *ibid.*

y Tibi nunc omnipotens Deus innoxiam commendo animam, tibi hostiam meam offero: cape propitius ac serenus fraternum munus, sacrificiū sacerdotis. *Id. de obitu fratris.*

z Intravit in regnum cælorum, quoniam credidit Dei verbo, &c. *Id. ibid.* a Tot igitur semirutarum urbium cadavera, terrarumq; sub eodem conspectu exposita funera; non te admonent unius, sanctæ licet & admirabilis, sceminæ decessionem consolabiliorem habendam? præsertim cum illa in perpetuum prostrata ac diruta sint; hæc autem ad tempus quidem crepta nobis meliorem illic vitam exigat. Itaq; non tam deplorandam, quam prosequendā orationibus reor: nec mœstificandā lachrymis tuis, sed magis oblationibus animam ejus Domino cōmendandam arbitror. *Id. epist. 8.*

ration of mine shall passe you over unhonoured. no night  
 shall runne by, wherein I will not bestow upon you some por-  
 tion of my prayers. With all oblations will I frequent you.  
 In another, he prayeth thus unto God: † Give rest unto  
 thy perfect servant Theodosius, that rest which thou hast  
 prepared for thy Saints. and yet hee had said before of  
 him: ‡ Theodosius of honourable memory being freed  
 from doubtfull fight, doth now enjoy everlasting light and  
 continuall tranquillitie; and for the things which he did  
 in this bodie, he rejoyceth in the fruits of Gods reward:  
 because he loved the Lord his God, he hath obtayned the so-  
 cietie of the Saints. and afterward also. x Theodosius re-  
 maineth in light, and glorieth in the companie of the  
 Saints. In a third, he prayeth thus for his brother Sa-  
 tyrus: y Almighty God, I now commend unto thee his  
 harmelesse soule, to thee doe I make my oblation; accept  
 mercifully and graciously the office of a brother, the sacri-  
 fice of a Priest. although he had directly pronounced of  
 him before, that z he had entred into the kingdome of hea-  
 ven, because he beleevved the word of God, and excelled in  
 manie notable vertues. Lastly, in one of his Epistles  
 he comforteth Faustinus for the death of his sister, af-  
 ter this maner. a Doe not the carkases of so many halfe-  
 ruined cities, and the funeralls of so much land exposed  
 under one view, admonish thee; that the departure of one  
 woman, although a holy and an admirable one, should be



born with greater consolation? especially seeing they are cast down and overthrown for ever; but she, being taken from us but for a time, doth passe a better life there. I therefore thinke, that she is not so much to be lamented, as to be followed with prayers: and am of the minde, that she is not to be made sadde with thy teares, but rather that her soule should be commended with oblations unto the Lord. Thus saith S. Ambrose. Unto whom we may adjoyne Gregory Nazianzen also: who in his funerall oration that he made upon his brother Casarius, having acknowledged that he had received those honours that did besit a new created soule, which the Spirit had reformed by water (for he had beene but lately baptized before his departure out of this life) doth notwithstanding pray, that the Lord would be pleased to receive him.

Diverse instances of the like practise in the ages following, I have produced in another place: to which I will adde some few more, to the end that the Reader may from thence observe, how long the primitive institution of the Church did hold up head among the tares that grew up with it, and in the end did quite choake and extinguish it. Our English Saxons had learned of Gregory to pray for reliefe of those soules that were supposed to suffer paine in Purgatorie: and yet the introducing of that noveltie was not able to justle out the ancient usage of making prayers and oblations for them which were not doubted to have beene at rest in Gods kingdome. And therefore the brethren of the Church of Hexham, in the anniverarie commemoration of the obite of Oswald King of Northumberland, used to keep their Vigiles for the health of his soule, and having spent the night in praying of God with psalmes, to offer for him in the morning the sacrifice of the

b ἡμεῖς, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον  
μαρτυροῦμεν, ὅτι  
αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ  
καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ὁ  
καὶ ὁ καὶ ὁ καὶ ὁ  
Greg.  
Nazianz in fun.  
Casarij, orat. 10.  
c Νῦν μὲν δέχεται  
καρδίαν. Ibid.  
d Discourse of  
the Religion pro-  
fessed by the an-  
cient Irish, pag.  
21. 22. 23.

e Vigilijs pro  
salute animæ  
ejus facere,  
plurimaque  
psalmorum  
laude celebra-  
tâ, victimâ pro  
eo manè sacræ  
oblationis of-  
ferre. Bed. lib. 3.  
hisor. Ecclesiast.  
cap. 2.

f *Id. ibid. cap.*

12. &amp; 14.

g *Id. lib. 4. hist.*

cap. 23.

h Repente ad

superna raptus

cujusdam disci-

puli nobiliter a

se apud Gles-

niam educati

animam innu-

merâ Angelorū

frequentia hinc

inde stipatam,

atque immensi

luminis fulgore

perfusam, ad

coeli palatium

prochi con-

spexit. Moxque

in manus divi-

næ pietatis eā

commendans,

dominos quoq;

loco ad com-

mendandum

invitat. Osber-

nus, in *Vita S.**Dunstani, MS.*in *Bibliothec.**Cottonianâ &**Bodleianâ. No-**tandum verò, in**Io. Capgrave Le-**gendâ (in quâ**prior narrationis huius pars ad verbum ex Osberno, ut alia de Dunstano complura, descripta cerni-**tur) posteriorem hanc sententiam omittit penitus: in Eadmero verò (ex quo, non autem ex Osberno**vel Osberto, Vita Dunstani quæ Mai. 19. apud Surium legitur est desumpta) ita tantummodo re-**ferri. Qui pro tantâ gloriâ fratris ultrâ quàm dici queat exultans, & immensas corde & ore**Deo cunctipotentis gratias agens; socijs quid acciderit manifestâ voce exposuit, & diem ac**horam transitus ejus notari præcepit. i Noveris, ait, me modo sine ullâ dilatione, aut**ullo severioris examinis periculo ad summi Regis palatium commigrâsse, atque tanquàm**Regis immortalis filium beatâ immortalitate vestitum, Vis. Godefrid, cap. 13. à lac. Mosandro**edit. Coln. an. 1581.*

sacred oblation, as Beda writeth: who telleth us yet withall, that she raigned with God in heaven, and by his prayers procured manie miracles to be wrought on earth. So likewise doth the same Bede report, that when it was discovered by two severall visions, that Hilda the Abbess of Streansheale (or Whitby in Yorkshire) was carried up by the Angels into heaven; they which heard thereof presently caused prayers to be said for her soule. And Osberne relateth the like of Dunstan: that being at Bathe, and beholding in such another vision the soule of one that had been his scholar at Glaſtenbury, to be carried up into the palace of heaven; he straightway commended the same into the hands of the divine pietie, and intreated the lords of the place where he was to do so likewise.

Other narrations of the same kind may be found among them that have written of Saints lives: & particularly in the Tome published by Mosander, pag. 69. touching the decease of Bathildis Queen of France; & pa. 25. concerning the departure of Godfry Earle of Capenberg. who is said there to have appeared unto a certain Abbess, called Gerbergis, & to have acquainted her, that he was now without all delay, & without all danger of any more severe triall, gone unto the palace of the highest King, and as the sonne of the immortall King was cloathed with blessed immortalitie. & the Monk that writ the Le-



gend addeth, that <sup>k</sup> shee presently thereupon *caused the sacrifice of the Masse to be offered for him.* which how fabulous soever it may be for the matter of the vision; yet doth it strongly prove, that within these 500. years (for no longer since it is, that this is accounted to have bene done) the use of offering for the soules of those that were beleaved to be in heaven was still retayned in the Church. The letters of *Charles* the great unto *Offa* King of *Mercia* are yet extant; wherein hee <sup>l</sup> wisheth that *intercessions* should be made for Pope *Adrian* then lately deceased: *not having any doubt at all* (saith hee) *but that his blessed soule is at rest; but that we may shew our faithfulness and love unto our most deare friend.* Lastly, Pope *Innocent* the *third* (or the *second* rather) being inquired of by the Bishop of *Cremona*, concerning the state of a certaine Priest that dyed without Baptisme: resolveth him out of *S. Augustine* and *S. Ambrose*, that <sup>m</sup> because he continued in the faith of the holy mother the Church and the confession of the name of *Christ*; he was assoyled from originall sinne, and had attained the joy of the heavenly country. Upon which ground at last he maketh this conclusion: <sup>n</sup> *Ceasing therefore all questions, hold the sentences of the learned Fathers; and command continuall prayers and sacrifices to bee offered unto God in thy Church for the foresaid Priest.*

Now having thus declared, unto what kinde of persons the Commemorations ordained by the ancient Church did extend: the next thing that commeth to consideration is, what we are to conceive of the prima-

*Anter. Decretal. lib. 3. tit. 43. de presbytero non baptizato, cap. 2. Apostolicam. & Collect. 1. Bernardi Papiensis, lib. 5. tit. 35 cap. 2.* <sup>n</sup> *Sopitis igitur quaestionibus, doctorum patrum sententias teneas: & in Ecclesia tua iuges preces hostia; q; Deo offerri jubeas pro presbytero memorato, Ibid.*

<sup>k</sup> *Mox fratribus Cappenbergenfibus indicavit beati viri obitum, & pro eo Missae sacrificium offerendum curavit. Ibid.*

<sup>l</sup> *Deprecantes ut pro eo intercedi jubeatis: nullam habentes dubitatione, beatam illius animam in requie esse; sed ut fidem & dilectionem nostram ostendamus in amicum nostrum charissimum. Carol. M. apud Guil. Malmesburienf. de gest. reg. Anglor. li. I. cap. 4.*

<sup>m</sup> *Quia in sanctae matris Ecclesiae fide, & Christi nominis confessione perseveravit; ab originali peccato solutum, & coelestis patriae gaudium esse adeptum, asserimus incun-*

rie intention of those prayers that were appointed to be made therein. And here we are to understand, that first prayers of Praise and Thanksgiving were presented unto God for the blessed estate that the partie deceased was now entred upon: whereunto were afterwards added prayers of Deprecation and Petition, that God would be pleased to forgive him his sinnes, to keep him from Hell, and to place him in the kingdome of Heaven. which kinde of intercessions, howsoever at first they were well meant (as we shall heare) yet in pro- cesse of time they proved an occasion of confirming men in diverse errors; especially when they beganne once to be applyed not onely to the good but to evill livers also, unto whom by the first institution they never were intended.

The terme of εὐχαριστίας εὐχή, a thanksgiving prayer, I borrow from the writer of the *Ecclesiasticall Hierar- chy*: who in the description of the funerall observan- ces used of old in the Church, informeth us, first, that the friends of the dead<sup>o</sup> accounted him to be (as he was) blessed, because that according to his wish he had obtained a victorious end: and thereupon sent forth Hymnes of thanksgiving to the authour of that victory; desiring withall, that they themselves might come unto the like end. and then that the Bishop likewise offered up a prayer of thanksgiving unto God; when the dead was afterward brought unto him, to receive as it were at his hands a sacred coronation. Thus at the funerall of Fabiola, the prayling of God by singing<sup>r</sup> of Psalmes, and resounding of Alleluia, is specially mentioned by

οὐκ αὐτὸν τὰς τῆς  
(vel dicit) ἵστῃ, μα-  
καρίζουσι, πρὸς τὸ  
νικηφόρον ἀπαί-  
ματι ἀφ' ὧν ὡς  
τὸ ἐλθόν, καὶ τὸ τῆς  
νίκης αὐτοῦ εὐχα-  
ριστίας αἰδῶς αἰν-  
ώσιμον, προσέτι  
ὡς αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑκείνου  
πρὸς τὴν ὁμοίαν  
ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ λαβὼν.  
Dionys. Eccle-  
siast. Hierarch.  
cap. 7.

ρ ἔτι τὰς τῆς  
πρὸς δὲ τὴν εὐχα-

ριστίας ἀρχὴν ὁ νεκρὸς. Ibid.

δὲ σὺν. Ibid.

r Sonabant Psalmi; & aurata testa templorum, reboans in sublime qua-  
niebat alleluia. Hieronym. in epitaphio Fabiola, epist. 30.

S. Hierome,



S. Hierom: and the generall practise and intention of the Church therein is expressed and earnestly urged by S. Chrysostom in this manner. *Do not we prayse God, and give thanks unto him for that he hath now crowned him that is departed, for that he hath freed him from his labours, for that quitting him from feare he keepeth him with himselfe? Are not the Hymnes for this end? Is not the singing of Psalmes for this purpose? All these be tokens of rejoycing.* Whereupon hee thus preffeth them that used immoderate mourning for their dead. *Thou sayest; Returne, O my soule, unto thy rest, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee: and dost thou weepe? Is not this a stage-play, is it not meere simulation? For if thou dost indeed beleewe the things that thou sayest, thou lamentest idely: but if thou playest, and dissemblest, and thinkest these things to be fables; why dost thou then sing? why dost thou suffer those things that are done? Wherefore dost thou not drive away them that sing? and in the end hee concludeth somewhat prophetically; that he<sup>u</sup> very much feared, lest by this meanes some grievous disease should creepe in upon the Church.*

Whether the doctrine now maintayned in the Church of Rome, that the children of God presently after their departure out of this life, are cast into a lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, be not a spice of this disease, and whether their practise in chanting of Psalmes (appointed for the expression of joy & thankfulness) over them whom they esteeme to be tormented in so lamentable a fashion, be not a part of that scene and pageant at which S. Chrysostom doth so take on: I leave it unto others to judge. That his feare was not altogether vaine, the event it selfe doth shew. For howsoever in his dayes, the fire of the Romish Purgato-

τὸ οὐχὶ τοῖς θεοῖς  
δι' ἁλοῦσιν, καὶ ὡ-  
χρεῖται ἁπλῶς ὅτι  
λαίτῃν ἵστατο ἅσιν  
ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ πῦρος  
τῶν πῦρος ἀπὸ τοῦ  
ξένου, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον  
ἐκβαλὼν ἵστατο παρ'  
ἐαυτοῦ; καὶ διὰ τὸ  
ὑμεῖς; καὶ διὰ τὸ  
ψαλμοῦ δὲ, ταῦ-  
τα πάντα καὶ ὅτι  
ταῖς ἱστο. Chrysost.  
in epist. ad Hebr.  
homil. 4.

τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ψα-  
λμοῦ, εἰς τὸ ἀνα-  
παύσασθαι, ὅτι  
κύριε θεὸν ἡμεῖς  
οἰοῖται, λίγος, καὶ  
δακρυῖς; καὶ  
οὐκ ἔστι τὸ πῦρ  
καὶ ὡς ἀκριβὲς;  
εἰ μὴ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς πῦρ  
ἐστὶν οἷς λίγος  
πῦρ πῦρ πῦρ  
εἰ δὲ πῦρ εἰς  
ὡς ἀκριβὲς καὶ μὴ  
αὐτὰ ἔστι ὡς  
ζῆλος, πῦρ καὶ ψαλμοῦ;  
τὸ καὶ ἀντιχρῆστὸς  
παρρησιασμένον;  
διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀπα-  
λαύσῃς τὸν ψαλ-  
μοῦ; Id. ibid.  
II Καὶ γὰρ μερὶς  
ἡμεῖς; δίδωμεν καὶ  
τὰ τῶν τῶν τῶν  
χαλκῶν τῶν ἰσχυ-  
ρῶν τῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ  
ὡς ἡμεῖς; ibid.

x Cum sacri-  
ficia five altaris  
five quarum.  
cunq; eleemo-  
synarum pro  
baptizatis de-  
functis omni-  
bus offeruntur;  
pro valde bonis  
gratiarum ac-  
tiones sunt,  
pro non valde  
malis propitia-  
tiones sunt, pro  
valde malis et si  
nulla sunt ad-  
jumenta mor-  
tuum, qua-  
lescunq; vivorum  
consolationes  
sunt. *Augustin.*  
*Enchirid. ad*  
*Laurent. cap.*  
*116.*

y *Augustin. de*  
*Verbis Apostoli,*  
*serm. 17.*

z *Id. ibid. & in*  
*Evang. Iohan.*  
*tractat. 84.*

a Non sunt  
praetermitten-  
dae supplica-  
tiones pro spi-  
ritibus mortuo-  
rum: quas fa-  
ciendas pro  
omnibus in  
Christianâ &  
Catholicâ to-

cietate defunctis, etiam tacitis nominibus quorumque, sub generali commemoratione sus-  
cepit Ecclesia. *Id. de Curâ pro mortuis, cap. 4.*

ric was not as yet kindled: yet were there certain sticks then a gathering, which ministred fuell afterwards unto that flame. Good *S. Augustin*, (who lived three and twentie years after *S. Chrysostoms* death) declared himselfe to be of this minde: that the<sup>x</sup> oblations and almes usually offered in the Church *for all the dead that received baptisme, were thanksgivings for such as were very good, propitiations for such as were not very bad; but as for such as were very evill, although they were no helpes of the dead, yet were they some kinde of consolations of the living.* And although this were but a private exposition of the Churches meaning in her prayers and oblations for the dead; and the opinion of a Doctor too, that did not hold Purgatorie to be anie article of his Creed: yet did the *Romanists* in times following greedily take hold of this, and make it the maine foundation upon which they laid the hay and stubble of their devised Purgatorie.

A private exposition I call this: not onely because it is not to be found in the writings of the former Fathers, but also because it suteth not well with the generall practise of the Church which it intendeth to interpret. It may indeed fit in some sort that part of the Church-service, wherein there was made a severall commemoration, first of the *Patriarches, Prophets, Apostles* and *Martyrs*, after one maner; and then of the other dead, after another: which, together with the conceit that *an injury was offered to a Martyr, by praying for him, was it that first occasioned S. z Augustin* to thinke of the former distinction. But in the<sup>a</sup> *supplications for the spirits of the dead, which the Church under*

a generall



[illegible]

e Te, Domine  
sancte Pater  
omnipotens æ-  
terne Deus,  
supplices de-  
precamur pro  
spiritibus fa-

rizom :

d Requiem x-  
ternam dona  
eis Domine: et  
lux perpetua  
luceat eis. In-  
trusus *Missa, in  
Commemoratio-  
ne omnium fide-  
lium defunctorū.  
Agenda mortuorū.  
in Antiphonario  
Gregorij, circ. fin.  
e Suscipe, san-  
cta Trinitas,  
hanc oblationē,  
quā tibi offeri-  
mus pro omni-  
bus in tui nomi-  
nis confessione  
defunctis: ut te  
dexterā auxiliij  
tui porrigente,  
vitæ perennis  
requiē habeāt;  
& a pœnis im-  
piorū segregati,  
semper in tuæ  
laudis lætitiā  
perseverēt. *Missa  
Latina antiqua,  
edit. Argentor.  
an. 1557. pag. 52.**

f Hanc igitur oblationē, quā tibi pro cōmemoratione animarū in pace dormientiū suppli-  
citer immolamus, quæsumus, Domine, benignus accipias; & tuā pietate cōcedas, ut & nobis  
proficiat hujus pietatis affectus, & illis impetret beatitudinem sempiternam. *Offic. Grego-  
rian. tom. 5. Oper. Gregor. edit. Paris an. 1605. col. 235. 236. Tom. 2. Liturgic. Pamelij pag. 610 &  
Prefation. vetust. edit. Colon an. 1530. num. 111.* g Memento etiam, Domine, famulorū  
famularumque tuarum, qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, & dormiunt in somno pacis.  
Ipsis Domine, & omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locū refrigerij, lucis & pacis, ut induige-  
as, deprecamur. *Canon Missæ, in Officio Ambrosiano & Gregoriano, & Missal. Romano In Gracā  
tamen Liturgiā B. Petro attributā pro Cōmemoratione defunctorū posita hęc cernitur Commemora-  
tio viventium (ἐπιταφιασμοῦ τῶν ζώντων) & in vetustissimis quibusdā Romanis Missalibus  
manuscriptis, hęc mortuorū cōmemorationis formula nusquā extat: (P. V. necrol. lib. 5. de  
adulterat. Can. Dom. & Missæ myster. cap. 48.) adnominatim in vetustissimo Canone Gregoriano,  
qui in Tigurina Abbatis Bibliotheca habebatur, ex authentico libro Bibliothecæ cubiculi de-  
scriptus. (apud Henric. Bullinger lib. 2. de Origine erroru, cap. 3.)*

rizon: & Eternall rest grant unto them, O Lord: and let  
everlasting light shine unto them. Whereunto we may  
adde these two prayers (to omit a great number more  
of the like kinde) used of old in the same Church. c Re-  
ceive, O holy Trinitie, this oblation, vvhich vve offer unto  
thee for all that are departed in the confession of thy name:  
that thou reaching unto them the right hand of thy helpe,  
they may have the rest of everlasting life; and being sepa-  
rated from the punishments of the wicked, they may alwayes  
persevere in the joy of thy praise. and, f This oblation,  
which we humbly offer unto thee for the commemoration  
of the soules that sleepe in peace, we beseech thee, O Lord, re-  
ceive graciously; and of thy goodnesse grant, that both the  
affection of this pietie may profite us, and obtaine for them  
everlasting blisse. Where you may observe, that the  
soules unto which everlasting blisse was wished for,  
were yet acknowledged to rest in peace, & consequently  
not to be disquieted with anie Purgatorie torment. e-  
ven as in the Canon of the Masse it selfe, the Priest in  
the Commemoration for the dead praiceth thus: g Re-  
member, O Lord, thy servants and handmaydes, vvhich  
have gone before us with the ensigne of faith, and sleepe in  
the sleepe of peace. To them, O Lord, and to all that are at

rest



rest in Christ, we beseech thee that thou wouldest graunt a place of refreshing, light, and peace.

Nay the *Armenians* in their Liturgie, intreat God to <sup>h</sup> give eternall peace, not only in generall unto all that have gone before us in the faith of Christ; but also in particular to the *Patriarches, Apostles, Prophets, and Martyrs*. which maketh directly for the opinion of those (against whom <sup>i</sup> *Nicolaus Cabasilas* doth dispute) who held, that these *Commemorations* contayned a supplication for the *Sainctes* unto God, and not a thanksgiving only. as also doe those formes of prayer which were used in the *Roman Liturgie* in the dayes of Pope *Innocent* the third: <sup>k</sup> Let such an oblation profit such or such a Sainct unto glory. and especially that for *S. Leo*, which is found in the elder copies of the *Gregorian Sacramentarie*. <sup>l</sup> Grant unto us, O Lord, that this oblation may profit the soule of thy servant *Leo*. for which the later bookes have chopt in this prayer: <sup>m</sup> Grant unto us, O Lord, that by the intercession of thy servant *Leo* this oblation may profit us. Concerning which alteration, when the archbishop of *Lyons* propounded such another question unto Pope *Innocent*, as our Challenger at the beginning did unto us; <sup>n</sup> who it was that did change it, or when it was changed, or why? the Pope returneth him for answer: <sup>o</sup> that who did change it, or when it was chan-

<sup>h</sup> Per hanc etiam oblationē da æternā pacē omnibus, qui nos præcesserunt in fide Christi, sanctis patribus, Patriarchis, Apostolis, Prophetis, Martyribus, &c. Liturg. Armen. edit. Cracov. Andrea Lubelsky interpret. <sup>i</sup> Sed hic nonnulli decepti sunt, non gratiarum actionem, sed pro sanctis ad Deū supplicationē, eorum memoriam esse putantes. Cabasil. exposit. Liturg. cap. 49. <sup>k</sup> Profit vel proficiat, huic sancto vel illi, talis oblatio ad gloriam. Innocent. III. epist.

ad archiep. Lugdun. lib. 3. Decretal tit. 41. de celebrat. missar. cap. 6. Cum Marthæ. I Annue nobis, Domine, ut animæ famuli tui Leonis hæc profit oblatio. Gregor. oper. tom 5. edit. Paris. an. 1605. col 135 d. <sup>m</sup> Annue nobis Domine, ut intercessione famuli tui Leonis hæc nobis profit oblatio. Luargio. Pamely, tom. 2. pag. 344. <sup>n</sup> Tertio loco tua fraternitas requirit, quis mutaverit, vel quando fuit mutatum, aut quare, quod in secretâ beati Leonis, secundum quod antiquiores codices continent, &c. Innocent. III. in Collect. 3. Decretal. (Petri Beneventani) l. b. 3. tit. 33 cap. 5. <sup>o</sup> Super quo ribi taliter respondemus: quod quis illud mutaverit, aut quando mutatum fuerit, ignoramus; scimus tamen, quâ fuerit occasione mutatum. quia cum sacræ scripturæ dicat auctoritas, quod injuriam facit martyri, qui orat pro martyre: idem est ratione consimili de sanctis alijs sciendum. Ibid.

p Olim oraba-  
tur pro ipso :  
hodie ipse orat  
pro nobis, et ita  
mutatum est.  
Cap. Cum Mar-  
tha. Extra. de ce-  
lebr. Missar. in  
Glossa.  
q Alphons.  
Mendoz Contro-  
vers. Theolog.  
quest. 6. schola-  
stic. num. 7.

v Ut per hanc  
pax placationis  
officia, et illum  
beata retribu-  
tio comitetur,  
& nobis gratia-  
rum dona con-  
ciliet. Mis-  
sal. Roman. ex  
decreto Concil.  
Tridentin. refli-  
tur. in festo S.  
Leonis.

f Sumpsimus, Domine, divina mysteria : quæ sicut Sanctis tuis profunt ad gloriam, ita nobis, quæsumus, proficiant ad medelam Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. 2. cap. 18. Sixt. Senens. lib. 6. Bibliothec. Sancti. annotat. 47. ex Gregorij Sacramentario.

ged, he was ignorant of ; yet he knew, upon what occasion it was changed. because that, where the authoritie of the Holy Scripture doth say, that he doth injurie unto a Martyr who prayeth for a Martyr, (which is a new text of holy Scripture, of the Popes owne canonization) the same by the like reason is to be held of other Saints. The Glosse upon this Decretall layeth down the reason of this mutation a little more roundly : P Of old they prayed for him, now at this day hee prayeth for us ; and so was the change made. And q Alphonsus Mendoza telleth us, that the old prayer was deservedly disused, and this other substituted in the roome thereof : Grant unto us, we beseech thee O Lord, that by the intercession of thy servant Leo this oblation may profit us. which prayer indeed was to be found heretofore in modernioribus Sacramentarijs ( as Pope Innocent speaketh ) and in the Roman Missalls that were published before the Councell of Trent (as namely in that which was printed at Paris, an. 1529.) but in the new reformed Missall (where- with, it seemeth, Mendoza was not so well acquainted as with his Scholasticall controversies) it is put out againe, and another prayer for Leo put in ; that by the celebration of those offices of atonement, a blessed retri- bution might accompanie him. Neither is there anie more wrong done unto S. Leo, in praying for him after this maner, then unto all the rest of his fellowes in that other prayer of the Romane Liturgie : f We have received, O Lord, the divine mysteries ; which as they doe profit thy Saints unto glory, so we do beseech thee that they may profit us for our healing. and nothing so much as



is done unto all the faithfull deceased, when in their Masses for the dead they say daily : *Lord Iesus Christ, king of glory, deliver the soules of all the faithfull that are departed, from the paines of Hell, and from the deepe lake ; deliver them from the mouth of the Lion, that Hell do not swallow them up, that they fall not into darkenesse.* So that whatsoever commodious expositions our Adversaries can bring for the justifying of the *Romane* service : the same may wee make use of, to shew, that the ancient Church might pray for the dead, and yet in so doing have no relation at all unto Purgatorie ; yea and pray for the Martyrs and other Saints that were in the state of blisse, without offering unto them anye injurie thereby.

For the clearing of the meaning of those prayers which are made for *Leo*, and the other Saints, to the two expositions brought in by Pope *Innocent*, Cardinall *Bellarmino* addeth this for a third ; *that peradventure therein the glory of the body is petitioned for, which they shal have in the day of the Resurrectiō.* For although (saith he) they shal certainly obtain that glory, & it be due unto their merits ; yet it is not absurd to desire & aske this for them, that by more meanes it may be due unto them. Where, laying aside those unfavourie termes of debt and merits (whereof we shall have occasion to treat in their proper place) the answer is otherwise true in part, but not full enough to give satisfaction unto that which was objected. For the primary intention of the Church indeed, in her prayers for the dead, had reference unto the day of the Resurrection : which also in diverse places we finde to have beene expressly prayed for. as in the *AEgyptian* Liturgie, attributed unto *S. Cyrill* Bi-

*Domine Iesu Christe, rex gloriae, libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de poenis inferni, & de profundo lacu : libera eas de ore leonis, ne absorbeat eas Tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum.*

*Missae in Commemoratio omnium fidelium defunctorum. & in Missis Quotidianis defunctorum, in Offertorio.*

*u Adde tertio, fortasse peti gloriam corporis, quam habebunt in die resurrectionis. Nam etiam si gloriam illam certo consequentur, & debetur eorum meritis ; tamen non est absurdum hoc illis desiderare & petere, ut pluribus modis debeat. Bellarmin de Purgator. lib. 2. ca. 18.*

x Resuscita  
corpora eorū,  
in die quem  
constituisti, se-  
cundum pro-  
missiones tuas  
veras & men-  
daciū expētes :  
concede eis se-  
cundum pro-  
missa tua, id  
quod non vidit  
oculus, & auris  
non audivit, &  
quod in cor  
hominis non  
ascendit, quod  
præparasti Do-  
mine amatori-  
bus nominis tui  
sancti ; ut fa-  
muli tui non  
permaneant in  
morte, sed ut  
inde emigrent,  
etiamsi perfe-  
cuta sit eos pi-  
gritia aut neg-  
ligentia, &c Cy-  
ril. Liturg. à Vi-  
ctorio Scialach.  
en Arabico con-

vers. pag. 61.

y Resurrectionē faciat defunctis vestris in die novissimo ; & dignos faciat illos regno incorruptibili Spiritus sanctus *Missæ Angamaliensis ex Syriaco convers in itinerar. Alexij Menesij.* z Te quaeso, summe Deus, ut charissimos juvenes maturā resurrectione suscites & resuscites ; ut immaturū hunc vitæ istius cursū maturā resurrectione compenses. *Ambros. de obitu Valentiniāni : in ipso fine.* a Nullā læsionē sustineāt animæ eorū ; sed cū magnus ille dies resurrectionis ac remunerationis advenerit, resuscitare eos digneris, Domine, unā cū Sāctis & electis tuis. *Alcuin Offic per ferias ; Oper. col. 228 Preces. Ecc. hæst. à Georg. Cassandro collect. pag. 284. oper.* b Omnipotens sempiternæ Deus, collocare dignare corpus & animā & spiritū famuli tui N. in sinibus Abrahamæ, Isaac, & Jacob ; ut cū dies agnitionis tuæ venerit, inter sanctos & electos tuos cū resuscitari præcipias *Grimold. Sacrament. tom. 2. Liturgic Pamel. pag. 456. 457. Habetur eadem oratio in Missali. & magis nondum reformatio ( nam in novo ex decreto Concilij Tridentini restituta nusquā comparat ) corporis ta cū mentione omis- sâ : & 10mo 5. oper. Gregorij edis. Paris. an. 1605. col. 234. corporis summi & spiritus nominibus prætermis- sis.*

shop of Alexandria. \* Raise up their bodies, in the day which thou hast appointed, according to thy promises which are true and cannot lye : graunt unto them, according to thy promises, that which eye hath not seene, and care hath not heard, and which hath not ascended into the heart of man ; which thou hast prepared, O Lord, for them that love thy holy name : that thy servants may not remaine in death, but may get out from thence ; although slouthfulnesse and negligence have followed them. and in that which is used by the Christians of S. Thomas (as they are commonly called) in the East Indies : y Let the holy Ghost give resurrection to your dead at the last day ; and make them worthy of the incorruptible kingdome. Such is the prayer of S. Ambrose for Gratian and Valentinian the Emperours : z I doe beseech thee, most high God, that thou wouldest raise up againe those deare yong men with a speedie resurrection ; that thou mayest recompence this untimely course of this present life with a timely resurrection. and that in Alcuinus : a Let their soules sustaine no hurt ; but when that great day of the resurrection and remuneration shall come, vouchsafe to raise them up, O Lord, together with thy Saints and thine elect. and that in Grimoldus his Sacramentarie : b Almightye

and



and everlasting God, vouchsafe to place the body and the soule and the spirit of thy servant N. in the bosomes of Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob; that when the day of thy acknowledgement shall come, thou mayest command them to be raysted up among thy Saints and thine elect.

But yet the Cardinalls answer, that the glorie of the body may be prayed for, which the Saints shall have at the day of the Resurrection, commeth somewhat short of that which the Church used to request in the behalfe of S. Leo. For in that prayer expresse mention is made of his soule: and to it is wished that profit may redound by the present oblation. And therefore this defect must be supplied out of his answer unto that other praier which is made for the soules of the faithfull departed, that they may be delivered out of the mouth of the Lion, and that Hell may not swallow them up. To this he saith; that *the Church doth pray for these soules, that they may not be condemned unto the everlasting paines of Hell: not as if it were not certain, that they should not be condemned unto those paines, but because it is Gods pleasure that we should pray, even for those things which we are certainly to receive.* The same answer did Alphonsus de Castro give before him: that *very often those things are prayed for, which are certainly knowne shall come to passe as they are prayed for; and that of this there be very manie testimonies.* and Iohannes Medina: that *God delighteth to be prayed unto, even for those*

c Ecclesia orat pro animabus, quæ in Purgatorio degunt, ne damnentur ad pœnas Gehennæ sempiternas; non quidem quòd certū non sit, eas non damandas ad eas pœnas, sed quia vult Deus, nos orare etiā pro ijs rebus, quas certō accepturī sumus. Bellarm. de Purgator. lib. 2 cap. 5.

d Sæpissimè petuntur illa quæ certō sciuntur eventura ut petuntur: & huius rei plurima sunt testimonia. Alphons. de Castro. contr. her. res. lib. 12. de

Purgator. her. 3.

e Gaudet Deus orari, etiam

pro his, quæ alioqui facturū esset. Decreverat enim Deus post peccatum Adæ, carnem sumere; decrevitq; tempus, quo venturus erat: & grata illi fuerunt orationes Sanctorū pro sua incarnatione, & adventu orantium. Decrevit etiam Deus omni peccatori pœnitenti veniā dare: & tamen grata est illi oratio, quā vel ipse pœnitens pro se, vel alius pro illo orat, ut ejus pœnitentiā Deus acceptare dignetur. Decrevit etiam Deus, & promisit Ecclesiā suā non deferere, & Concilijs legitimè congregatis adesse: & tamen grata est Deo oratio, & hymni, quibus ejus præsentia, & favor, & gratia ipsi Concilio, & Ecclesiæ imploratur. 109. Medina. de Pœnit. tract. 6. quæst. 6. Codicis de Oratione.

things, which otherwise he purposed to do. For God had decreed (saith he) after the sinne of Adam to take our flesh, and he decreed the time, wherein he meant to come: and yet the prayers of the Saints, that prayed for his Incarnation and for his coming, were acceptable unto him. God hath also decreed to grant pardon unto every repentant sinner: and yet the prayer is gratefull unto him, wherein eyther the penitent doth pray for himselfe, or another for him, that God would be pleased to accept his repentance. God hath decreed also and promised, not to forsake his Church, and to be present with Councells lawfully assembled: yet the prayer notwithstanding is gratefull unto God, and the hymnes, whereby his presence, and favour, and grace, is implored both for the Councell & the Church. And whereas it might be objected, that howsoever the Church may sometimes pray for those things which shee shall certainly receive, yet shee doth not pray for those things which shee hath already received, and this shee hath received, that those soules shall not be damned, seeing they have received their sentence, and are most secure from damnation: the Cardinall replieth, that this objection may easily be avoyded. f For although those soules (saith he) have received already their first sentence in the particular judgement, and by that sentence are freed from Hell: yet doth there yet remaine the generall judgement, in which they are to receive the second sentence. Wherefore the Church praying, that those soules in the last judgement may not fall into darkness, nor be swallowed up of Hel, doth not pray for the thing which the soule hath, but which it shall receive. Thus these

f Nam et si animæ Purgatorii jam accepterint primam sententiam in iudicio particulari, eaque sententiâ liberæ sint à Gehennâ: tamen adhuc superest iudicium generale, in quo secundam sententiam accepturæ sunt.

Quocirca Ecclesia orans, ne in iudicio extremo animæ illæ cadant in obscurum, nevé absorbeantur à tartaro, non orat pro eâ re, quam accepit, sed pro eâ quam acceptura est anima, Bellarminus supra.

men,



men, labouring to shew how the prayers for the dead used in their Church may stand with their conceits of Purgatorie, doe thereby informe us how the prayers for the dead, used by the ancient Church, may stand well enough without the supposall of anie Purgatorie at all. For if we may pray for those things which wee are most sure shall come to passe; and the Church, by the Adversaries owne confession, did pray accordingly, that the soules of the faithfull might escape the paines of Hell at the generall Iudgement, notwithstanding they had certainly beene freed from them already by the sentence of the particular Iudgement: by the same reason, when the Church in times past besought God to *remember all those that slept in the hope of the resurrection of everlasting life* (which is the forme of prayer used in the Greeke Liturgies) and to give unto them rest, and to bring them unto the place where the light of his countenance should shine upon them for evermore; why should not we thinke, that it desired these things should be granted unto them by the last sentence at the day of the Resurrection, notwithstanding they were formerly adiudged unto them by the particular sentence at the time of their dissolution?

For as *that which shall befall unto all at the day of judgement, is accomplished in every one at the day of his death*: so on the other side, whatsoever befallerh the soule of everie one at the day of his death, the same is fully accomplished upon the whole man at the day of the generall iudgement. Whereupon wee finde, that the Scriptures everie where doe point out that great day unto us, as the time wherein mercie and forgiveness, rest and refreshing, ioy and gladnesse, redemption and salvation, rewards and crownes shall be bestowed upon

g. *Μνησθητωσαν  
τοις τε νεκροις  
μνησθητωσαν  
τοις τε νεκροις  
αμην. Liturg.  
Easl. & Chry-  
sost.*

h. *Quod enim  
in die iudicii  
futurū est om-  
nibus, hoc in  
singulis die  
mortis imple-  
tur. Hieronymus.  
in Isai. cap. 2.*

upon all Gods children, as in 2. Timoth. 1. 16, 18. *The Lord give mercie unto the house of Onesiphorus: the Lord grant unto him, that he may finde mercie of the Lord in that day.* 1. Cor. 1. 8. *Who shall also confirme you unto the end, that ye may be blamelesse in the day of our Lord Iesus Christ.* Act. 3. 19. *Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sinnes may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord.* 2. Thessal. 1. 6, 7. *It is a righteous thing with God, to recompense unto you which are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Iesus shall be revealed from heaven, with his mightie Angells.* Philip. 2. 16. *That I may rejoyce in the day of Christ, that I have not runne in vaine, neyther laboured in vaine.* 1. Thessal. 2. 19. *For what is our hope, or joy, or crowne of rejoycing? are not even yee in the presence of our Lord Iesus Christ at his comming?* 1. Pet. 1. 5. *Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, readie to be revealed in the last time.* 1. Corinth. 5. 5. *That the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Iesus.* Ephes. 4. 30. *Grieve not the holy spirit of God, whereby yee are sealed unto the day of redemption.* Luk. 21. 28. *When these things beginne to come to passe, then looke up, and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh.* 2. Timoth. 4. 8. *Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me at that day. and Luk. 14. 14. Thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.*

And that the Church in her Offices for the dead had speciall respect unto this time of the Resurrection: appeareth plainly, both by the portions of Scripture appointed to be read therein, and by diverse particulars in the prayers themselves that manifestly discover this intention. For there <sup>i</sup> the ministers (as the wri-

ter

i Οἱ λειτουργοὶ  
ταῖς ἐν ταῖς θείαις  
λογίοις ὑπερμε-  
νῶς ἀψευδῶς ἐπα-  
γγελίας ἀπὸ τῆς  
ἐσχάτης ἡμετέρας ἀνα-  
στάσεως ἀναγγέλον-  
τες, ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ὁ δόξας  
πᾶσι ἐμμελῶς καὶ  
τελευτῶν ἀνάμνησιν  
ψαλμοῦ καὶ λογίου  
ἐκδοῖ. Dionys.  
Hierarch. Eccle-  
siast. cap. 7.



ter of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy reporteth) read those undoubted promises which are recorded in the divine Scriptures of our holy Resurrectiō: and then devoutly sang such of the sacred Psalmes as were of the same subject and argument. And so accordingly in the Romane Missall, the lessons ordained to be read for that time, are taken from 1. Corinth. 15. Behold I tell you a myserie. Wee shall all rise againe, &c. Ioh. 5. The houre commeth wherein all that are in the graves shall heare his voyce, and they that have done good shall come forth unto the resurrection of life, &c. 1. Thessal. 4. Brethren, we would not have you ignorant concerning them that sleepe, that yee sorrow not, as others which have no hope. Ioh. 11. I am the resurrection and the life: he that beleeueth in me, although he were dead, shall live. 2. Maccab. 12. Iudas caused a sacrifice to be offered for the sinnes of the dead, justly and religiously thinking of the Resurrection. Ioh. 6. This is the will of my Father that sent me; that every one that seeth the Sonne, and beleeueth in him, may have life everlasting: and I will raise him up at the last day. and, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting: and I will raise him up at the last day. and lastly, Apocal. 14. I heard a voyce from heaven, saying unto me: Write, Blessed are the dead which dye in the Lord, from henceforth now, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; for their workes follow them. Wherewith the Sequence also doth agree, beginning

*k Dies ira, dies illa,  
Solvēt saeculum in favillā:  
Teste David cum Sibyllā.*

and ending;

*Lacrymosa dies illa,  
Quā resurget ex favillā*

E c

*Indicandus*

*k Missal. Rom.  
in Commemorat,  
omnium fidelium  
defunctor,*

*Iudicandus homo reus.*

*Huic ergo parce Deus.*

*Pie Iesu Domine,*

*Dona eis requiem.*

*I* Enimvero & pro animâ ejus orat, & refrigerium interim adpostulat ei, & in primâ resurrectione consortium.

*Tertull. de Monogam. cap. 10.*

*m Id. de Resurrectione carnis, c. 25.*

*n Id. advers.*

*Marcion. lib. 3. cap. ult.*

*o* Sicut Nepos docuit, qui primam iustorum resurrectione,

& secundam impiorum con-

finxit Gennad. de Ecclesiâ.

*dogmat. cap. 55.*

*p* Lactant. In-

stius. diu. li. 7. cap. 21. 24. et 26.

*q* Quiescentiû animas in sinu

Abrahæ collo-

care dignetur, & in partem

primæ resurrectionis admittat.

*Missal. Gottic. tom. 6. Biblioth. Patr. edit. Paris. an. 1589 col. 251.*

*r* Deû iudicem universitatis, Deû cœlestium & terrestrium & infernorum, fratres dilectissimi, deprecemur pro spiritibus charorum nostrorum, qui nos in Iominicâ pace præcesserunt; ut eos Dominus in requie collocare dignetur, & in parte primæ resurrectionis resuscitet. *Ibid. col. 257. Gregor. Oper. tom. 5. col. 228. edit. Paris. Preces Eccl. fast. à Georg. Cassandro collect. pag. 385. Operum.*

*Tertullian* in his booke *de Monogamiâ* (which hee wrote after hee had beene infected with the heresie of the *Montanists*) speaking of the prayer of a widow for the soule of her deceased husband, saith that *she requesteth refreshing for him, and a portion in the first resurrection*. Which seemeth to have some tang of the error of the *Millenaries* (whereunto not *m* *Tertullian* onely with his *n* Prophet *Montanus*, but *o* *Nepos* also, and *p* *Lactantius*, and diverse other Doctors of the Church did fall) who misunderstanding the prophecie in the 20. of the Revelation, imagined that there should be a *first resurrection* of the just that should raigne here a thousand yeares upon earth, and after that a *second resurrection* of the wicked, at the day of the general judgement. Yet in a certaine *Gotticke* Missall I meet with two severall exhortations made unto the people, to pray after the selfe same forme. the one, that God would *vouchsafe to place in the bosome of Abraham the soules of those that be at rest, and admit them unto the part of the first resurrection*: the other (which I find else-where also repeated in particular) that *he would place in rest, the spirits of their friends which were gone before them in the Lords peace, and rayse them up in the part of*



*the first resurrection.* Which how it may be excused otherwise then by saying, that at the generall resurrection *the dead in Christ shall rise first*, and then the wicked shall be rayſed after them; and by referring the *first resurrection* unto the *resurrection of the juſt* which shall be at that day: I cannot well reſolve. For certaine it is, that the *first resurrection* ſpoken of in the 20. chapter of the Revelation of S. *Iohn*, is the reſurrection of the ſoule from the death of ſinne and error in this world; as the *ſecond* is the reſurrection of the bodie, out of the duſt of the earth, in the world to come. both which be diſtinctly layd down by our Saviour in the fiſt chapter of the Goſpell of S. *Iohn*: the *first* in the 25. verſe; *The houre is comming, and now is, when the dead ſhall heare the voyce of the Sonne of God, and they that heare ſhall live.* the *ſecond* in the 28. and 29. *Marveile not at this: for the houre is comming, in which all that are in the graves ſhall heare his voyce, and ſhall come forth, they that have done good unto the reſurrection of life, and they that have done evill unto the reſurrection of damnation:*

And to this generall reſurrection and to the judgement of the laſt day, had the Church relation in her prayers: ſome patternes whereof it will not be amiſſe to exhibit here, in theſe examples following. *Although the condition of death brought in upon mankind doth make our hearts and mindes heavy: yet by the gift of thy clemencie we are rayſed up with the hope of future immortalitie; and being mindfull of eternall ſalvation, are not*

u Quantvis humano generi mortis illata conditio peſtora noſtra mentesque contriſtet; tamen clementiæ tuæ dono ſpe futuræ immortalitatis erigimur, ac memores ſalutis æternæ, non timemus lucis huius ſuſtinere jaſturā. quoniam beneficio gratiæ tuæ fidelibus vita non tollitur, ſed mutatur: atque animæ corporeo ergaſtulo libe-

ratae, horrent mortalia, dum immortalia conſequuntur Vnde quaſumus, ut ſervulus tuus N. in tabernaculis beatorum conſtitutus, evaſiſſe ſe carnales gloriatur anguſtias, diemque iudicii cum fiducia voto glorificationis expectet. *Prefat. antiqu. ed. Colon. 4. 153 c. num. 106. Tom. 2. Liturgic. Pamel. pag. 608. & Tom. 5. Oper. Gregorij. edit. Pariſ. col. 232. Habetur & prior Prefat. huius parti in Miſſa Ambroſiana, ſomo 1. Liturg. Pamel. pag. 450. 451. poſterior in altera prefat. ibid. pag. 449. & Oper. Gregor. col. 232 a.*

x Per Christū  
Dominum no-  
strum. Cujus  
sacram passio-  
nem pro im-  
mortalibus &  
bene quiescen-  
tibus animabus  
sine dubio ce-  
lebramus: pro  
his præcipue,  
quibus secundū  
nativitatis  
gratiam præsti-  
tisti; qui ex-  
emplo ejusdem  
Jesu Christi  
Domini nostri  
acceperunt effe-  
de resurrectione  
securi. Quip-  
pè qui fecisti  
quæ non erant,  
potes reparare  
quæ fuerant:  
& resurrectio-  
nis futuræ no-  
bis documenta

non solum per Propheticam & Apostolicam doctrinam, sed per ejusdem unigeniti tui Redemptoris nostri resurrectionem dedisti. *Præfat. antiqu. 112. & 107. Grimold. Sacramentar. tom. 2. Liturg. Pamel. pag. 460. 461 & tom. 5. Oper. Gregor. col. 235.* y Deus, qui universorū es Creator & conditor, quique tuorum es beatitudo Sanctorum; præsta nobis petentibus, ut spiritum fratris nostri corporis nexibus absolutum in beatâ resurrectione facias præsentari. *Præc. Ecclesiast. Cassandr. Oper. pag. 385. Tom. 5. Gregor. col. 228 c.* z Omnipotens & misericors Deus, tuam deprecamur clementiam, quia judicio tuo & nascimur & finimur; ut animam fratris nostri, quem tua pietas de incolatu hujus mundi transire præcepit, in requiem æternam suscipias, & in consortio electorum tuorum in resurrectione sociari permittas, ut in æternâ beatitudine unâ cum illis sine fine permaneat. *Aluin. Offic. per ferias, Oper. pag. 230. 231. collat. cum simili, tomo 5. Gregor. col. 228. c. d. & in Operib. Cassandr. pag. 385.*

afraid to sustaine the losse of this light. For by the benefite of thy grace life is not taken away to the faithful, but changed: and the soules being freed from the prison of the body, abhorre things mortall, when they attaine unto things eternall. Wherefore we beseech thee, that thy servant N. being placed in the tabernacles of the blessed, may rejoyce that he hath escaped the straytes of the flesh, and in the desire of glorification expect with confidence the day of iudgement. x Through Iesus Christ our Lord. whose holy passion we celebrate without doubt for immortal and well resting soules: for them especially, upon whom thou hast bestowed the grace of the second birth; who by the example of the same Iesus Christ our Lord have begunne to be secure of the resurrection. For thou who hast made the things that were not, art able to repaire the things that were: and hast given unto us evidences of the resurrection to come, not onely by the doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, but also by the resurrection of the same thy onely begotten Sonne our Redeemer. y O God, who art the Creator and maker of all things, and who art the blisse of thy Saints; grant unto us who make request unto thee, that the spirit of our brother, who is loosed from the knott of his body, may bee presented in the blessed resurrection of thy Saints. z O almightie and mercifull God, we doe in-



treat thy clemency, forasmuch as by thy judgement we are borne and make an end; that thou wilt receive into everlasting rest the soule of our brother, whom thou of thy piety hast commanded to passe from the dwelling of this world, and permit him to be associated with the company of thine elect, that together with them he may remaine in everlasting blisse without end. <sup>a</sup> Eternall God, who in Christ thine only begotten sonne our Lord hast given unto us the hope of a blessed Resurrection; grant, we beseech thee, that the soules, for which we offer this sacrifice of our redemption unto thy Majestie, may of thy mercy attaine unto the rest of a blessed resurrection with thy Saints. <sup>b</sup> Let this communion, we beseech thee O Lord, purge us from sinne; and give unto the soule of thy servant N. a portion in the heavenly joy, that being set apart before the throne of the glory of thy Christ with those that are upon the right hand, it may have nothing common with those that are upon the left. <sup>c</sup> Through Christ our Lord. At whose coming, when thou shalt command both the peoples to appeare, command thy servant also to be severed from the number of the evill. and grant unto him, that he may both escape the flames of everlasting punishment, and obtaine the rewards of a righteous life. &c.

In these, and other prayers of the like kind, we may descry evident footsteps of the primarie intention of the Church in her supplications for the dead: which was, that the whole man (not the soule separated only) might receive publick remission of sinnes, & a solemne

a *Æterac Deus, qui nobis in Christo unigenito filio tuo Domino nostro spem beatæ Resurrectionis concessisti; præsta, quæsumus, ut animæ, pro quibus hoc sacrificium redemptionis nostræ tuæ offerimus majestati, ad beatæ resurrectionis requiem, te miserante, cum sanctis tuis pervenire mereantur.* *Præfat. antiqu. 110. edit. Colon. an. 1530. Tom. 2. Liturg. Pamelij pag. 609. Tom. 5. Gregor. col. 236. c.*

b *Hæc nos communio, quæsumus Domine, purget à crimine: & a-*

*animæ famuli tui N. cœlestis gaudij tribuat consortium, ut ante thronum gloriæ Christi tui segregata cum dextris, nihil commune habeat cum sinistris.* *Tom. 5. Gregor. col. 233. c.*  
 c *Per Christum Dominum nostrum. In cujus adventu, cum geminam jussus sistere plebem, jubeas et famulum tuum à numero discerni malorum. Quem unâ tribuas pœnæ æternæ evadere flammæ, & justæ potius adipisci præmia vitæ.* *&c. Offic. Ambrosian. tomo 1. Liturgic. Pamelij pag. 450.*

acquittall in the judgement of that great day ; and so  
obtaine both a full escape from all the consequences of  
d 1. Cor. 15. 26, sinne ( *d the last enemy being now destroyed, and death*  
54. *swallowed up in victory* ) and a perfect consummation  
of blisse and happinesse. all which are comprised in that  
short prayer of S. Paul for *Onesiphorus* ( though made  
for him while he was alive : ) e *The Lord grant unto*  
e 2. Tim. 1. 18. *him, that he may finde mercie of the Lord in that day.*  
f *Etsi quamplures orationes fidelium defunctorum legerim, quæ in Missali Romano continentur ; in nullâ tamen earum legi, per Ecclesiam peti, ut citius à pœnis liberentur : legi tamē in nonnullis peti, ut, ab æternis pœnis liberentur.*  
Io. Medin. in Codice de Oratone, quest. 6.  
g *Deus, cui propriū est misereri semper & parcere ; te supplices exoramus pro animâ famuli tui N. quam hodie de hoc seculo migrare iussisti : ut non tradas eam in manus inimici, neque obliviscaris in finem ; sed jubeas eam à sanctis Angelis suscipi, & ad patriam paradisi perducī : ut quia in te speravit & credidit, non pœnas inferni sustineat, sed gaudia æterna possideat.* *Orat. in die obitus seu depositionis defuncti : in Missali Romano reformato.*

Yea diverse prayers for the dead of this kinde are still retained in the *Romane Offices* : of which the great Spanish Doctor *Iohannes Medina* thus writeth. f *Although I have read manie prayers for the faithfull deceased, which are containd in the Romane Missall ; yet have I read in none of them, that the Church doth petition, that they may more quickly be freed from paines : but I have read that in some of them petition is made, that they may be freed from everlasting paines.* For beside the common prayer that is used in the Masse for the Commemoration of all the faithfull deceased, that *Christ would free them from the mouth of the Lion, that Hell may not swallow them up, and that they may not fall into the place of darknesse* : this prayer is prescribed for the day wherein the dead did depart out of this life. g *O God, whose propertie is alwayes to have mercie and to spare ; we most humbly beseech thee for the soule of thy servant N. which this day thou hast commanded to depart out of this world : that thou mayst not deliver it into the hands of the enemy, nor forget it finally ; but command it to be received by the holy Angels, and brought unto the country of Paradise : that because he hath trusted and beleevd in thee, he may*



not sustain the paines of Hell, but possesse joyes everlasting. which is a direct prayer, that the soule of him which was then departed might immediatly be received into Heaven, and escape not the temporarie paines of Purgatorie, but the everlasting paines of Hell. for howsoever the new reformers of the *Romane Missall* have put in here *pœnas inferni* (under the generalitie peradventure of the terme of the paines of hell intending to shrowd their Purgatorie, which they would have men beleve to be one of the lodges of Hell) yet in the <sup>h</sup> old *Missall*, which *Medina* had respect unto, we read expressly *pœnas aternas*, everlasting paines; which by no construction can be referred unto the paines of Purgatorie. and to the same purpose, in the book of the Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, at the exequies of a Cardinall, a prayer is appointed to be read; that by the assistance of Gods grace he might escape the judgement of everlasting revenge, who while he lived was marked with the seale of the holy Trinity.

Againe, <sup>k</sup> there be other prayers (saith *Medina*) where in petition is made, that God would raise the soules of the dead in their bodies unto blisse at the day of judgement. Such, for example, is that which is found in the *Romane Missall*. <sup>l</sup> *Absolve, vvee beseech thee O Lord, the soule of thy servant from all the bond of his sinnes: that in the glory of the resurrection, being rayseed among thy saints and elect, hee may breath againe, or bee re-*

judicii suscitetur *Io. Medina, ut supra.* <sup>1</sup> *Absolve, quæsumus Domine, animam famuli tui ab omni vinculo delictorum: ut in resurrectionis gloriâ, inter sanctos & electos tuos resuscitatus respiret. Orat. p. o. defunct. in Missali Romano, veteri & novo. nec non in Gregorij Sacramentario, tom. 2. Liturgic. Paris. lly, pag. 386. & tom. 5. oper. Gregor. edit. Paris. col. 229, 230. Simili etiam orationicula habetur in Gregorij Antiphonario, pag. 175. Pamela, col. 62. edit. Paris.* Erue Domine animas eorum ab omni vinculo delictorum: ut in resurrectionis gloriâ inter sanctos tuos resuscitari mereantur.

freshed,

m Deus, cui  
omnia vivunt,  
& cui non per-  
eunt moriendo  
corpora nostra,  
sed mutantur  
in melius; te  
supplices de-  
precamur, ut  
iūscipi jubeas  
animā famuli  
tui N. perma-  
nus sanctorum  
Angelorū tuo-  
rū deducēdā in  
sinū amici tui  
Abrahæ Patri-  
archæ, resuscit-  
tandamque in  
novissimo judi-  
cij magni die:  
& quicquid  
vitiarum, Dia-  
bolo fallente,  
contraxit, tu  
pius & miseri-  
cors abluas in-  
dulgendo. Pon-  
tiffical. Roman.  
Clem. VIII. inssu  
edit. Rome an.  
1595. pag. 685.  
& Venet. an.  
1572. fol. 226.

col. 4. Lib. 1. sacr. Ceremon. Rom. Eccles. sect. 15. ca. 1 fol. 153 b. edit. Colon. Tom. 5. Oper. Gregorij,  
col. 227. edit. Paris. Prec. ecclesiastic. à G. Cassandro edit. pag. 384. Operum. n Respondetur,  
quantum ad orationes quæ pro defunctis in Ecclesiâ fiunt, posse primò dici, non esse neces-  
sarium omnes eas ab omni ineptitudine excusare. Multa enim in Ecclesiâ legi permittun-  
tur, quæ quamvis non omnino vera sint, vel omnino apta, conferunt tamen ad fidelium devo-  
tionē excitandam & augendam. Talia multa credendū est contineri in historijs non sacris,  
& in Legēdis Sanctorū, & in opinionibus Doctorū, & Scripturis, quæ omnia tolerantur in  
Ecclesiâ interim, dum super illis nulla movetur quæstio, nullumq; insurgit scandalum. Ac  
proinde non mirum, in orationibus prædictis aliquid minus aptum contineri, & ab Eccle-  
siâ tolerari: cum tales orationes factæ sint à personis privatis, non à Concilijs, nec per  
Concilia omnino sint approbatæ. *Id. Medin. ut supr.*

freshed. and that other in the Romane Pontificall. m O  
God, unto whom all things doe live, and unto whom our bo-  
dies in dying do not perish, but are changed for the better;  
we humbly pray thee, that thou wouldest command the  
soule of thy servant N. to be received by the hands of thy  
holy Angells, to be carried into the bosome of thy friend the  
Patriarch Abraham, and to be rayseed up at the last day of  
the great judgement: & whatsoever faults by the deceit of  
the Diavel he hath incurred, do thou of thy pitie and mercy  
wash away by forgiving them. Now forasmuch as it is  
most certaine, that all such as depart in grace (as the  
Adversaries acknowledge that all in Purgatorie doe)  
are sure to escape Hell, and to be rayseed up unto glorie  
at the last day: Medina perplexeth himselfe exceedingly  
in according these kinde of praiers with the received  
grounds of Purgatorie; and after much agitation of  
the businesse too and fro, at last resolveth upon one of  
these two desperate conclusions. that touching these  
n praiers which are made in the Church for the dead, it may  
first of all be said, that it is not necessary to excuse them all  
from all unfitnessse. For many things are permitted to be  
read in the Church, which although they be not altogether  
true, nor altogether fit, yet serve for the stirring up and in-  
creasing the devotion of the faithfull. Many such things

(saith



(saith he) we beleeve are contayned in the histories that be not sacred, and in the Legends of the Sainets, and in the opinions and writings of the Doctors: all which are tolerated by the Church in the meane time, while there is no question moved of them, and no scandall ariseth from them. And therefore it is no marvaile, that somewhat not so fitt should be contayned in the foresaid prayers, and be tolerated in the Church: seeing such prayers were made by private persons, not by Councells, neyther were approved at all by Councells.

And we easily doe beleeve indeed, that their Offices and Legends are fraught not only with untrue and unfit, but also with farre worse stuffe: neyther is this any newes unto us. Agobardus Bishop of Lions complayned about 800. yeares agoe, that the Antiphonary used in his Church had many ridiculous and phantasticall things in it: and that hee was faine to cut off from thence such things as seemed to be eyther superfluous, or light, or lying, or blasphemous. The like complaint was made not long since by Lindanus, of the Romane Antiphonaries and Missals: wherein not only apocryphall tales (saith he) out of the Gospell of Nicodemus and other toyes are thrust in; but the very secret prayers themselves are defiled with most foule faults. But now that wee have the Romane Missall restored according to the decree of the Councell of Trent, set out by the command of Pius V. and revised againe by the authoritie of Clemens VIII. I doubt much whether our Romanists will allow the Censure which their Medina hath given of the praiers contained therein. And therefore if this will not please

o Multa ridiculosa et phantastica. Agobard. ad Cantones

Lugdunens de Correct. Antiphonary, pag.

396. edit. Paris.

p Hæc de causa & Antiphonarium pro viribus nostris

magna ex parte correximus:

amputatis his, quæ vel superflua, vel levia, vel mendacia,

aut blasphemia videbantur. Id. ibid. pag. 392.

q Vbi non apocrypha modo ex Euang.

Nicodemi & aliis nugis sunt infarta; sed ipsæ adeo se-

cretæ preces

(imo ipse, pro pudor & dolor,

Canon & varians & re-

dundans) sunt mendis turpissimis conspurcatæ. Wil Lindan de opt. gen. interpr. script. lib. 3. ca. 3.

r Missale Romanum ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Pij V. Pont. Max jussu editum, & Clementis VIII. auctoritate recognitum. Rom. an. 1604. Paris. 1605.

F f

them,

f Alphonf. Men-  
doz. Controvers.  
Theologic. quæst.  
6. scholastic.  
num. 5.

t Sciens Eccle-  
sia Deum po-  
testatem habe-  
re puniendi æ-  
ternaliter ani-  
mas illas, per  
quas, cum vi-  
verent, fuerat  
mortaliter of-  
fensus; quodq;  
Deus potestate  
suam non alli-  
gaverit Scrip-  
turis, & pro-  
missis quæ in  
Scripturâ con-  
tinentur; quan-  
doquidem ipse  
super omnia  
est, & tam om-  
nipotens post  
promissa, ac si  
nil promississet:  
ideo Ecclesia  
simpliciter  
Deum orat, ne  
illâ absolutâ  
omnipotentia  
contra animas  
fidelium, qui in  
gratiâ decesse-  
runt, utatur;  
ideo orat, ut  
eas ab æternis  
pœnis, & à vindictâ, & judicio condemnationis liberare, & ut eas cum suis electis resuscit-  
tare, dignetur. Io. Medina, ut supr.

them, he hath another answer in store: of which though his countryman *f Mendoza* hath given sentence, that it is *indigna viro Theologo*, unworthy of any man that beareth the name of a Divine; yet such as it is, you shall have it. Supposing then, that the Church hath no intention to pray for anie other of the dead, but those that are detayned in Purgatorie: this he delivereth for his second resolution. *t The Church knowing that God hath power to punish everlastingly those soules, by which, when they lived, he was mortally offended; and that God hath not tyed his power unto the Scriptures, and unto the promises that are contayned in the Scripture (forasmuch as he is above all things, and as omnipotent after his promises, as if he had promised nothing at all:) therefore the Church doth humbly pray God, that he would not use this his absolute omnipotencie against the soules of the faithfull, which are departed in grace; therefore shee doth pray that he would vouchsafe to free them from everlasting paines, and from revenge and the judgement of condemnation, and that he would be pleased to rayse them up againe with his Elect.* But leaving our Popish Doctors with their profound speculations of the not limiting of Gods power by the Scriptures, and the promises which he hath made unto us therein: let us returne to the ancient Fathers, and consider the differences that are to be found among them touching the place and condition of soules separated from their bodies. for according to the severall apprehensions which they had thereof, they made different applications and interpretations of the use of praying for the dead: whose particular intentions and devotions in that kinde, must of

necessity



necessity therefore be distinguished from the generall intention of the whole Church.

*S. Augustine* (that I may begin with him who was, as the most ingenious, so likewise the most ingenuous of all others in acknowledging his ignorance where hee saw cause) being to treat of these matters, maketh this Preface before hand unto his hearers. *u* Of Hell neither have I had any experience as yet, nor you: and peradventure it may be, that our passage may lye some other way, and not prove to be by Hell. For these things be uncertain. and having occasion to speake of the departure of *Nebridus* his deare friend: *x* Now he liveth, saith he, in the bosome of *Abraham*, what soever the thing be that is signified by that bosome; there doth my *Nebridus* live. But elsewhere he directly distinguisheth this bosome from the place of blisse into which the Saints shall be received after the last judgement. *y* After this short life (saith he) thou shalt not as yet be where the Saints shall be unto whom it shall be said; Come ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdome which was prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Thou shalt not as yet be there: who knoweth it not? But now thou mayest be there, where that proude and barren rich man in the midst of his torments saw a farre off the poore man, sometime full of ulcers, resting. Being placed in that rest, thou dost securely expect the day of judgement; when thou mayest receive thy body, when thou mayest be changed to be equall unto an Angell. and for the state of soules, betwixt the time of the particular and generall judgement, this is his con-

*u* Infernum  
nec ego exper-  
tus sum ad huc  
nec vos: &  
fortassis alia  
via erit, & non  
per infernum  
erit. Incerta  
sunt enim hæc.

*Augustin. in  
Psal. 85.*

*x* Nunc ille vi-  
vit in sinu A-  
braham, quic-  
quid illud est  
quod illo signi-  
ficatur sinu;  
ibi *Nebridus*  
meus vivit. *Id.*  
*Confession. lib. 9.*  
*cap. 3.*

*y* Post vitam  
istam parvam  
nondum eris  
ubi erunt San-  
cti quibus dice-  
tur; Venite  
benedicti Pa-  
tris mei, perci-  
pite regnum  
quod vobis  
paratum est ab  
initio mundi.

Nondum ibi

eris: quis nescit? Sed jam poteris ibi esse, ubi illum quondam ulcerosum pauperem dives ille superbus & sterilis in medijs suis tormentis vidit a longe requiescentem. In illâ requie positus, certè securus expectas iudicii diem; quando recipias & corpus, quando immuteris ut angelo æqueris. *Id. in Psalm. 36. conc. I.*

<sup>2</sup> Tempus autem quod inter hominis mortem & ultimam resurrectionem interpositum est, animas abditis receptaculis continet; sicut unaquæq; digna est vel reque vel ærumnâ, pro eo quod sortita est in carne cum viveret. *Id. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 103.*

<sup>2</sup> Sed quis iste sit modus, & quæ sint ipsa peccata, quæ ita impediunt perventionem ad regnū Dei, ut tamen sanctorum amicorum meritis impetrent indulgentiam; difficilimum est invenire, periculosissimū definire. Ego eertē usque ad hoc tempus, cum inde fatagerem, ad eorū indaginem pervenire non

potui. *Id. lib. 21. de Civit. Dei, cap. 27.* <sup>b</sup> See before, pag. 173. <sup>c</sup> Ex his quæ dicta sunt videtur evidentiū apparere, in illo iudicio quasdam quorundam purgatorias pœnas futuras. &c. Verū ista quæstio de purgatorijs pœnis, ut diligentius pertractetur, in tempus aliud differenda est, nempe, ubi ad librum 21. perventum fuerit.

clusion in generall. <sup>2</sup> The time that is interposed betwixt the death of man and the last resurrection, containeth the soules in hidden receptacles; as every one is worthy eyther of rest or of trouble, according unto that which it did purchase in the flesh when it lived. Into these hidden receptacles he thought the soules of Gods children might carry some of their lighter faults with them: which being not removed, would hinder them from coming into the kingdome of heaven (whereinto no polluted thing can enter) and from which by the prayers and almes-deeds of the living he held they might be released. But of two things he professed himselfe here to be ignorant. *First,* <sup>a</sup> What those sinnes were, which did so hinder the comming unto the kingdome of God, that yet by the care of good friends they might obtaine pardon. *Secondly,* <sup>b</sup> Whether those soules did endure anie temporary paines in the *Interim* betwixt the time of Death and the Resurrection. For howsoever in his one and twentieth book of the *City of God*, and the thirteenth and sixteenth chapters (for the new patch which they have added to the foure and twentieth chapter is not worthy of regard) he affirme, that some of them doe suffer certaine purgatorie punishments before the last and dreadfull judgment: yet by comparing these places with the <sup>c</sup> five and twentieth chapter of the twentieth booke, it will appeare, that by those purgatory punishments he understandeth here the furnace of the fire of Conflagration, that shall immediatly go before this last judgement, and (as

he



he otherwhere describeth the effects thereof ) *d* separate some unto the left hand, and melt out others unto the right.

Neither was this opinion of the reservation of soules in secret places, and the purging of them in the fire of Conflagration at the day of iudgement, entertained by this famous Doctor alone: diverse others there were that had touched upon the same string before him. *Origen* in his fourth book *περὶ ἀρχαῶν*, as we have him translated by *Ruffinus* (for in the Extracts selected out of him by *S. Basil* and *S. Gregory* wee finde the place somewhat otherwise exprest) saith that such as depart out of this world after the common course of death, are disposed of according to their deeds and merits, as they shalbe judged to be worthy; some into the place which is called Hell, others into *Abrahams bosome*, and through diverse eyther places or mansions. and in his Commentaries upon *Leviticus*, hee addeth further. *N*eyther have the Apostles themselves as yet received their joy; but even they doe expect, that I also may be made partaker of their joy. For the Saints departing from hence doe not presently obtaine the full rewards of their labours; but they expect us likewise, howsoever staying, howsoever slacking. Then touching the purging of men after the Resurrection, he thus delivereth his minde in his Commentaries upon *Luke*. *I* thinke, that even after our resurrection from the dead we shall have need of a

*d* Hoc aget caminus: alios in sinistram separabit, alios in dexteram quodammodo eliquabit. *Aug. in Psalm. 103.*

*conc. 3.*

*c* Οἱ ἄγιοι δὲν

*κτλ* καὶ καὶ δὲν

*καὶ* καὶ δὲν καὶ

*καὶ* καὶ δὲν καὶ

*καὶ* καὶ δὲν καὶ

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diversa quæq; vel loca, vel mansiones. *Origen. de Principijs lib. 4. cap. 2. cum quo conferendus similis eiusdem locus in Numer 31. homil 26.* *g* Nondum receperunt lætitiā suā, ne Apostoli quidem; sed & ipsi expectant, ut & ego lætitiæ eorum particeps fiam. Neque enim decedentes hinc Sancti, continuò integra meritorum suorum præmia consequuntur; sed expectant etiam nos licet morantes, licet desides. *Jd. hom. 7. in Levit. cap. 10.* *h* Ego puto, quòd & post resurrectionem ex mortuis indigeamus sacramento eluente nos atq; purgante; nemo enim absque sordibus resurgere poterit. *Id. in Luc. homil. 14.*

i Si quis in se-  
cundâ resurre-  
ctione servatur,  
iste peccator  
est qui ignis  
indiget baptis-  
mo; qui combus-  
tione pur-  
gatur, ut quic-  
quid habuerit  
lignorum, fœni,  
& stipulæ, ignis  
consumat. *Id. in  
Jerem. homil. 13.*  
k Sed & justos  
cum judicave-  
rit, etiam igni  
eos examina-  
bit. Tum quo-  
rum peccata  
vel pondere vel  
numero præ-  
valuerint, per-  
stringentur ig-  
ni, atque am-  
burentur:  
quos autem  
plena justitia  
& maturitas  
virtutis incox-  
erit, ignem illum  
non sentient.  
habent enim in  
se aliquid inde,  
quod vim flam-  
mæ repellat ac  
respuat. Tanta

sacrament to wash and purge us: for none can rise without pollutions. and upon Jeremy: i If any one be saved in the second resurrection, he is that sinner which needeth the baptism of fire, which is purged with burnings; that whatsoever he hath of wood, hay, and stubble, the fire may consume it. Neither doth Lactantius shew himselfe to varie much from him, in eyther of those points; for thus he writeth. k When God shall judge the righteous, he will examine them by fire. Then they whose sinnes shall prevaile eyther in weight or number, shall be touched with the fire and burned: but they whom perfect righteousnessse and the ripenesse of vertue hath throughly seasoned, shall not feele that fire. for from thence have they something in them, that will repell & put back the force of the flame: so great is the force of innocency, that that fire shall flye back from it without doing anie harme, which hath received this power from God, that it may burne the wicked and do service to the righteous. Yet notwithstanding let no man thinke, that the soules are presently judged after death. All of them are detayned in one common custodie, untill the time come, wherein the great Iudge doth make tryall of their doings. In like maner doth S. Hilary write of the one part. l All the faithfull, when they are gone out of the bodie, shall be reserved by the Lords custodie for that entry into the heavenly kingdome, being in the meane time placed in the bosome of Abraham; whither the wicked are hindred from coming, by the gulfes interposed betwixt them, untill the

est vis innocentie, ut ab eâ ignis illic refugiat innoxius, qui accepit à Deo hanc potestatem, ut impios urat, justis obtemperet. Nec tamen quisquam putet, animas post mortem protinus judicari. Omnes in unâ, communique custodiâ detinentur, donec tempus adveniat, quo maximus Iudex meritorum faciat examen. *Lactant. institut. divin. lib 7. cap. 21.* l Ex-  
vntes de corpore, ad introitum illum regni cœlestis, per custodiam Domini fideles omnes reservabuntur, in sinu scilicet interim Abraham collocati: quò adire impios interjectû chaos  
inhibet, quousq; introcundi rursus in regnû cœlorum tempus adveniat. *Hilary. in Psal. 120.*

time



time of entring into the kingdome of heaven doe come. and thus of the other. <sup>m</sup> Being to render an account of every idle word, shall we desire the day of judgement, wherein that unwearied fire must be passed by us, in which those grievous punishments for expiating the soule from sinnes must be endured? for <sup>n</sup> to such as have beene baptized with the holy Ghost, it remaineth that they should be consummated with the fire of judgement.

In S. Ambrose also there are some passages to be found which seeme to make directly for either of these points: as these for the former. <sup>o</sup> The soule is loosed from the body, and yet after the end of this life it is held as yet in suspense with the uncertainty of the future judgement: so that there is no end, where there is thought to be an end. <sup>p</sup> We read in the books of Esdras; that when the day of judgement shall come, the earth shall restore the bodies of the deceased, and the dust shall restore the reliques of the dead which doe rest in the graves: and the habitacles shall restore the soules which were committed to them; and the most high shall be revealed upon the seat of judgement. <sup>q</sup> Also that scripture nameth those habitacles of the soules, Promptuaries (or secret receptacles :) and meeting with the complaint of man, that the just which have gone before may seeme to be defrauded ( untill the day of

<sup>m</sup> An cum ex omni otioso verbo ratione sumus praelituri, diem iudicii concupiscemus, in quo nobis est ille indefessus ignis obmundus, in quo subeunda sunt gravia illa expianda a peccatis animae supplicia? <sup>Id.</sup> in Psal. 118.

<sup>o</sup> <sup>Estanar.</sup> 3. <sup>n</sup> Salutis igitur nostrae & iudicii tempus designat in Domino dicens; <sup>Id.</sup> baptizabis vos in Spiritu sancto & igni: quia baptizatis in Spiritu sancto, reliquum sit consummari igne iudicii. <sup>Id.</sup> in Mat. 13.

<sup>o</sup> Solvitur cor-

pore anima, & post finem vitae huius, adhuc tamen futuri iudicii ambiguo suspenditur. Ita finis nullus, ubi finis putatur. *Ambrosius de Cain & Abel, lib. 2. cap. 2.* <sup>p</sup> Siquidem & in Esdrae libris legimus; quia cum venerit iudicii dies, reddet terra defunctorum corpora, & pulvis reddet eas quae in tumultis requiescunt reliquias mortuorum. Et habitacula, inquit, reddent animas quae his commendatae sunt: & revelabitur altissimus super sedem iudicii. *Ambrosius de bono morum, cap. 10. ex 4. Esdr. 7. 32, 33.* <sup>q</sup> Denique & scriptura habitacula illa animarum promptuaria nuncupavit: quae occurrens querelae humanae, eo quod iusti qui praecesserunt videantur usque ad iudicii diem, per plurimum scilicet temporis, debitam sibi remuneratione fraudari; mirabiliter ait Coronae esse similem iudicii diem, in quo sicut novissimorum tarditas, sic non priorum velocitas, Coronae enim dies expectatur ab omnibus; ut intra eum diem & victi crubescant, & victores palmam adipiscantur victoriae. <sup>Id.</sup> *ibid.* <sup>ex 4. Esdr. 4. 35. & 5. 41, 42.</sup>

judgement,

r Ergo dum  
expectatur ple-  
nitudo tempo-  
ris, expectant  
animæ remu-  
nerationem de-  
bitam. Alias  
manet pœna,  
alias gloria : &  
tamen nec illæ  
interim sine  
injuriam, nec istæ  
sine fructu  
sunt. Ibid.  
f Igne ergo  
purgabuntur  
filij Levi, igne  
Ezechiël, igne  
Daniel. Sed  
hi etsi per ignem  
examinabun-  
tur, dicent ta-  
men : Transi-  
vimus per ignem  
& aquam. Alij  
in igne rema-  
nebunt. Id. in  
Psalm. 36.

judgement, which is a very long time ) of the reward due unto them ; saith wonderfully, that the day of judgement is like unto a crowne, wherein as there is no slacknesse of the last, so is there no swiftnesse of the first. For the day of crowning is expected by all ; that within that day both they who are overcome may be ashamed, and they who doe overcome may obtaine the palme of victory. ¶ Therefore while the fulnesse of time is expected, the soules expect their due reward. Paine is provided for some of them, for some glory : and yet in the meane time neither are those without trouble, nor these without fruite. and these for the latter. ¶ With fire shall the sonnes of Levi be purged, with fire Ezechiël, with fire Daniel. But these, although they shall be tryed with fire, yet shall say : We have passed through fire and water. Others shall remaine in the fire. ¶ And if the Lord shall save his servants, we shall be saved by faith, yet saved as it were by fire. Although we shall not be burned up, yet shall we be burned. ¶ After the end of the world, when the Angells shall be sent to separate the good and the bad, this baptisme shall be ; when iniquitie shalbe burnt up by the furnace of fire, that in the kingdome of God the righteous may shine as the Sunne in the kingdome of their Father. And if any one be as Peter, or as Iohn, he is baptized with this fire. Seeing therefore x he that is purged here, hath need to be purged again there : let him purge us there also, when the Lord may say ; Enter into my rest. that e-

r Et si salvos faciet Dominus ferros suos ; salvi erimus per fidem, sic tamen salvi quasi per ignem. Etsi non exuremur, tamen uremur. Id. ibid. ¶ u Siquidem post consummationem seculi, missis angelis qui segregent bonos & malos, hoc futurum est baptisma ; quando per caminū ignis iniquitas exuretur, ut in regno Dei fulgeant iusti sicut Sol in regno patris sui. Et si aliquis ut Petrus sit, ut Ioannes, baptizatur hoc igni Id. in Psalm. 118. serm. 3. x Sed quia hic purgatus, iterum necesse habet illic purificari : illic quoque nos purificet, quando dicat Dominus ; Intrate in requiem meam, ut unusquisq; nostrum uetus romphæa illā flam- meā, non exustus, introgressus in illam paradisi amœnitatem, gratias agat domino suo, di- cens : Induxisti nos in refrigerium. Id. ibid. Vid. & serm. 20. i. cund. Psalm. 118.

very



very one of us being burned with that flaming sword, not burned up, when he is entred into that pleasure of Paradise may give thanks unto his Lord, saying: Thou hast brought us into a place of refreshment.

Hereunto wee may adjoine that observation of Suarez the Iesuite. ¶ They who thinke, that the soules of men are not judged at their death, nor do receive reward or punishment, but are reserved in hidden receptacles untill the generall judgement; doe consequently say, that as men do not receive their last reward or punishment, so neyther are they also purged, untill the generall Resurrection and Iudgement do come: from whence they might say with reasonable good consequence, that men are to be purged with the fire of Conflagration. and with as good consequence also (may we further adde) that prayers were not to be made for the deliverie of the soules of the dead from any purgatorie paines, supposed to be suffered by them betwixt the time of their death and their resurrection; which be the only praers which are now in question. 2 In the Resurrection, when our workes, like unto clusters of grapes, shall be cast into the probatory fire as it were into the wine-presse; every mans husbandry shall be made manifest: saith Gregorius Cerameus, sometime archbishop of Tauromenium in Sicilia. and, 3 No man as yet is entred eyther into the torments of Hell or into the kingdome of Heaven, untill the time of the resurrection of the bodies: saith Anastasius Sinaita upon whom Gretser bestoweth this marginall annotation: that this is the 4 Error of certain of the ancient, & of latter Greece.

¶ Qui opinantur, animas hominum non judicari in morte, nec præmiū aut pœnam recipere, sed reservari in abditis receptaculis usque ad iudicium universale; consequenter dicunt, sicut non accipiunt homines ultimum præmiū vel pœnam, ita neq; etiam purgari, donec sit facta generalis Resurrectio, & Iudicium: ex quo satis consequenter dicere potuerunt, purgandos esse homines igne conflagrationis. Fr. Suarez, in 3 parti Thom. quest. 9 art. 6. disput. 57. sect. 1. 2. E'ν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ τῶν ἰσχυρίων.

ἡμῶν δὲ τῶν ἑσθίων τῶν ἀρχαίων τῶν πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνου αἰῶνος ἀποκατάστασης ἡ γὰρ πύλα ἰσχυρίων ἔστιν. Gregor. Ceram. homil. in Indictionis sive novi anni principium. 3. Ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἀδίκῳ ἀδίκῳ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀδίκῳ.

4. Error veterum quorundam, & recentioris Græciæ. Gretser. ibid. in marg. pag. 501. edit. Ingolstadt.





among the Grecians in this maner. <sup>c</sup> After the death of most glorious Hierome, a certaine heresie or sect arose amongst the Grecians, and came to the Latines also, which went about with their wicked reasons to prove: that the soules of the blessed untill the day of the generall Iudgment, wherein they were to be joynd againe unto their bodies, are deprived of the sight and knowledge of God, in which the whole blessednesse of the Saincts doth consist; and that the soules of the damned in like maner untill that day are tormented with no paines. Whose reason was this: that as the soule did merit or sinne with the body; so with the bodie was it to receive rewards or paines. Those wicked sectaries also did maintaine, that there was no place of Purgatory wherein the soules, which had not done full penance for their sinnes in this world, might be purged. Which pestilent sect getting head, so great sorrow fell upon us, that we were even weary of our life. Then he telleth a wise tale, how S. Hierome, being at that time with God, for the confutation of this new-sprong heresie, raysted up three men from the dead (after that hee had first flectd their soules into Paradise, Purgatory, and Hell; to the end they might make known unto all men the things that were done there:) but had not the witt to consider, that S. Cyrill himselfe had need to be raysted up, to make the fourth man among them. for how otherwise should he, who dyed thirtie yeares before S. Hierome (as is knowne to every one that knoweth the history of those

<sup>c</sup> Postobitum gloriosissimi Hieronymi, quædam hæresis inter Græcos, id est, secta surrexit, quæ ad Latinos usque devenit, quæ suis nefandis rationibus probare: quod animæ beatorum usq; ad universalis iudicii diem, in quo eorum corporibus erant iterum conjungendæ, visione & cognitione divinâ, in quâ tota constitit beatitudo sanctorum, privabuntur; & damnatorum animæ similiter ad diem illum nullis cruciabantur poenis. Quorum ratio talis erat; Sicut anima cum corpore meruit vel peccavit, ita cum corpore recipit præmia

sive poenas. Asserebant etiam illius sectæ nequissimi, nullum fore purgatorii locum in quo animas, quæ nondum de suis peccatis in mundo plenam egissent poenitentiam, purgarentur. Quâ quidem sectâ pestiferâ crebrescente, tantus in nos dolor irruit, ut nos amplius pingeret vivere. Pseudo-Cyrillus, som. 2. operum Augustini, epist. 206. & sub finem tomi 4. operum Hieronymi edit. Basil. vel 9. ut à Mariano Victorio tomi sunt dispositi. <sup>f</sup> Nam (ut mihi postmodum interroganti dixerunt) beatus Hieronymus eos conduxerat secum in Paradisum, Purgatorium, & Infernum: ut quæ ibi agebantur, patefacerent universis. *Ibid.*

times) have heard and written the newes which those three good fellowes, that were raised by S. Hierome after his death, did relate concerning Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory? Yet is it nothing so strange to me (I confesse) that such idle dreames as these should be devised in the times of darknesse, to delude the world withall: as that now in the broad day light, g *Binsfeldius* and h *Suarez*, and other Romish merchants should adventure to bring forth such rotten stuffe as this, with hope to gaine anie credite of antiquitie thereby unto the new erected staple of Popish Purgatory.

g *Binsfeld. de conditione animar. post mortē, sect. 5.*

h *Fran. Suarez, in 3 part. Thom. tom. 4. disput. 45. sect. 1. num. 1.*

i *Sequentes quendam huius hæreseos inventorem Archiepiscopū quondam Cæsareæ Cappadociæ, Andream nomine; qui dicit, propria corpora præstolari, ut cum eis, cum quibus bona vel mala commiserint, retributiones similiter factorū recipiant. Tractat. contra Graecos: in tom. auctoris à Petro Stenartio edit.*

*Inzelsad. an. 1616. pag. 562.*

k *Πολύς γὰρ ἦν αἰὶν τοῦ εἰρητιῆ,*

*ἡμεῖς αὖτις εἰληφίμεν τὸ τ' αἰετὶς ἱερῶν ἱερῶν, δι' οὗ καὶ αὖτις τῆς μακάριος αὐτοῦ δόξης τιμωρίσμεν. Andr. Cæsar. cap. 17. commentar. in Apocalyps. 1 Hæc sententia disertè est jam condemnata; & ab Ecclesiâ proscripta. Theod. Petian. ad marginem Latine sue versionis.*

ned,



ned, and rejected by the Church. And yet doth Alphonsus de Castro acknowledge, that <sup>m</sup> the Patrons thereof were famous men, renowned as well for holinesse as for knowledge: but telleth us withall, that no man ought to marvaile, that such great men should fall into so pestilent an error; because (as the Apostle S. James saith) he that offendeth not in word, is a perfect man.

Another particular opinion, which wee must sever from the generall intention of the Church in her oblations and prayers for the dead, is that which is noted by *Theophylact* upon the speech of our Saviour, *Luk. 12. 5.* in which he willeth us to observe, that hee did not say, *Feare him who after hee hath killed casteth into hell*; but, *hath power to cast into hell. For the sinners which dye (saith he) are not alwayes cast into hell: but it remaineth in the power of God, to pardon them also. And this I say for the oblations and doales which are made for the dead, which do not a little avayle even them that dye in grievous sinnes. He doth not therefore generally, after he hath killed, cast into hell; but hath power to cast. Wherefore let us not cease by almes and intercession to appease him, who hath power to cast, but doth not alwayes use this power, but is able to pardon also.* Thus farre *Theophylact*: whom our Adversaries doe blindly bring in for the countenancing of their use of praying and offering for the dead; not considering, that the prayers and oblations which he would uphold, doe reach even unto such as dye in grievous sinnes (which the Romanists acknowledge to receive no reliefe at all by anie thing that they

ma Sunt adhuc  
alij huius erro-  
ris patroni, viri  
quidem illu-  
stres, sanctitate  
perinde ac sci-  
entiâ clari: Ire-  
næus videlicet  
beatissimus pro  
Christo mar-  
tyr, Theophy-  
lactus Bulgariæ  
episcopus, bea-  
tus Bernardus.  
Nec mirari

quisquam de-  
bet, si tanti viri  
in tam pestife-  
rum errore sunt  
lapsi: quoniam  
(ut beatus la-  
cobus Apосто-  
lus ait) qui non  
offendit in ver-  
bo, hic perfe-  
ctus est vir. *Al-*

Π ὅρα γὰρ ἵππε  
 εἶπε, Φοβέσθητε τὸν  
 μὲν τὸ δουκτεῖνα.  
 Καλὸν γὰρ εἰς τὴν  
 γῆναι, ἀλλ' ἔξ-  
 σίας ἵχουτα βα-  
 λείη, ὃν πάτερ  
 οἱ δουκτεῖνα πτε-  
 ἀμφοταλὶ βάλλον

καὶ οἷς πλὴν γίνονται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ καίτοι οὐκ οὐδὲν καὶ τὸ συγχωρεῖν. αὐτοῖς ὅτι λέγει διὰ τὰς ὅτι πῶς  
παλαιμάρμοις γινόμεναι φερθεῖσιν καὶ τὰς διαδόσεις, αἱ δὲ μακρὰ συντηλῶσι τοῖς καὶ ἐν αἰμασίαις βαρύνει ἀπο-  
θεύονται. ὁ πάλιν δὲ μὲν τὸ λαοκρίτην ἐκείνῳ οἷς πλὴν γίνονται, ἀλλ' ἐξουσίᾳ ἔχει καλεῖν. καὶ τοῖσι ἐλλείψαντο  
ἀμφὶ, ἀποδοξάζοντες δι' ἐλεημοσυλῶν καὶ φειδωλῶν ἐξελθόντων τὸν ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντες καλεῖν, ὁ πάλιν δὲ τῇ  
ἐξουσίᾳ πάλιν χωρὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγχωρεῖν δυνάμεν. Theophylact. in Luc. 12.

• Oibern. &  
Eadmer. (ex  
an. Capgrau. &  
Surin) in vita  
Dunstan. Vid.  
Gulielm. Mal-  
mesburiens. de  
gestis Regum  
Anglor. lib. 2.  
fol. 30. b. & lib.  
1. de gestis Pon-  
tific. Anglor.  
fol. 115. b. edit.  
Londin.

p Injungatis  
mihi, ut secun-  
dum voluntatē  
Dei sim in pœ-  
nis Purgatorij  
usque in diem  
jud. cii. Matth.  
Paru hist. Angl.  
an. 1198.

q Ei γὰρ ἡ ἐκείνου  
συγκατακρίσις  
τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
θεοῦ, πολλὰ μὲν  
ἀντὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος  
καὶ τοῦ πλάττον-  
τος δίκην τὰ αὐτοῦ.  
ἐχ' ἵνα περὶ γί-  
νηται, καὶ οὕτως ἵ-  
σταται. ὅτι ἵνα  
πλεονεξία τὰ τοῦ  
θεοῦ καὶ δίκαια καὶ

εἰ μὴ ἀμεταμέλητος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα τὰ ἀμαρτήματα λύσῃ· οἱ δὲ δίκαιος, ἵνα περὶ δίκην γίνηται μισοῦ καὶ ἀπ-  
δοσῆς. Chrysostom. Matth. homil. 31. Græc. (32. Latin.) indeque homil. 69. perperam inscript.  
ad populum Antiochen.

can doe) and are intended for the keeping of soules from being cast into Hell, and not for fetching them out when they have been cast into Purgatorie; a place that never came within the compasse of *Theophylact's* beleefe. His testimonie will fit a great deale better the prayer of *S. Dunstan*; ° who (as the tale goeth) having understood that the soule of King *Edwin* was to be carried into Hell, never gave over praying untill hee had gotten him ridd of that danger, and transferred unto the coast of *penitent soules*: where hee well deserved, doubtlesse, to undergoe that *penance* which *p Hugh* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Chester* on his death-bed imposed upon himselfe; even to lye in the dungeon of Purgatory, without bayle or mainprise, untill the generall jayle-deliverie of the last day.

Another private conceyte, intertained by diverse (as well of the elder as of middle times) in their devotions for the dead, was; that an augmentation of glory might thereby be procured for the Saints, and eyther a totall deliverance, or a diminution of torment at least wise, obtained for the wicked. q If the Barbarians (saith *S. Chrysostom*) do bury with their dead the things that belong unto them: it is much more reason, that thou shouldest send with the deceased the things that are his; not that they may be made ashes, as they were, but that they may adde greater glory unto him. and, if hee be departed hence a sinner, that they may loose his sinnes; but if righteous, that an addition may be made to his reward and retribution. Yea in the verie latter dayes, *Ino Carnotensis* writing unto *Mawd* Queene of England, concerning

the



the prayers that were to be made for the King her brother his soule; saith, that *it doth not seeme idle, if we make intercessions for those who alreadie enjoy rest, that their rest may be encreased.* Whereupon Pope Innocent the third doth bring this for one of the answers, where-with he laboureth to salve the prayers which were used in the Church of Rome, that *such or such an oblation might profite such or such a Saint unto glory: that many repute it no indignitie, that the glory of the Saints should be augmented untill the day of judgement; and therefore that in the meane time the Church may wish the increafe of their glorification.* So likewise for the mitigation of the paines of them, whose soules were doubted to be in torment; this forme of prayer was of old used in the same Church (as in *Grimoldus* his *Sacramentary* may be seen) and retained in the *Romane Missall* it selte, untill in the late reformation thereof it was removed. *O almightie and mercifull God, incline (we beseech thee) thy holy eares unto our poore prayers, which we doe humbly poure forth before the sight of thy Majestie for the soule of thy servant N. that forasmuch as we are distrustfull of the qualitie of his life, by the abundance of thy pitie we may be comforted; and if his soule cannot obtaine full pardon, yet at least in the midst of the torments themselves, which peradventure it suffereth, out of the abundance of thy compassion it may feele refreshment. which prayer whither it tended, may appeare partly by that which Prudentius writeth of the play-dayes, which he supposeth the soules in Hell sometime do obtaine;*

Non videtur otiosum, si pro his intercedimus, qui jam requie perfruuntur, ut eorum requies augeatur. *Ino. ep. 174.* Licet plerique reputent non indignum, Sanctorum gloria usque ad iudicium augmentari: & ideo Ecclesiam interim sane posse augmentum glorificationis eorum optare. *Innoc. III. epist. ad archiep. Lugdun. Cap. Cum Marthæ Extra de celebr. Missar.* Omnipotens & misericors Deus, inclina, qua sumus, venerabiles aures tuas ad exiguas preces nostras, quas ante conspectum maiestatis tuæ pro animâ famulitui N humiliter fundimus: ut quia de qualitate vitæ ejus

diffidimus, de abundantia pietatis tuæ consolemur; & si plenam veniam anima ipsius obtinere non potest, saltem vel inter ipsa tormenta quæ forsitan patitur, refrigerium de abundantia miserationum tuarum sentiat. *Orat. pro defunct. in Missali Romano, edit. Paris an. 1529. Grimold. Sacramentar. tom. 2. Liturgic. Pamelij, pag. 457.*

Sunt





the dead, but for such as are dead in their sinnes : these be worthy of lamentations and bewaylings and teares. For what hope is there (tell me) for men to depart with their sinnes, where they cannot put off their sinnes ? for as long as they were here, there was peradventure great expectation, that they would be altered, that they would be bettered. but being gone unto Hell, where there is no gayning of any thing by repentance (for in hell, saith he, who shall confesse unto thee ?) how are they not unworthy of lamentations ?  
 c Let us therefore weepe for such, let us succour them to our power, let us finde out some help for them, little indeed, but yet such as may releevē them. How and after what maner ? both praying our selves, and intreating others to make prayers for them, and giving continually unto the poore for them. for this thing bringeth some consolation.

The like doctrine is delivered by d Andrew archbishop of Crete, in his Sermon of the life of man, and of the dead ; and by Iohn Damascen, or whosoever else was author of the book ascribed unto him, concerning them that are departed in the faith : where three notable tales are told, of the benefite that even Infidells and Idolaters themselves should receive by such prayers as these. One touching the soule of the Emperour Trajan, delivered from Hell by the prayers of Pope Gregory : of the truth whereof least anie man should make question, he affirmeth very roundly, that no lesse then c the whole East and West will witnesse that this is true and uncontroulable. And indeed in the East this fable seemeth first to have risen : where it obtayned such credite, that the Grecians to this day do still use this forme of prayer ; f As thou didst loose Trajan from punishment by the earnest intercession of thy servant Gregory the Dialogue-writer, heare us likewise who pray unto thee. And

Hh

there-

c Κλαίοντες ἵνα ὦ-  
 τήσιν, θένοντες ὑ-  
 αύνῃς καὶ ὁδοῖ-  
 μιν, ὅπως ἴσμεν  
 αὐτοῖς τινα βου-  
 θέαν, μὴ καὶ ἑν ἡ-  
 βνῇ εἶναι ὅτι ἴσμεν  
 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι καὶ  
 τὸν πρῶτον ; αὐτῶ  
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἱ-  
 ρος καὶ ἀκαταρτί-  
 οὐχὶς ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς  
 ποιῶντες, πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς δι-  
 δόντες σωματικῶς.  
 ἵχει τινα τὸ  
 ἀποφύλακτον παρὰ  
 Δαν. Ibid.  
 d Andr. Hiero-  
 solymitan. eis τὸν  
 ἀνθεράπινον βίον, καὶ  
 eis καὶ μετὰ τὴν βί-  
 ον. pag. 19. edis.  
 Menysij.  
 e καὶ ὅτι τὸ  
 γένος πᾶσι καὶ  
 ἀσθενέσιν, μὴ ὅ-  
 τος ἴσμεν πᾶσι καὶ  
 ἰατροῖς. d. Da-  
 mascen. serm. de  
 Defunctis.  
 f Ως ἴσμεν ὅτι  
 ἡμεῖς τὸν Τραϊανὸν  
 διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ  
 εὐχῆς τὴν δέχουσαν  
 Γρηγορίου τὸν Δια-  
 λόγον, ἱππικόν καὶ  
 ἡμῶν διεμύηται.  
 Eucholog. Græc.  
 cap. 19.

g Nolite qua-  
so dicere in  
cordibus ve-  
stris, falsum hoc  
aut fictum esse.  
Quærite, si pla-  
cet, apud Græ-  
cos: Græca  
certé omnis te-  
statur hæc Ec-  
clesia. Hug. E-  
therian. de re-  
gressu animar.  
ab Inferis, cap.  
15.

h Io. Diacon.  
Vit. Gregor. li. 2.  
cap. 44.

i Gregor. Moral.  
in Iob, lib. 34.  
cap. 16, quod pene  
ad verbum de-  
scriptum etiam  
habetur lib. 4.  
Dialogor. cap. 44.

k τῆς μαρτυρίας  
Θεῶν τῆς ἀπο-  
στόλης καὶ μαρτυ-  
ρίας. Basil. Se-  
lene. in ipso ini-  
tio Commentarij  
de vitâ Theclæ.

l Ἰσχύει ὁ πα-  
λιν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς  
ἐξέτασις. ὅτι περ  
καὶ ἰλλυιδό,

ἐκδηλοῦται ὅς τε καὶ πάλιν αὐτὴ καὶ ἀντιτεῖν κυρίως ἔργα τοῦ ὁ. Damascen. m Οὐ γὰρ Θεὸς ἀφου-  
δῶς, ὁὐς Τρυφάνη καὶ τὸ σὺν δῆλμα, ὡς τὴν αὐτῆς θυγατέρα τὸν ἀγῶνα ζῆν παρὰ σοὶ χέρον. Simeon.  
Metaphrast. in vitâ Theclæ.

therefore to them doth *Hugo Etherianus* thus appeale, for justifying the truth of this narration: g *Do not, I pray you, say in your hearts, that this is false or fayned. Inquire, if you please, of the Grecians: the whole Greeke Church surely doth testifie these things.* He might, if he had pleased, being an *Italian* himselfe, have inquired neeter home of the *Romanes*, among whom this feate was reported to have beene acted; rather then among the *Grecians*, who were strangers to the businesse. But the *Romans*, as wee understand by *h Iohannes Diaconus* in the life of *S. Gregory*, found no such matter among their records; and when they had notice given them thereof out of the Legends of the Church of *England* (for from thence received they the newes of this and some other such strange acts reported to have beene done by *S. Gregory* among themselves) they were not verie hastie to beleeve it: because they could hardly be perswaded, that *S. Gregory* who had taught them, that *Infidels and wicked men departed out of this life, were no more to be prayed for then the Diuell and his angells which were appointed unto everlasting punishment*; should in his practise be found to be so much different from his judgement. The second tale toucheth upon the verie times of the Apostles: wherein the *k* Apostlesse *Thecla* is said to have prayed for *Falconilla* (the daughter of *Tryphena*, whom *S. Paul* saluteth, *Rom. 16. 12.*) *l* a gentile and an Idolatresse, altogether profane and a servitor of another God, to this effect. m *O God, Sonne of the true God, grant unto Tryphena according to thy will, that her daughter may live with thee time without end.* or as

Basil





f. *Vit. Patrum*,  
*edit. Lugdun. an.*  
*1515. fol. 105.*  
*col. 3. 4. & fol.*  
*143. col. 1. 2. &*  
*edit. Antwerp.*  
*an. 1615. pag.*  
*526. & 656.*  
 t. Quod si D.  
 Tho. hanc hi-  
 storiam refe-  
 rens ex Vitis  
 patrum, dicit  
 fuisse caput  
 Gentilis, ipse  
 nodum hunc  
 tenetur eno-  
 dare. *Alphonf.*  
*Mendoz ut supr.*  
 u. *Thom. Aquin.*  
*in lib. 4. Sentent.*  
*distinct. 45.*  
*quest. 2. artic. 2.*  
*ad 4. & Durand.*  
*in eand. quest.*  
*num. 15.*  
 x. At fortasse  
 melius rejice-  
 rentur, ut falsa  
 & apocrypha,  
 quæ afferuntur de illo cranio. *Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. 2. cap. 8.* y. Quare quod de  
 Trajano & Falconilla (quos liberatos ex inferno orationibus S. Gregorij & Theclæ, ex  
 Damasceno, & quibusdam alijs, vulgò fertur:) quæ item de Cranio arido interrogato à  
 Macario, ex historiâ Pailadij ad Lausum referuntur, ficta & commentitia sunt. *Steph. Du-*  
*rans. de ritib. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 43. sect. 12.*

been a Priest of Idoles, which he found lying in the wilder-  
 nesse; that by his prayers such as were with him in pu-  
 nishment received a little ease of their torment, whensoe-  
 ver it fell out that he made the same for them. and among  
 the Latins, Thomas Aquinas, and other of the Schoole-  
 men take this for granted: because they found in the  
 Lives of the Fathers, that the speech which the dead  
 skull used was this. *I was a Priest of the Gentiles* (so  
 John the Roman subdeacon translateth it) or, as Rufinus  
 is supposed to have rendred it, *I was the chiefe of the*  
*Priests of the Idoles, which dwelt in this place: and thou*  
*art abbot Macarius, that art filled with the spirit of God.*  
*At whatsoever houre therefore thou takest pitie of them*  
*that are in torments, and prayest for them; they then feele*  
*some consolation.* Well, saith Mendoza then, if S. Thomas  
 relating this history out of the Lives of the Fathers, doth  
 say that this was the head of a Gentile; he himselfe is  
 bound to untie this knot. And so hee doth: resolving  
 the matter thus; that the damned get no true ease by  
 the prayers made for them, but such a phantasticall  
 kinde of joy only, as the Divels are said to have, when  
 they have seduced and deceived any man. \* But per-  
 adventure, saith Cardinall Bellarmine for the upshott,  
 the things which are brought touching that skull, might  
 better be rejected as false and apocryphall. and Stephen  
 Durant, more peremptorily: y The things which are  
 told of Trajan and Falconilla, delivered out of hell by the  
 prayers of S. Gregory and Thecla, and of the dry skull spo-  
 ken too by Macarius, be fayned and commentitious.

Which



Which last answer, though it be the truest of all the rest; yet is it not to be doubted for all that, but that the generall credite which these fables obtained, together with the countenance which the opinion of the *Origenists* did receive from *Didymus*, *Euagrius*, *Gregory Nyssen*, (if he be not corrupted) and other Doctors, inclined the minds of men verie much, to apply the common use of praying for the dead unto this wrong end of hoping to relieve the damned thereby. *S. Augustine* doth shew, that in his time not onely <sup>a</sup> *some*, but exceeding *many* also, did out of an humane affection take compassion of the eternall paines of the damned, and would not beleeve that they should never have an end. And notwithstanding this error was publickly condemned afterwards in the *Origenists*, by the *fifth* generall Councell held at *Constantinople*: yet by idle and voluptuous persons was it still greedily embraced (as <sup>a</sup> *Climacus* complaineth) and <sup>b</sup> *even now also*, saith *S. Gregory*, *there be some, who therefore neglect to put an end unto their sinnes, because they imagine that the judgments which are to come upon them shall sometimes have an end*. Yea of late dayes this opinion was maintayned by the *Porretanians* (as *Thomas* calleth them) and some of the *Canonists* (the one following therein *Gilbert Porreta* Bishop of *Poitiers*, in his booke of Theological Questions; the other *Iohn Semeca*, in his Glosse upon *Gratian*) that by the prayers and suffrages of the living the paines of some of the damned were continually diminished; in such maner as infinite proportionable parts may be taken from a line, without ever coming unto an end of the division: which was in

<sup>a</sup> Frustra itaq; nonnulli, imò quamplurimi, æternam damnatorum poenam, & cruciatus sine intermissione perpetuos, humano miserrantur affectu; atq; ita futurū esse non credunt.

*Augustin. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 112.*

<sup>a</sup> *Ioh. Climac. in fine 5. gradus Scale sue.*

<sup>b</sup> Sunt enim nunc etiam, qui ideirco peccatis suis ponere finem negligunt, quia habere quandoq; finem futura super se iudicia suspicantur. *Gregor. Moral. in Iob,*

*lib. 34. cap. 16.* <sup>c</sup> *Gloss. in Gratian caus. 13. quest. 2. cap. 23* Tempus. *Durand in lib. 4. Sentent. dist. 45. quest. 2. num. 7.* Hæc est sententia aliquorum Iuristarum.

d Quia in di-  
visione lineæ  
tandem perve-  
nitur ad hoc  
quod non est  
sensibile: cor-  
pus enim sensi-  
bile non est in  
infinitum divi-  
sibile. Et sic te-  
queretur, quod  
post multa suf-  
fragia pœna  
remans prop-  
ter sui parvita-  
tem non senti-  
retur; & ita  
non esset pœ-  
na. *Thomas in 4.  
Sentent. dist. 45.  
qu. 2. art. 2.  
c Durand. in 4.  
d 45. q. 2. num 8.  
f Hoc tempo-  
re quidam reli-  
gius ab Hie-  
rosolymis re-  
diens in Sicilia  
reclusi cuiusdā  
humanitate a-  
liquandiu re-  
creatus, didicit  
ab eo inter ce-  
tera, quod in  
illā vicinā ef-*

effect to take from them at the last all paine of sense or  
sense of paine. For (as *d Thomas* observeth it rightly,  
and *c Durand* after him) in the division of a Line, at  
last we must come unto that which is not sensible: conside-  
ring that a sensible bodie cannot be divided infinitely. and  
so it would follow, that after many suffrages the paine re-  
mayning should not be sensible; and consequently should  
be no paine at all.

Neither is it to be forgotten that the invention of  
*All-Soules day* ( of which you may reade, if you please,  
*Polydore Vergil* in his sixth booke of the *Inventers of*  
*things*, and the ninth chapter) that solemne day, I say,  
wherein our *Romanists* most devoutly perform all their  
superstitious observances for the dead; was occasioned  
at the first by the apprehension of this same erroneous  
conceit, that the soules of the damned might not onely  
be eased, but fully also delivered by the almes & prayers  
of the living. The whole narration of the businesse is  
thus laid down by *Sigebertus Gemblacensis* in his *Chro-*  
*nic'e*, at the yeare of our Lord 998. *f This time*, saith  
he, *a certaine religious man returning from Ierusalem, be-*  
*ing intertained for a while in Sicile by the courtesie of a*  
*certaine anchoret, learned from him among other matters,*  
*that there were places neere unto them that used to cast up*  
*burning flames, which by the inhabitants were called the*  
*Potts of Vulcan, wherein the soules of the reprobate accor-*  
*sent loca cructantia flammaram incendia, quæ loca vocantur ab incolis Olla Vulcani, in*  
*quibus animæ reproborū luant diversa pro meritōū qualitate supplicia; ad ea exequenda*  
*deputatis ibi dæmonibus, quorum se crebrō voces, iras, & terrores, sæpè etiam ejulatus au-*  
*disse dicebat, plangentium quod animæ damnatorū eriperentur de manibus eorum per e-*  
*læmōynas & preces fideliū; & hoc tempore magis per orationes Cluniacensium, orantiū*  
*indefessè pro defunctorum requie. Hoc per ipsum Abbas Odilo comperio, constituit per*  
*omnia monasteria sibi subiecta, ut sicut primo die Novembris solemnitas omniū Sanctorum*  
*agitur, ita sequenti die memoria omniū in Christo quiescentiū celebraretur Qui ritus ad multas*  
*Ecclesias transiens, fideliū defunctorū memoriā solemnizari fecit. Sigeberti Chron. an. 998.*

ding



ding to the qualitie of their deserts did suffer diverse punishments; the Divels being there deputed for the execution thereof. whose voyces, angers and terrors, and sometimes howlings also he said he often heard, as lamenting that the soules of the damned were taken out of their hands by the almes and prayers of the faithfull; and more at this time by the prayers of the monkes of Cluny, who prayed without ceasing for the rest of those that were deceased. The abbot Odilo having understood this by him, appointed throughout all the monasteries under his subjection, that as upon the first day of November the solemnitie of all the Saints is observed, so upon the day following, the memoriall of all that rested in Christ should be celebrated. Which rite passing into many other Churches, made the memory of the faithfull deceased to be solemnized.

For the elect, this forme of prayer was wont to be used in the Romane Church. *g* O God, unto whom alone is knowne the number of the elect that are to be placed in the supernall blisse: grant, we beseech thee, that the book of blessed predestination may retaine the names of all those whom we have undertaken to recommend in our prayer, or of all the faithfull, that are written therein. And to pray, that the names of all those that are written in the book of Gods election, should still be retayned therein, may be somewhat tolerable: considering (as the Divines of that side have informed us) that those things may be prayed for, which we know most certainly wil come to passe. But hardly, I think, shall you finde in any Rituall a form of prayer answerable to this of the monkes of Cluny for the reprobate: unlesse it be that, whereby S. Francis is said to have obtained, that triat Elias should be made *h* *ex præsçito prædestinatus*, an elect of a reprobate. Yet it seemeth, that some were not very well pleased,

*g* Deus, cui soli cognitus est numerus electorum in supernâ felicitate locandorum: tribue quaesumus, ut universorum, quos in oratione commendatos suscepimus, vel omnium fidelium nomina, beatæ prædestinationis liber ascripta retineat. *Gregor. Oper. tom. 5. col. 216. Alcin. lib. Sacramentor. cap. 18. Oper. col. 1190. Missal. Roman. edit. Paris. an. 1529. inter Orationes communes. h* Raphael Volaterran. Commentar. Urban. lib. 21.

i Bonaventur. in  
Prologo Vita

Francisci. Ber-  
nardin. de Busto,

Rosar tom. 2.  
Jerm. 27. a. 1. 2.

k Fulbert. Car.  
not. in epist. 66.

l In quibus e-  
tiam locis ani-  
mæ reproborū  
diversa luunt  
pro meritorum  
qualitate tor-  
menta. Petr.

Damian. in vit.  
Odil. 1070 1. Su-  
ri. Januar. 1.

m Quod ora-  
tionibus & ele-  
mosynis quo-  
rundam, ad-  
versus eos in-  
fœderabiliter  
concertantiū,  
frequenter ex  
eorum mani-  
bus eriperentur  
animæ damna-  
torum. Inter

cætera de Clu-  
niacensium cæ-  
tu per maximā  
& eorum ab-  
bate querimo-  
niam faciunt,  
quia quā sæ-  
pè per eos sui  
juris vernacu-  
los perdunt.

Ibid.

n Allen of Pur-  
gatory and pray-  
er for the dead,  
lib. 2. cap. 14.

pleased, that what was done so seldom by S. Francis the  
i Angel of the Friars, (& that for a reprobate yet living)  
should be so usually practised by the followers of S. O-  
dilo the k Archangel of the Monkes for reprobates that  
were dead : & therefore in the cōmon editions of Sige-  
berts Chronicle they have cleane stricke out the word  
damnatorū, & in stead of reproborū chopt in defunctorū.  
which depravatiō may be detected, aswel by the sincere  
edition of Sigebert published by Aubertus Miræus out of  
the Manuscript of Gemblac abbay (w<sup>ch</sup> is thought to be  
the originall copie of Sigebert himselfe) as by the com-  
paring of him with Petrus Damiani in the life of Odilo,  
whence this whole narration was by him borrowed.  
For there also doe we reade, that in those flaming pla-  
ces l the soules of the reprobate according to the qualitie of  
their deserts did suffer diverse torments : and that the  
Divels did complaine, m that by the almes and prayers of  
Odilo and others, the soules of the damned were taken out  
of their hands.

By these things we may see, what we are to judge of  
that which our Adversaries presse so much against us  
out of Epiphanius : that he n nameth an obscure fellow  
one Acrius to be the first author of this heresie, that prayers  
and sacrifice profiteth not the departed in Christ. For ney-  
ther doth Epiphanius name this to be an heresie : ney-  
ther doth it appeare that himselfe did hold, that praiers  
and oblations bring such profite to the dead as these  
men dreame they do. He is much deceived, who thin-  
keth everie thing that Epiphanius findeth fault withall  
in hereticks, is esteemed by him to be an heresie : see-  
ing heresie cannot be but in matters of faith, and the  
course which Epiphanius taketh in that worke is not  
only to declare, in what speciall points of faith hereticks  
did









and perversely. For the Church in her Commemorations and prayers for the dead had no relation at all unto those that had ledd their lives lewdly and dissolutely (as appeareth plainly, both by the author of the *Ecclesiastica'l Hierarchy*, and by diverse other evidences before alledged) but unto those that did end their lives in such a godly maner, as gave pregnant hope unto the living, that their soules were at rest with God : and to such as these alone did it with the accomplishment of that which remained of their redemption ; to wit, their publick justification and solemne acquitall at the last day, and their perfect consummation of blisse, both in body and soule, in the kingdome of heaven for ever after. not that the event of these things was conceived to be anie wayes doubtfull (for wee have beene told, that things may be prayed for, the event whereof is knowne to be most certaine) but because the commemoration thereof was thought to serve for speciall use, not onely in regard of the manifestation of the affection of the living toward the dead ( he that prayed, as *Dionysius* noteth, *x desiring ether mens gifts as if they were his owne graces*) but also in respect of the consolation and instruction which the living might receive thereby ; as *Epiphanius* in his answer to *Aerius* doth more particularly declare.

The obiection of *Aerius* was this. The Commemorations and prayers used in the Church bring no profit to the dead : therefore as an unprofitable thing they are to be reiected. To this doth *Epiphanius* thus frame his answer. *y As for the reciting of the names of*

καλεῖσθαι καὶ δαυμασιώτεροι ; πιστεύει μὲν εὖ παρόντας, ὅτι ἐῖς ἀπαλθόντες ζῶσι, καὶ οὐ δουταρίζει ἐν οἰσίν, ἀλλὰ εἰσὶ καὶ ζῶσι παρὰ τῆς θάλαττης, καὶ ὅπως αἰ τὸ σμάνεσθαι πνεύματι διαγίνονται, ὥς ἰλαίς ἐστι ὑπὲρ ἀδελφῶν ἁλομεθῶς αἰς ὃν ἀποδημία τυχεύουσιν. *Epiphanius*, *lib. 75.*

11 Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν  
καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θά-  
λασσῃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς  
ὕδασι. *Dionys. Eccles.*  
*Hierarch. cap. 7.*  
init Et postea :  
Δὲ τοῖς αἰετοῖς καὶ  
ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ  
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι.

x ὅτι τὸ δαυμα-  
σιώτεροι ἀγαθὰ ἐστὶ  
ἐκ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ  
τὰς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ  
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι  
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι. *Id. ibid.*

y Περὶ τῶ ὀνό-  
ματι λέγει τὸ π.  
λατρεῖται, τί  
αἰετὶς τῆς θαλάσσης  
καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ; τί τῆς

those that are deceased; what can be better then this? what more commodious, and more admirable? that such as are present do beleieve, that they who are departed do live, and are not extinguished, but are still being and living with the Lord: and that this most pious preaching might be declared; that they who pray for their brethren have hope of them as being in a peregrination. Which is as much in effect, as if he had denied Aërius his consequence: and answered him, that although the dead were not profited by this action, yet it did not therefore follow that it should be condemned as altogether unprofitable, because it had a singular use otherwise: namely to testify the faith and the hope of the living, concerning the dead. the faith: in<sup>2</sup> declaring them to be alive, (for so doth Dionysius also expound the Churches intention in her publick nomination of the dead) and as Divinitie teacheth, not mortified but translated from death unto a most divine life. the hope: in that they signified hereby, that they accounted their brethren to have departed from them no otherwise than as if they had beene in a journey, with expectation to meet them afterward; and by this meanes made a difference betwixt themselves, and <sup>a</sup> others which had no hope. Then doth Epiphanius proceed further in answering the same objection, after this maner. <sup>b</sup> The prayer also which is made for them doth profite, although it do not cut off all their sinnes: yet forasmuch as whilest we are in the world, we oftentimes slip both unwillingly and with our will; it serveth to signifie that which is more perfect. For

2. τὸ δὲ ὅτι ἐστὶν  
πρὸς ἀνακηρύξασθαι,  
καὶ οἷς ἡ Θεολογία  
ἐκπύει, καὶ ἡ ἐκκοπή  
πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς θεοῦ  
πρόσωπον ζῆλον ἐν  
δοξαῖς μεταρρ-  
θίζοντας. Dionys.  
Eccles. Hierarch.  
cap. 3. Οἱ γὰρ θεοῦ  
ἐμπιστευόντες, ἐάν  
καὶ κοιμηθῶσιν, ὡς  
εἰσὶν ἡμεῖς. Clem.  
Confliunt. Apost.  
lib. 6. cap. 29.

a 1. Thes. 4. 13.

b Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡ  
ἐκείνων γενεή  
ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ τῇ  
ἐκείνων ἐκπαρ-  
ταρμῇ ἀποκρίσται.  
ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ διὰ τὸ  
πολλοὺς ἐκείνων  
ἀμαρτίας ὄντας σφαλ-

λασθαι ἀκρίτως τε καὶ ἰσχυρῶς, ἵνα τὸ ἐντελέστερον σημαθῇ. καὶ γὰρ [ἐκείνων] διακρίαν ποιεῖ ἅμα τῷ μὲν μὲν, καὶ  
ἐκείνων ἀμαρτωλῶν. ἐκείνων γὰρ ἀμαρτωλῶν, ἐκείνων εἰς τὸν θάνατον. (f. διόμοροι) ἐκείνων δὲ διακρίαν καὶ πατήρων καὶ  
πατριάρχων, πατριάρχων καὶ ἀποστόλων, καὶ μαρτύρων, καὶ ὁμολογητῶν, ὁποσάκις τὸν καὶ ἀνα-  
χαρίτων, καὶ πάντες τῶν τάγματων, ἵνα τὸν κύριον ἡμεῖς χεῖρον ἀφαιρέσωμεν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰθερίας τῆς  
ἐκείνων διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρῆξις, καὶ οἷας αὐτῶν ἀποδοῦμεν. Epiphanius lib. 7. 5.



we make a memoriall; both for the just and for sinners: for sinners, intreating the mercy of God; for the just, (both the Fathers and Patriarches, the Prophets, and Apostles, and Euangelists, and ~~Martyrs~~ Martyrs and Confessors, Bishops also and Anchorites, and the whole order) that we may sever our Lord Iesus Christ from the ranke of all other men by the honour that we doe unto him, and that we may yeeld worship unto him. Which, as farre as I apprehend him, is no more then if he had thus replied unto *Aerius*. Although the prayer that is made for the dead doe not cut off all their sinnes (which is the onely thing that thou goest about to prove) yet doth it profite notwithstanding for another purpose: namely to signifie the supereminent perfection of our Saviour *Christ* above the rest of the sonnes of men, who are subiect to manifold slippes and falls as long as they live in this world.

For aswell the *righteous*, with their involuntarie slippes, as *sinners*, with their voluntarie falls, doe come within the compasse of these Commemorations: wherein prayers are made, both for *c sinners* that re- c. Luk. 15. 7. pent, and for *righteous* persons that have no such need of repentance. For *sinners*; that being by their repentance recovered out of the snare of the Divell, they may finde mercy of the Lord at the last day, and be freed from the fire prepared for the Divell and his angels: For the *righteous*; that they may be recompensed in the resurrection of the iust, and received into the kingdome prepared for them from the foundation of the world. Which kinde of prayer being made for the best men that ever lived (even the *Patriarches*, *Prophets*, *Apostles*, *Euangelists*, and *Martyrs* themselves) *Christ* onely excepted; sheweth that the profite which the Church intended should be reaped therefrom, was not





things are clearely finished, after that we are once departed from hence.

We are to consider then, that the prayers and oblations, for reiecting whereof *Aerius* was reproved, were not such as are used in the Church of *Rome* at this day, but such as were used by the ancient Church at that time : and therefore as we in condemning of the one, have nothing to doe with *Aerius* or his cause ; so the Romanists, who dislike the other as much as ever *Aerius* did, must be content to let us alone, and take the charge of *Aerianisme* home unto themselves. Popish prayers and oblations for the dead, we know, do wholly depend upon the beleefe of Purgatorie : if those of the ancient Church did so too ; how commeth it to passe that *Epiphanius* doth not directly answer *Aerius*, as a Papist would doe now, that they brought singular profite to the dead, by delivering their tormented soules out of the flames of Purgatorie ? but forgetting as much as once to make mention of Purgatorie ( the sole foundation of these suffrages for the dead, in our Adversaries iudgement ) doth trouble himselfe and his cause, with bringing in such farr fett reasons as these : that they who performed this dutie, did intend to signifie thereby that their brethren departed were not perished, but remained still alive with the Lord ; and to put a difference betwixt the high perfection of our Saviour *Christ*, and the generall frailtie of the best of all his servants. Take away Popish Purgatorie on the other side, ( which in the dayes of *Aerius* and *Epiphanius* needed not to be taken away, because it was not as yet hatched ) and all the reasons produced by *Epiphanius* will not withhold our Romanists from absolutely subscribing to the opinion of *Aerius* : this being a case  
with

f Ad hoc etiā  
est universalis  
Ecclesiæ consu-  
etudo, quæ  
pro defunctis  
oratur: quæ qui-  
dem oratio in-  
utilis esset, si  
Purgatorium  
post mortem  
non ponatur.  
*Thom. contr.  
Gentiles, lib. 4.  
cap. 91.*

with them resolved; that <sup>f</sup>if Purgatory be not admitted after death, prayer for the dead must be unprofitable. But though *Thomas Aquinas* and his abettors determine so, we must not therefore thinke that *Epiphanius* was of the same minde; who lived in a time wherein prayers were usually made for them that never were dreamed to have beene in Purgatorie, and yeeldeth those reasons of that usage, which overthrow the former consequence of *Thomas* everie whit as much, as the supposition of *Aërius*.

For *Aërius* and *Thomas* both agree in this: that prayer for the dead would be altogether unprofitable, if the dead themselves received no speciall benefite thereby. This doth *Epiphanius* (defending the ancient use of these prayers in the Church) shew to be untrue; by producing other profites that redounded from thence unto the living: partly by the publick signification of their faith, hope, & charitie toward the deceased; partly by the honour that they did unto the Lord *Iesus*, in exempting him from the common condition of the rest of mankind. And to make it appeare, that these things were mainly intended by the Church in her Memorials for the dead, and not the cutting off of the sinnes which they carried with them out of this life, or the releasing of them out of anie torment: he alledgeth (as wee have heard) that not onely the meaner sort of Christians, but also the best of them without exception, even the Prophets and Apostles & Martyrs themselves, were comprehended therein. from whence, by our Adversaries good leave, we wil make bold to frame this syllogisme.

They who reject that kind of praying and offering for the dead, which was practised by the Church



Church in the daies of *Aerius*, are in that point  
flatt *Aerians*.

But the Romanists doe reject that kinde of praying  
and offering for the dead, which was practised  
by the Church in the dayes of *Aerius*.

Therefore the Romanists are in this point flatt *Ae-*  
*rians*.

The assumption or second part of this argument (for  
the first we thinke no body will denie) is thus proved.

They who are of the judgement, that prayers and  
oblations should not be made for such as are be-  
leeved to be in blisse; doe reject that kinde of  
praying and offering for the dead, which was  
practised by the ancient Church.

But the Romanists are of this iudgement.

Therefore they reject that kinde of praying and of-  
fering for the dead, which was practised by the  
ancient Church.

The truth of the first of these propositions doth appear  
by the testimonie of *Epiphanius*, compared with those  
manie other evidences whereby we have formerly pro-  
ved, that it was the custome of the ancient Church to  
make prayers and oblations for them, of whose resting  
in peace and blisse there was no doubt at all conceived.

The veritie of the second is manifested by the confes-  
sion of the Romanists themselves: who reckon this  
for one of their *g* *Catholicke verities*; that suffrages  
should not be offered for the dead that raigne with  
*Christ*. and therefore that ancient *h* *forme of praying for*  
*the Apostles, Martyrs, and the rest of the Saints, is by dis-*  
*use deservedly abolished*; saith *Alphonſus Mendoza*. Nay  
*i* to offer sacrifices and prayers to God for those that  
are in blisse, is plainly *absurd and impious*, in the iudge-

*g* Fr. Suarez,  
som 4. in 3. part.  
Thom. disp. 2.

sect. 4. num. 10.  
*h* Illa formula  
precandi pro  
Apostolis, Mar-  
tyribus & ceteris  
merito per de-  
fectum ex-  
olevit. *Alphonſ.*  
*Mend. 2. Contro-*  
*vers Theologic.*  
*quest. 6. s. solut.*  
sect. 7.

*i* *Græci* sacrificia & preces  
offerunt Deo  
pro mortuis;  
non beatis cer-  
te, neq; dam-  
natis ad infer-  
ros, quod planè  
esset absurdum  
& impium. *lo.*  
*Azor. Institut.*  
*moral. tom. 1.*  
*lib. 8. cap. 20.*

ment of the Iesuite *Azorius* : who was not aware, that thereby hee did outstrippe *Aerius* in condemning the practise of the ancient Church, as farre, as the censuring it only to be *unprofitable* (for τι ἀφελυθίσεται ὁ τεθνεὺς ; *what shall the dead be profited thereby ?* was the furthest that *Aerius* durst to goe ) commeth short of rejecting it as *absurd and impious*. And therefore our Adversaries may doe well , to purge themselves first from the blott of *Aerianisme* which sticketh so fast unto them , before they be so readie to cast the aspersion thereof upon others.

k Quamvis de statu illo animarum, quibus hæc prodesse, non satis constaret, nec inter omnes conveniret : omnes tamen hoc officium, ut testimonium charitatis erga defunctos, & ut professionem fidei de immortalitate animarum & futurâ resurrectione, Deo gratum & Ecclesiæ utile esse judicârunt. *Cassand. Consolat. ad Ferdinand. I. & Maximilian. I. l. artic. 24.*

In the meane time , the Reader who desireth to be rightly informed in the iudgement of Antiquitie touching this point, is to remember ; that these two questions must necessarily be distinguished in this inquiry. Whether prayers and oblations were to be made for the dead ? and, Whether the dead did receive any peculiar profite thereby ? In the latter of these, he shall finde great difference among the Doctors : in the former, verie little, or none at all. For *howsoever all did not agree about the state of the soules* (saith *Cassander*, an indifferent Papist) *which might receive profite by these things : yet all did judge this dutie, as a testimonie of their love toward the dead, and a profession of their faith touching the soules immortalitie and the future resurrection, to be acceptable unto God and profitable to the Church.* Therefore for condemning the generall practise of the Church herein, which aymed at those good ends before expressed, *Aerius* was condemned : but for denying that the dead received profite thereby , cyther for the pardon of the sinnes which before were unremitted, or for the cutting off or mitigation of anie torments that they did endure in the other world, the Church did



did never condemne him. For that was no new thing invented by him : diuerſe worthy men before and after him declared themſelves to be of the ſame minde, and were never for all that charged with the leaſt ſuſpition of heretie. <sup>1</sup> *The narration of Lazarus and the rich man* (ſaith the author of the Questions and Answers in the workes of *Iuſtin Martyr*) preſenteth this doctrine unto us : that after the departure of the ſoule out of the body, men cannot by any providence or care obtaine any profite. <sup>m</sup> Then (ſaith *Gregory Nazianzen*) in vaine ſhall anie one goe about to relieve thoſe that lament. Here men may have a remedie, but afterwards there is nothing but bonds, or, all things are faſt bound. For <sup>n</sup> after death the puniſhment of ſinne is remedileſſe : ſaith *Theodoret*. and therefore *S. Hierome* doth conclude : o that while we are in this preſent world, we may be able to helpe one another, eyther by our prayers or by our counſailes ; but when wee ſhall come before the iudgement ſeat of Chriſt, neyther *Iob*, nor *Daniel*, nor *Noah* can intreate for any one, but every one muſt beare his owne burden.

Other Doctors were of another iudgement : that the dead received ſpeciall profite by the prayers and oblations of the living ; eyther for the remiſſion of their finnes, or the eaſing of their puniſhment. but whether this were reſtrained to ſmaller offences only, or ſuch as lived and died in great finnes might be made partakers of the ſame benefite, and whether theſe mens torments might be leſſened only thereby, or in tract of time quite extinguished ; they did not agree upon. That *Stephanus Gobarus*, whom before I alledged, made a

onibus ſive conſilijs invicē poſſe nos coadjuvari ; cū autem ante tribunal Chriſti venerimus, non *Iob*, non *Daniel*, nec *Noe* rogare poſſe pro quoquam, ſed unumquemque portare onus ſuum. *Hieronym. lib. 3. Commentar. in Galat. cap. 6.*







ε' ουκ εστι θεος  
 ιεραρχης ιζουται  
 τα θεωδωδεις επι τη  
 γημεναι και φιλα  
 δεν, η παρ τις  
 σω, η παρ τις α, η το  
 της οικειας αγα  
 θεωδωδεις ιζουται  
 δεκνυς τα φιλα  
 γαθω θεω, η τοις  
 παρ τις επι φωτο  
 εικως επι φωτων  
 τα τοις ος ος ιζου  
 μεν δεω, η το και  
 της ιεραρχικης  
 ιχουσι οι ιεραρχαι  
 διακριτες, ος ειναι  
 παντες και τω  
 θεω διχαρμον  
 των, etc. id. ibid.  
 u See above,  
 pag. 135. 161.  
 162.  
 x τω κειμενω  
 δια κατ' αλφειν  
 ιεραρχικω, Dio  
 nys. in sup. a.  
 y ενεργητικως η  
 διακριτικως  
 ειναι τι διακριτικως  
 ενεργητικως, η τω  
 αβις διακριτικως  
 τω, id. ibid.  
 z Super terra  
 inquit nam in  
 hac ligatione  
 defunctum nuf  
 quam dixit ab  
 solvi. Gelas in  
 Commemoratio ad  
 Paulinum.

the sinnes wherewith they were overtaken through humane infirmitie: he beleeveth that God of his mercifull goodnesse would passe by those slips, and that such after-reckonings as these should give no stoppage to the present bestowing of those holy rewards upon the children of the promise. *Therefore the divine Bishop (saith our author) asketh those things which were promised by God and are gratefull to him and without doubt will be granted: thereby aswell manifesting his own good disposition, unto God who is a lover of the good; as declaring like an interpreter unto them that be present, the gifts that shall befall to such as are holy.* Hee further also addeth, that the Bishops have a separating power, as the interpreters of Gods judgements: according to that commision of Christ; *Whose sinnes ye remitt, they are remitted unto them, and whose you shall retaine, they are retained. and, Whatsoever thou shalt binde upon earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth shall be loosed in heaven.* And as in the use of the keyes, the Schoolemen following S Hierom do account the minister to be the interpreter onely of Gods judgement, by declaring what is done by him in the binding or loosing of mens sinnes: so doth this author here give them power onely to *separate those that are already judged of God, and by way of declaration, and convey, to bring in those that are beloved of God, and to exclude such as are ungodly.* And if the power which the Ministers have received by the foresaid commision doe extend it selfe to any further reall operation upon the living: Pope Gelasius will denie that it may be stretched in like maner unto the dead; because that Christ saith, *Whatsoever thou shalt binde upon earth.* *He saith upon earth: for he that dyeth bound,*



is nowhere said to be loosed. and, <sup>a</sup> that which a man remayning in his body hath not received, being uncloathed of his flesh he cannot obtaine: saith Leo.

Whether the dead received profite by the prayers of the living, was still a question in the Church. *Maximus* in his Greeke scholies upon the writer of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy, wiseth us to <sup>b</sup> marke, that even before his time that doubt was questioned. Among the questions wherein *Dulcitius* desired to be resolved by *S. Augustin*, we finde this to be one; <sup>c</sup> Whether the offering that is made for the dead, did avayle their soules any thing? and that <sup>d</sup> M A N Y did say to this, that if herein any good were to be done after death; how much rather should the soule it selfe obtaine ease for it selfe, by it owne confessing of her sinnes there, than that for the ease thereof an oblation should be procured by other men. The like also is noted by *Cyrill* or rather *Iohn* Bishop of *Ierusalem*; that he <sup>e</sup> knew M A N Y who said thus. What profite doth the soule get that goeth out of this world (either with sinnes, or not with sinnes) if you make mention of it in prayer? and by *Anastasius Sinaita* (or *Nicenus*;) <sup>f</sup> Some doe doubt, saying that the dead are not profited by the oblations that are made for them. and (long after them) by *Petrus Cluniacensis* in his treatise against the followers of *Peter Bruse* in *France*: <sup>g</sup> That the good deeds of the living may profit the dead, both these hereticks doe deny, and some Catholicks also do seeme to doubt. Nay in the West, not the profite onely, but the lawfulnessse also of these doings for the dead was called in questi-

<sup>a</sup> Quod manens in corpore non receperit, consequi exutus carne non poterit. *Leo, epist. 89. vel 91. ad Theodorum.*

<sup>b</sup> Καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἱσχυρὰ τὸ δέσποιν. *Maxim.*

<sup>c</sup> *schol. in Eccles. Hierarchy cap. 7.*

<sup>d</sup> Virum oblatio, quæ fit pro quiescentibus, aliquid eorum conferat animabus?

*Augustin ad Dulcit. quest. 2.*

<sup>e</sup> Ad quod multi dicunt, quod si aliquis beneficii in hoc locus possit esse post mortem; quanto magis sibi anima ferret ipsa refrigeria, sua per se illis confitendo peccata, quam in eorum refrigerium ab alijs oblatio procuratur.

*Ibid.*

<sup>f</sup> Οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἱσχυρὰ τὸ δέσποιν.

<sup>g</sup> Ἀμφὶ καθαρῶν τῶν ἀποβιβαμένων, ὅτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἱσχυρὰ τὸ δέσποιν.

*ἀποβιβαμένων* ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἱσχυρὰ τὸ δέσποιν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἱσχυρὰ τὸ δέσποιν; *Cyrill. Cateches. 5. Mystagogic.* <sup>f</sup> Ἀμφὶ καθαρῶν τῶν ἀποβιβαμένων, ὅτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἱσχυρὰ τὸ δέσποιν. *Anastas. sin. pag. 540 edit. Græcolat.* <sup>g</sup> Quod bona vivorum mortuis prodesse valeant, & hi hæretici negant, & quidam etiam Catholici dubitare videntur. *Petr. Cluniac. epist. contra Petrobrusianos.*

on:

h Pro obeun-  
tibus quoque  
confultum est dig-  
nosceris, si li-  
ceat oblationes  
offerre. Gregor.  
II. vel III. epist.  
ad Bonifac. in  
tomu Conciliorū.  
i Scio plerosq;  
vanis opinionib;  
deformari,  
putantes non  
esse orandum  
pro mortuis;  
eo quod neq;  
Christus, neq;  
Apostoli ejus  
successores hæc  
scriptis intima-  
verint. Nesciūt  
quidem illi  
plura esse, ac  
per summe ne-  
cessaria, quæ  
sancta Ecclesia

frequentat, quorum traditio ex scripturis non habetur: nihilo tamen minus ad cultum Dei  
pertinent, & vigorem maximum obtinent. Hug. Etherian. de Animar. regress. ab infer. cap. 13

on : as partly may be collected by Boniface archbishop  
of Mentz his consulting with Pope Gregory, about 730.  
yeares after the birth of our Saviour; <sup>h</sup> Whether it were  
lawfull to offer oblations for the dead ( which hee should  
have no reason to doe, if no question had beene made  
thereof among the Germans ) and is plainly delivered  
by Hugo Etherianus, about 1170. yeares after Christ, in  
these words. *I know that many are deformed with vaine  
opinions, thinking that the dead are not to be prayed for :  
because that neither Christ, nor the Apostles that succeeded  
him have intimated these things in the Scriptures. But  
they are ignorant that there be many things, and those ex-  
ceeding necessary, frequented by the holy Church, the tra-  
dition whereof is not had in the Scriptures : and yet they  
pertaine neverthelesse to the worship of God, and obtaine  
great strength. Whereby it may appeare, that this pra-  
ctise wanted not opposition even then, when in the Pa-  
pacie it was advanced unto his greatest height. And  
now is it high time, that I should passe from this ar-  
ticle, unto the next following*

OF LIMBUS PATRUM;  
And  
CHRISTS DESCENT  
INTO HELL.

**H**ERE doth our Challenger undertake to prove a-  
gainst us; not only that there is Limbus Patrum,  
but that our Saviour also descended into Hell, to deliver  
the ancient Fathers of the Old Testament; because be-  
fore



fore his Passion none ever entred into Heaven. That there was such a thing as *Limbus Patrum*, I have heard it said: but what it is now, the Doctors varie, yet agree all in this; that *Limbus* it may well be, but *Limbus Patrum* sure it is not. <sup>a</sup> Whether it were distinct from that place, in which the infants that depart out of this life without baptism are now beleev'd to be received, the Divines doe doubt; neyther is there any thing to be rashly pronounced of so doubtfull a matter: saith Maldonat the Iesuite. The Dominican Friars, that wrote against the Grecians at Constantinople in the yeare 1252 resolve, that <sup>b</sup> into this *Limbus* the holy Fathers before the coming of Christ did descend; but now the children that depart without baptism, are detained there: so that in their iudgement, that which was the *Limbus* of Fathers, is now become the *Limbus* of Children. The more common opinion is, that these be two distinct places: and that the one is appointed for unbaptized infants; but the other <sup>c</sup> now remayneth void, and to <sup>d</sup> shall remaine, that it may beare witnesse as well of the justice as of the mercie of God. If you demand, how it came to be thus voyd, & emptied of the old inhabitants: the answer is here given; that our Saviour descended into Hell purposely to deliver from hence the ancient Fathers of the Old Testament. But <sup>e</sup> Hell is one thing, I ween, saith Tertullian, and Abrahams bosome (where the Fathers of the old Testament rested) another: <sup>f</sup> neyther is it to be beleev'd, that the bosome of Abraham, being the habitation of a secret kinde of rest, was any part of Hell; saith S. Augustin. To say then,

<sup>d</sup> Manet autem, manebitque, licet vacuus, hic infernus; ut testimonium perhibeat tum iustitiæ, tum misericordiæ Dei. *Henric. Vicius, de descensu Christi ad inferos, sect. 41. Pia. Abulens. Paradox 5 cap. 183.* <sup>e</sup> Aliud enim Inferi, ut puto, aliud quoque Abrahæ sinus. *Tertull. advers. Marcion lib. 4. cap. 24.* <sup>f</sup> Non utiq; sinus ille Abrahæ, id est, secretæ cuiusdā quietis habitatio, aliqua pars Inferorum esse credenda est. *Augustin epist. 99. ad Euodium.*

L 1

that

<sup>a</sup> An ab eo loco distinctus fuerit, in quo nunc infantes sine baptismo de vitâ decedentes recipi creduntur, Theologi dubitant; nec est quicquam de re dubiâ temere pronuntiandum. *to. Maldon. comment. in Luc. 16. 22.*

<sup>b</sup> In quem (*limbum*) ante adventū Christi sancti Patres descendebant: nunc vero pueri, qui absque baptismo decedunt, sine poenâ sensibili, detinentur. *vact. contr. Grec. in somno auctorum à P. Stenarzio edit. pag. 565.* <sup>c</sup> Nunc vacuus remanet. *Bellar. de Purgator. lib. 2 cap. 6.*

that our Saviour descended into *Hell*, to deliver the ancient Fathers of the old Testament out of *Limbus Patrum*: would by this construction prove as strange a tale, as if it had beene reported, that *Cæsar* made a voyage into *Brittaine*, to set his friends at libertie in *Greece*.

Yea, but before *Christs Passion* none ever entred into *Heaven*: saith our Challenger. The proposition that *Cardinall Bellarmine* taketh upon him to prove, where he handleth this controversie, is: *g that the soules of the godly were not in Heaven before the Ascension of Christ.* Our Iesuite, it seemeth, considered here with himselfe, that *Christ* had promised unto the penitent theefe upon the crosse; that not before his ascension only, but also before his resurrection, even *h that day* he should be with him in *Paradise*: that is to say, in the *kingdome of heaven*; as the *i Cardina l* himselfe doth prove, both by the authoritie of *S.<sup>k</sup> Paul*, making *Paradise* and the *third heaven* to be the selfe same thing, and by the testimony of the ancient expositors of the place. This, be- like, stuck somewhat in our Iesuites stomach: who being loath to interpret this of his *Limbus Patrum* (as *l o*thers of that side had done) and to maintaine that *Pa- radise*, in stead of the third Heaven, should signifie the third or the fourth Hell; thought it best to shift the matter handsomely away, by taking upon him to de- fend, that, not before *Christs ascension* (least that of the Thiefe should crosse him) but before his *passion* none ever entred into Heaven. But if none before our Sa- viours *Passion* did ever enter into Heaven: whither shall we say that *Elias* did enter? The Scripture assu- reth us, that he *went up into heaven*: (2. Kings, 2.11.) & of this *Mattathias* put his sonnes in mind upon his death-bedd; that *m Elias* being zealous and fervent for the

g Quod ani-  
ma piorum nō  
fuerint in cœlo  
ante Christi  
ascensionem.  
Bellarm. de  
Ch. iſt. lib. 4.  
cap. 11.  
h Luk. 23. 43.  
i Vera ergo  
expositio est  
Theophylacti,  
Ambrosij, Be-  
dx, & aliorum,  
qui per paradi-  
sum intelligunt  
regnum cœlo-  
rum. Bellarm. de  
Sanct. Beatiſ.  
lib. 1. cap. 3.  
k 2. Corin. 12.  
2. 4.  
l Henr. Vic. de  
deſcenſ. ad infer.  
ſect 41 pag. 129.  
m Vide Thom. in 3.  
part. Sum. quæſt.  
52. art. 4. ad 2.  
n Lyrannus in  
Luc. 23. 43.  
o Hλίας οὗ τῆς  
ζαλῶτος ζῶλον τοῦ  
μου, ὁ μακάριος ἵνα  
οὗτος ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἴ.  
Maccab. 2. 58.



the law, was taken up into heaven. Elias and Moses both, before the passion of Christ are described to be <sup>n</sup> in glory : ° Lazarus is carried by the Angells into a place of comfort, and not of imprisonment : in a word, all the Fathers <sup>p</sup> accounted themselves to be strangers and pilgrims in this earth, seeking for a better countrey, that is, an heavenly, as well as <sup>q</sup> we doe ; and therefore having ended their pilgrimage, they arrived at the country they sought for, as well as wee. They <sup>r</sup> believed to be saved through the grace of our Lord Iesus Christ, as well as we ; they <sup>s</sup> lived by that faith, as well as we ; they <sup>t</sup> dyed in Christ, as well as we ; they received <sup>u</sup> remission of sinnes, imputation of righteousness, and the blessednesse arising therefrom, as well as we : and the mediation of our Saviour being of that present efficacie, that it tooke away sinne and brought in righteousness from the very beginning of the world, it had vertue sufficient to free men from the penaltie of losse as well as from the penalty of sense, and to bring them unto him in whose <sup>x</sup> presence is fulnesse of joy, as to deliver them from the <sup>y</sup> place of torment where <sup>z</sup> there is weeping and gnashing of teeth.

The first that ever assigned a resting place in Hell to the Fathers of the old Testament, was ( as farre as wee can finde ) Marcion the heretick : <sup>a</sup> who determined that both kinde of rewards, whether of torment or of refreshing, was appointed in Hell for them that did obey the Law and the Prophets. Wherein he was gainsayd by such as wrote against him, not only for making that the place of their eternal rest ; but also for lodging them there at all, and imagining that Abrahams bosome was any part of Hell. This appeareth plainly by the disputation, set out among the workes of Origen, betwixt Marcus the

n Luk. 9. 31.

o Luk. 16. 22.

25.

p Hebr. 11. 13.

14. 16.

q Hebr. 13. 14.

r Act. 15. 11.

s Habak. 2. 4.

Rom. 1. 16, 17.

t 1. Thess. 4. 16.

u Rom. 4. 6, 7.

8, 9.

Gal. 3. 8, 9.

x Psal. 16. 11.

y Luk. 16. 28.

z Matth. 8. 11,

12.

a Sed Marcion aliorum cogit, scilicet utramque mercedem Creatoris, sive tormēti sive refrigerij, apud inferos determinet eis positam qui Legi & Prophetis obedierint ; Christi vero & Dei sui coelestem designat sinum & portum. Tertullian. lib. 4. contra Marcion. cap. 34. Vid. etiam lib. 3. cap. 24.

\* In D. Bezae  
Græcolatino Eu-  
angeliorum ve-  
nerande viti-  
fatis exemplari,  
quod in publicâ  
Cantabrigiensi  
academiæ Bib-  
liotheca asserva-  
tur; historie  
huc præmitti-  
tur ista præfatio.  
Εἰς τὸ ἅγιον  
πνεῦμα. Οὗτος  
ἐστὶν ὁ κείμενος  
ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων  
ἑορτῇ 5 post  
Dominicam 2.  
Quadragesi-  
mæ) λεγόμενος:  
Dixit Iesus di-  
scipulis suis pa-  
rabolam hanc.  
Ἐν τῇ ἐν Μι-  
σσηλίᾳ ῥεστω-  
μένη πόλει  
ἡ πόλις ἡ  
Ῥώμη. *et*  
voces sublata  
super sunt.

Ἰ. ΜΑΡΚΟΣ. Εἰς  
τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα  
ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἡ  
ἑξῆς.

τῇ Ῥωμανίᾳ τῇ Ῥώμῃ. ΑΔΑΜΑΝΤΙΟΣ. Ἀνέγνωθι ἐπὶ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ ἡ ἑξῆς. ΜΑΡΚ. Ἀπὸ τοῦ σω-  
μῆτος αὐτοῦ τὸν πλάσσει, δείχνεται ὅτι οὗτος. ΑΔΑΜΑΝΤ. Τὸ ὁμῶς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ ἡ ἑξῆς, τὸ ἡλικίαν  
χαίρει μὲν καὶ ἡλικίαν. τὸ γὰρ ἔστιν καὶ τὸ γὰρ τὸ μέντοι χαίρει καὶ ἡλικίαν. ΜΑΡΚ. δύναται εἰς τὸν ὅτι οὗτος  
ἐστὶν ὁ πλάσσει; ἀδύνατον ἐστὶν ὅτι οὗτος ὁ πλάσσει αὐτὸν ἵδεν δύναται πᾶσι καὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἡ μάλιστα καὶ τὸν  
ἔχοντα ἵδεν; εἰ μὴ δὴ οὗτος ὁ πλάσσει αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. ΑΔΑΜΑΝΤ. Οἱ σωματικοὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ οὐκ ἔστιν  
ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πλάσσει; οἱ δὲ ψυχικοὶ οὐκ ἔστιν μὴ οὗτος ὁ πλάσσει αὐτὸν. καὶ δὴ οὗτος, ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ἐστὶν ὁ πλάσσει αὐτὸν,  
καὶ τὸ ψυχή; ὁμοίαν ἔχει αὐτῷ. Πῶς γὰρ πᾶσι λέγει τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὅτι ἐστὶν ὁ πλάσσει αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ,  
οἱ τὸν πλάσσει αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ. *Origen Dialog. 2. contra Marcion.* c Responde-  
bimus, & hæc ipsa scripturâ revincite oculos ejus, quæ ab infernis discernit Abraham sinum  
pauperi. Aliud enim inferi, ut puto, aliud quoque Abraham sinus. Nam & magnum ait in-  
tercedere regiones istas profundum, & transitum utrinque prohibere. Sed nec allevasset di-  
ves oculos, & quidem de longinquo, nisi in superiora, & de altitudinis longinquo per im-  
mensam illâ distantiam sublimitatis & profunditatis. *Tertull. advers. Marcion. lib. 4 cap. 34.*

maketh



maketh a plaine difference betweene *Hell* and the *bosome of Abraham*. For it affirmeth (saith he) both that a great deepe is interposed betwixt those regions, and that it suffereth no passage from eyther side. Neyther could the rich man have lifted up his eyes, and that as farre off, unlesse it had beene unto places above him, and very farre above him, by reason of the mightie distance betwixt that height and that depth. Thus farre *Tertullian*: who though he come short of *Adamantius*, in making *Abrahams bosome* not to be any part of *Heaven*, although no member at all of *Hell*; yet doth he concur with him in this, that it is a place of blisse, and a common receptacle wherein the soules of all the faithfull as well of the new as of the old Testament doe still remaine, in expectation of the generall resurrection. which quite marteth the *Limbus Patrum* of our Romanists, and the journey which they fancie our Saviour to have taken for the fetching of the Fathers from thence.

With these two doth *S. Augustin* also ioyne, in his 99. epistle to *Euodius*: concerning whose iudgement herein, I will not say the deceitfull, but the exceeding partiall dealing of *Cardinall Bellarmine* can verie hardly be excused. e Although *Augustin* (saith he) in his 99. epistle do seeme to doubt, whether the bosome of *Abraham*, where the soules of the Fathers were in times past, should be in *Hell* or somewhere else: yet in the 20. booke of the *Citie of God*, the 15. chapter, he affirmeth that it was in *Hell*; as all the rest of the Fathers have alwayes taught. If *S. Augustin* in that epistle were of the minde (as hee was indeed) that *Abrahams bosome* was no part of *Hell*: he was not the first inventer of that doctrine; others taught it before him, and opposed *Marcion* for teaching otherwise. Σὺν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐξομείνω: alone he went

d Eam itaque regionem finū dico Abrahæ, cū non cœlestem, sublimiorem tamen inferis, interim refrigeriū præbituram animabus iustorū, donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat.

lib. 20.

e Augustinus, cū in epist. 99. ambigere videtur, an finis Abraham, ubi erant animæ Patrum olim, in inferno esset an alibi: tamē lib. 20 de civit. Dei, cap. 15. affirmat in inferno fuisse; ut ceteri omnes Patres semper docuerunt. Bellarmine de Christ. lib. 4. cap. 11. in fine.

f Quamquam  
in his ipsis tan-  
ti magistri ver-  
bis, ubi ait dix-  
isse Abraham,  
Inter vos &  
nos chaos  
magnum fir-  
matum est; sa-  
tis, ut opinor,  
appareat non  
esse quandam  
partē & quasi  
membrum In-  
ferorum tantæ  
illius felicitatis  
spatium. Aug. 87.  
epist. 99.

g Si enim non  
absurdè credi  
videtur, anti-  
quos etiam  
sanctos, qui  
venturi Christi  
tenuerunt fidē,  
locis quidem à  
tormentis im-  
piorum remo-  
tissimis, sed a-  
pud inferos  
fuisse, donec  
eos inde san-  
guis Christi, &  
ad ea loca de-  
scensus eueret:

profectò deinceps boni fideles effuso illo pretio jam redempti, prorsus inferos nesciunt, do-  
nec etiam receptis corporibus bona recipiant quæ merentur. Id. de Civit. Dei, lib. 20. cap. 15.

not, two there were at least (as we have seen) that wal-  
ked along with him in the same way. But for that  
which he is said to have *doubted* off in one place, and to  
have *affirmed* in another: if the indifferent Reader will  
be pleased but to view both the places, he shall easily di-  
scerne that the Cardinall looked not into these things  
with a single eye. In his 99. epistle, f from that speech of  
*Abraham*; *Betweene you and us there is a great gulf fix-*  
*ed*: he maketh this inference. *In these words it appea-*  
*reth sufficiently, as I thinke, that the bosome of so great*  
*happinesse is not any part and member of Hell.* These seem  
unto the Cardinall to be the words of a doubtfull  
man: with what words then, when he is better resol-  
ved, doth he affirme the matter? With these forsooth.  
g *If it do seeme no absurditie to beleewe, that the old Saints*  
*which held the faith of Christ to come, were in places most*  
*remote from the torments of the wicked, but yet in Hell;*  
*untill the blood of Christ, and his descent into those places,*  
*did deliver them: truly from henceforth the good and*  
*faithfull, who are redeemed with that price already shed,*  
*know not Hell at all.* If, *satis ut opinor apparet,* [it appea-  
reth sufficiently, as I thinke,] must import doubting;  
and, *si non absurdè credi videtur,* [if it doe seeme no absur-  
ditie to beleewe,] affirming: I know not, I must con-  
fesse, what to make of mens speeches.

The truth is: S. *Augustin* in handling this question  
discovereth himselfe to be neyther of the Iesuits tem-  
per nor beleefe. He esteemed not this to be such an ar-  
ticle of faith, that they who agreed not therein must  
needs be held to be of different religions: as he doth  
modestly propound the reasons which induced him to

thinke



think that *Abrahams* bosome was no member of Hell; so doth he not lightly reiect the opinion of those that thought otherwise, but leaveth it still as a disputable point. <sup>h</sup> *Whether that bosome of Abraham where the wicked rich man, when he was in the torments of Hell, did behold the poore man resting, were eyther to be accounted by the name of Paradise, or esteemed to appertain unto Hell, I cannot readily affirme: saith he in one place. and in another: i Whether Abraham were then at any certaine place in Hell, we cannot certainly define. and in his 12. book de Genesi ad literam: k I have not hitherto found, and I doe yet inquire, neyther doe I remember that the canonical Scripture doth any where put Hell in the good part. Now that the bosome of Abraham and that rest, unto which the godly poore man was carried by the Angel, should not be taken in the good part, I know not whether any good man can endure to heare: and therefore how we may believe that it is in Hell I doe not see. Where it may further also be observed, that S. Augustin doth here assigne no other place to this godly poore man, then he doth unto the soules of all the faithfull that have departed since the coming of our Saviour Christ: the question with him being alike of them both, whether the place of their rest be designed by the name of Hell or Paradise. Therefore he saith: l I confesse, I have not yet found, that it is called Hell, where the soules of just men doe rest. and againe: m How much more after this life may*

*Abrahæ, & illam requiem, quò ab angelis pius pauper ablatu est, nescio utrum quisquam possit audire: & ideo quo modo eum apud inferos credamus esse, non video. Id. de Gen ad lit. l. 6. 12. cap. 33. l. Quamquam & illud me nondum invenisse confiteor, inferos appellatos, ubi iustorum animæ requiescunt. Id. ibid. m. Quanto magis ergo post hanc vitam etiam sinus ille Abrahæ Paradisus dici potest; ubi jam nulla tentatio, ubi tanta requies post omnes dolores vitæ huius? Neq; enim & lux ibi non est propria quadam & sui generis, & profectò magna; quam dives ille de tormentis & tenebris inferorū, tam utiq; de longinquo cum magnū chaos esset in medio, sic tamen vidit ut ibi illū quondā contemptū pauperē agnosceret. Id. ibid. cap. 34.*

*h Vtrum sinus ille Abrahæ ubi dives impius, cum in tormentis esset inferni, requiescentem pauperem vidit, vel paradisi censendus vocabulo, vel ad inferos pertinere existimandus sit; non facile dixerim. l. epist. 57.*

*i Etenim apud inferos utrum in locis quibusdā fuisset jam Abraham; non satis possumus definire. Id. in Psal 83.*

*k Proinde, ut dixi, nondū inveni, & adhuc quæro: nec mihi occurrit inferos alicubi in bono posuisse Scripturā duntaxat Canonice. Non autē in bono accipiendum sinum*

*that*

105f. Escl Hier cap. 7.  
nu, ita etiam tu in  
recessus quidam es

that bosome of Abraham be called Paradise; where now there is no temptation, where there is so great rest after all the griefes of this life? For neyther is there wanting there a proper kinde of light and of it owne kinde, and doubtlesse great; which that rich man out of the torments and darknesse of Hell, (even from so remote a place, where a great gulfe was placed in the midst) did so behold, that he might there take notice of the poore man whom sometime he had despised. and elsewhere, expounding that place in the 16. of S. Luke: *The bosome of Abraham*, saith he, *is the rest of the blessed poore, whose is the kingdome of heaven, in which after this life they are received.*

Bede in his Commentaries upon the same place, and *Strabus* in the ordinary Glosse doe directly follow *S. Augustin* in this exposition: and the Greeke interpreter of *S. Luke* (who wrongly beareth the name of *Titus Bostrensis*, and *Chrysostom*) for prooffe thereof produceth the testimonie of *Dionysius Areopagita*, affirming that by the bosome of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, those most divine and blessed seates are designed, which doe receive within them all just men after their most happy consummation. The words that he hath relation unto, be these, in the 7. chapter of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy. ¶ The bosomes of the blessed Patriarches and of all the rest of the Saints are, as I thinke, the most divine and blessed resting places, which doe receive all such as are like unto God, into that never-fading and most blessed perfection that is therein. Hitherto appertaine those passages in *S. Ambrose*. ¶ Come into the bosome of *Jacob*: that as poore *Lazarus* did in the bosome of *Abraham*, so thou also

10) *Excl. Hier. cap. 7.* ¶ Veni in gremium Iacob : ut sicut Lazarus pauper in Abrahamæ sinu, ita etiam tu in Iacob patriarchæ tranquillitate requiescas. Sinus enim Patriarcharum recessus quidam est quietis æternæ. *Ambros. orat. de obitu Valentiniiani Imp.*

mayst



mayst rest in the tranquillitie of the patriarch Iacob. For the bosome of the Patriarches is a certaine retyring place of everlasting rest. <sup>r</sup> We shall goe where holy Abraham openeth his bosome, to receive the poore, as he did receive Lazarus: in which bosome they doe rest, who in this world have endured grievous and sharpe things. <sup>r</sup> Into Paradise is an ascent, into Hell a descent. Let them descend, saith he, quick into Hell. And therefore poore Lazarus was by the Angels lifted up into Abrahams bosome. <sup>r</sup> Behold that poore man abounding with all good things, whom the blessed rest of the holy Patriarch did compasse about. <sup>u</sup> Lazarus lying in Abrahams bosome, enjoyed everlasting life.

S. Chrysostom, or whosoever else was the author of that homily touching the Rich man and Lazarus, upon those wordes of the text, that the rich man lifting up his eyes beheld Lazarus in Abrahams bosome, moveth this question: <sup>x</sup> Why Lazarus did not see the rich man, as well as the rich man is said to see Lazarus? and giveth this answer thereunto: because \* he that is in the light doth not see him that standeth in the darke, but hee that is in the darke beholdeth him that is in the light; taking it for granted, that Abrahams bosome was a place of light and not of darkenesse. He that wrote the Homily upon that sentence of the Psalme, What man is he that would have life and desireth to see good dayes? who is commonly also, though not rightly, accounted to be Chrysostom; goeth further and saith, that the rich man <sup>y</sup> lifted up his eyes unto Heaven out of the place of tor-

ram carpebat æternam. Id. in Psal. 118. serm. 3. <sup>x</sup> Διὰ τὴν γὰρ μὴ λαζάρου εἶδε τὸ πλάσιον; ἀπερὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ φωτὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ ἐξῆλθε τὰ καλὰ, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ τὸν ἐν τῇ φωτὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ ἐξῆλθε. Chrysost. homil. in Divit. & Lazar. tom. 5. edit. Savil. pag. 730. \* E tenebris autem quæ sunt in luce tuemur. Quod contrā facere in tenebris ē luce nequimus. Lucret. de rer. nat. lib. 4. <sup>y</sup> Erexit oculos in cœlum de loco tormentorum, & clamavit ad patrem Abraham. Homil. in illud Psal. 33. Quis est homo. tom. 1. Oper. Chrysost.

M m

ments,





shop of *Alexandria*, in <sup>i</sup> unexpected delights: *Salvianus*, i <sup>ο ο Αλξας</sup>  
in blisse and everlasting wealth. <sup>k</sup> The poore man (saith <sup>ω ω αλκίμω</sup>  
he) bought blisse with beggerie; the rich man punishment <sup>Πενεσι' ο γ' πλού-</sup>  
with wealth. The poore man, when he had just nothing, <sup>σι ο' αμωδωσ,</sup>  
bought everlasting riches with penury. *Gregory Nazian-  
<sup>ω φλορι' α' μαριστη</sup>  
zen saith, he <sup>1</sup> was enriched with refreshment in the bo- <sup>Cyrril. Alexandr.</sup>  
<sup>homil. Paschal.</sup>  
somes of *Abraham*, that are so much to be <sup>m</sup> desired. *Pru-  
<sup>11.</sup>  
<sup>k</sup> *Pauper* bea-  
titudinem emit  
mendicitate;  
dives suppliciu  
facultate. Pau-  
per cum peni-  
tus nil haber et,  
emit aternas**

*n Sed dum resolvable corpus  
Revocas Deus, atque reformas ;  
Quânam regione jubebis  
Animam requiescere puram ?  
Gremio senis abdita sancti  
Recubabit, ubi est Eleazar ;  
Quem floribus undique septum  
Dives procul adspicit ardens.  
Sequimur tua dicta Redemptor,  
Quibus atrâ é morte triumphans,  
Tua per vestigia mandas  
Socium crucis ire latronem.*

So where *Iob* sayeth; *Naked came I out of my mothers wombe, and naked shall I returne thither*: the Greeke scholies expound it thus: *Thither*: *o* namely unto God, unto that blessed end and rest. which the author of the Commentaries upon *Iob* ascribed to *Origen*, expresseth

in Pentecost. pag. 714. n Prudent. Cathemerinon. Hymn. 10. o Nimirum ad De-  
um; ad illum, inquam, beatum finem & requietem. Catena Græc. in Iob, cap. 1. à P. Comi-  
solo conversa.

Mm 2

thus

p Illo, inquit, ibo, ubi sunt tabernacula iustorum, ubi sunt sanctorum gloria, ubi est fidelium requies, ubi est piorum consolatio, ubi est misericordium hereditas, ubi est immaculorum beatitudo, ubi est veracium letitia & consolatio. Illuc ibo, ubi est lux & vita, ubi est gloria & jucunditas, ubi est letitia & exultatio; vel unde aufugit dolor, tristitia & gemitus, ubi obliviscuntur priores tribulationes has quae sunt in corpore super terram. Illuc ibo, ubi est tribulationum depositio, ubi est remuneratio laborum, ubi Abraham si-  
nus, ubi Isaac

thus at large. *P* Thither will I goe, saith he, where are the tabernacles of the righteous, where the glories of the Saints are, where is the rest of the faithfull, where is the consolation of the godly, where is the inheritance of the mercifull, where is the blisse of the undefiled, where is the joy and consolation of such as love the truth. Thither will I goe, where is light and life, where is glory & jocundnesse, where is joy and exultation: whence griefe and heavinesse and groaning flie away, where they forgett the former tribulations that they sustayned in their body upon the earth. Thither will I goe, where there is a laying aside of tribulations, where there is a recompense of labors, where is the bosome of Abraham, where the proprietie of Isaac, where the familiarity of Israel; where be the soules of the Saints, where the quire of Angels, where the voyces of Archangels, where the illumination of the holy Ghost, where the kingdome of Christ, where the endlesse glory and blessed sight of the eternall God the father. What difference I pray you now, is there betwixt this *Limbus Patrum* and Heaven it selfe?

Of *Abrahams bosome* Gregory Nyssen writeth after this maner. ¶ As by a certaine abuse of speech we call a baye of the sea an arme or bosome: so it seemeth to me that the word doth signifie the exhibitio of those unmeasurable good things by the name of a bosome; into which good bosome, or baye, all men that sayle by a vertuous course through this present life, when they loose from hence, put in their soules

proprietas, ubi Israel familiaritas, ubi sanctorum animae, ubi angelorum chori, ubi archangelorum voces, ubi spiritus sancti illuminatio, ubi Christi regnum, ubi æterni Dei patris infecta gloria atque beatus conspectus. *Origen. in Iob. lib. 1.* ¶ Ὡς ὁ πῶς πῶς τῶν πάλαι-  
τος ἀποκαλύπτει ἐν ταῖς ἀποκαλύψεσιν πρὸς ὁμοζωοῦν ἀλλὰ πῶς, ὅτι πῶς δὲ τῶν ἀμείνων ἐκείνων ἀγαθῶν πῶς  
ἰδεῖν ἢ λόγῳ τῶν πάλαι διασημαίνειν ὀνόματι, ὅτι πάντες οἱ δὲ ἀρετῆς τὸν παράνομα διαπαισιντες εἰσιν,  
ἵνα ὡς πῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐκείνων ἀγαθῶν πάλαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπορίζονται. *Gregor. Nyssen. Dialog de Animā & Resurrect. tom. 2. Oper. pag. 651.*



as it were into a haven free from danger of waves and tempests. and in another place.† If one hearing of a bosome, as it were a certaine large baye of the sea; should conceive the fulnesse of good things to be meant thereby where the Patriarch is named, and that Lazarus is therein: he should not thinke amisse. True it is indeed, that diverse of the Doctors who make *Abrahams bosome* to be a place of glorie, do yet distinguish it from *Heaven*: but it is to be considered withall that they hold the same opinion indifferently, of the place whereunto the soules of all godly men are received, aswell under the state of the New as of the Old Testament. For they did not hold (as our Romanistes doe now) that *Christ* by his descension emptyed *Limbus*, & removed the bosome of *Abraham* from Hell into Heaven: their *Limbus* is now as full of Fathers as ever it was, and is the common receptacle wherein they suppose all good soules to remaine untill the generall resurrection; before which time they admit neyther the Fathers nor us unto the possession of the kingdome of Heaven. † For *Abraham* (saith *Gregory Nyssen*) and the other *Patriarches*, although they had a desire to see those good things, and never left seeking that heavenly countrey, as the *Apostle* saith: yet are they notwithstanding that, even yet in expectancie of this favour; God having provided some better thing for us, according to the saying of *S. Paul*, that they without us should not be made perfect. So *Tertullian*: † It appeareth to every wise

† Κάλτοι γὰρ εὐα-  
σαι, ὅτι πᾶσι διου-  
χοι παλάτιαι  
ἀφελώ, τὸ ὅτι  
ἀγαθὸν πλείονα,  
ὡς ἐπωμίζονται  
Πατερὶς, καὶ  
σὺ τις, καὶ διὰ  
μαρτυρίας, ὡς καὶ  
ἀνὰ τὸν γέννημα.  
Id. tractat. 2. de  
Psalms. inscript.  
cap. 6. (Rom. 1.  
Oper. pag. 304.)

† καὶ γὰρ οἱ πατέ-  
ρες τῶν Ἀβραάμ πα-  
τερῶν, καὶ  
ἰδοὺ τὰ ἀγαθὰ  
ἀποδιδόντες ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ  
καὶ ὡς ἔχοντες ὅτι  
ταῖς τῶν πα-  
τερῶν πατρίδα,  
καὶ τὸς φανερὸν  
δοῦναι τὰ ἀγα-  
θὰ ἐν τῇ ἰσχύ-  
ει, τὸ ὅτι καὶ  
τὸν τι παρὰ ἑαυ-  
τῶν ἐκτελεσάμεν, καὶ  
τὸν τὸν Παῦλον  
φανερὸν ἵνα μὴ, οἱ  
χωρὶς ἡμῶν παρ-  
δῶσι. Id. de Ho-  
minis Opificio,  
cap. 22.

† Vnde apparet sapienti cuique qui aliquando Elysios audierit, esse aliquam localem determinationem, quæ sinus dicta sit Abrahæ, ad recipiendas animas filiorum ejus etiam ex Nationibus, patris scilicet multarum Nationum in Abrahæ censum deputandarum, & eadē fide quā & Abraham Deo credidit, nullo sub jugo legis, nec in signo circumcisionis. Eam itaque regionem sinum dico Abrahæ, etsi non cœlestem sublimiorem tamen inferis, interim refrigeriū præbiturā animabus iustorū, donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat. *Tertullian. lib. 4. contr. Marcion. cap. 34.*

man, that hath ever heard of the Elysian fields, that there is some locall determination, which is called Abrahams bosome, to receive the soules of his sonnes, even of the Gentiles; he being the Father of many nations that were to bee accounted of Abrahams family, and of the same faith wherewith Abraham beleevved God, under no yoke of the law, nor in the signe of Circumcision. That region therefore doe I call the bosome of Abraham, although not heavenly yet higher than hell, which shall give rest in the

ii Exeuntes de corpore ad introitum illum regni coelestis per custodiam Domini, fideles omnes reservabuntur: in sinu scilicet interim Abrahæ collocati, quò adire impios interjectum chaos inhibet, quousq; introcundi futurum in regnum coelorum tempus adveniat.

Hilar. in Psalm. 120.

x Testes nobis Evangelicus dives & pauper: quorum unum angeli in sedibus beatorum & in Abrahæ sinu locaverunt, aliū statim poenæ

regio suscepit. id. in Psalm. 2.

y Indicij enim dies, vel beatitudinis retributio est æterna vel poenæ. Tempus vero mortis habet unumquemque suis legibus, dum ad iudicium unumquemque aut Abraham reservat aut poena. Id. ibid.

meane season to the soules of the righteous, untill the consummation of things doe finish the resurrection of all, with the fulnesse of reward. And we have heard S. Hilary say before, that <sup>u</sup> all the faithfull, when they are gone out of the body, shall be reserved by the Lords custody for that entrie into the heavenly kingdome; being in the meane time placed in the bosome of Abraham, whither the wicked are hindred from comming by the gulfe interposed betwixt them, untill the time of entring into the kingdome of heaven doe come. and againe. <sup>x</sup> The rich and the poore man in the Gospell do serve us for witnesses: one of whom the Angels did place in the seates of the Blessed and in Abrahams bosome; the other the region of punishment did presently receive. <sup>y</sup> For the day of judgement is the everlasting retribution eyther of blisse or paine: but the time of death hath every one under his lawes, while eyther Abraham or punishment reserveth every one unto judgement.

The difference betwixt the Doctors in their judgement concerning the bosome of Abraham, and the resting of the ancient Fathers therein, wee finde noted in part in those expositions upon the Gospell, which goe

under



under the name of *Theophilus* Bishop of *Antioch* and *Eucherius* Bishop of *Lyons*. <sup>a</sup> In that the rich man (say they) did in Hell behold Abraham, this by some is thought to be the reason: because all the Saints before the coming of our Lord *Iesus Christ*, are said to have descended into Hell, although into a place of refreshment. Others thinke, that the place wherein Abraham was, did lye apart from those places of Hell, situated in places above: for which the Lord should say of that rich man, that lifting up his eyes when he was in torments, he saw Abraham a far off. The former of these opinions is delivered by some of the Doctores doubtfully, by others more resolutely. *Primasius* setteth it downe with *S. Augustinus* qualification: <sup>a</sup> It seemeth that without absurditie it may be beleev-  
 ed. The author of the imperfect worke upon *Mat-  
 thew* saith, that <sup>b</sup> peradventure the just did ascend into  
 heave: before the coming of Christ: yet that he doth  
 thinke, that no soule before Christ did ascend into heaven,  
 since Adam sinned and the heavens were shut against him;  
 but all were detayned in Hell. and, <sup>c</sup> as I doe thinke, saith  
 the Greeke expositor of *Zacharies* Hymne likewise, e-  
 ven our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, and the whole  
 queere of the holy Prophets and just men, did enjoy the com-  
 ming of Christ. Of which coming to visite the Fa-

<sup>z</sup> In hoc quod apud Inferni Abrahamum vidit, hæc sub-esse à quibusdā ratio putatur; quod omnes Sancti ante ad-ventum Domini nostri Iesu Christi etiam ad inferna, licet in refrigerij locum, descen- disse dicuntur. Alij opinantur locum illum in quo Abraham erat, ab illis inferni locis seor- sim in superio- ribus fuisse cō- stitutum: pro- pter quod di- cat Dominus de illo Divite, quod elevans oculos suos cum esset in tormentis, vidit Abraham de longē. *Theophil.* *Antioch.* *Alle- gor.* in *Johann.* lib. 4. *Eucher.*

*Lugd. de questionib. novi Testam. in Lucā.* a Si non absurdē credi videtur *Primasius*, lib. 3 in *Apocatyph.* cap. 20 secutus *Augustinum*, lib. 20. de *Civit. Dei*, cap. 15. b Vis autem ma- nifestē scire, quoniam ante Christum cœli si aperiebantur, iterum clauderentur Nam ju- sti quidem forsitan ascendebant in cœlum; peccatores autem nequaquam. Ideo autem dixi, forsitan, ne quibusdam placeat etiam ante Christi adventum justorum animas ascen- dere potuisse in cœlum Alioqui nullam animam ante Christum arbitror ascendisse in cœ- lum, ex quo peccavit Adam, & clausi sunt ei cœli: sed omnes in inferno detentas. *Op. im- perf.* in *Matth.* homil. 4. inter *Opera Chrysostomi.* c Vt enim arbitror, etiam patres nostri Abraham, Isaac, & Iacob, & totus chorus sanctorum Vatum & justorum, Christi adventu perfructi sunt *Catena Græca in Cantica utriusq. Testamenti*, ab *Ant. Carafâ convers.* tom. 1. *Operū Theoporetis*, pag. 729. edit. Colon. 1573.

thers





himselfe spoyled, did bemoane himselfe; and beholding those that sometime were weeping under him, now singing in the Lord, did rent himselfe.

Others are more favourable to the soules of the Fathers, though they place them in Hell: for they hold them to have beene there in a state of blisse, and not of miserie. Thus the author of the Latin homily concerning the Rich man and *Lazarus*, which is commonly fathered upon *Chrysostom*, notwithstanding he affirmeth that <sup>r</sup> *Abraham* was in Hell, and that before the comming of *Christ*, none ever entred into Paradise: yet doth he acknowledge in the meane time that *Lazarus* did remaine there in a kinde of Paradise. For <sup>t</sup> the bosome of *Abraham*, saith he, was the poore mans Paradise. and againe. <sup>t</sup> Some man may say unto me: Is there a Paradise in Hell? I say this, that the bosome of *Abraham* is the truth of Paradise: Yea and I confesse it to be a most holy Paradise. So *Tertullian* in the fourth booke of his Verses against *Marcion*, placeth *Abrahams* bosome under the earth, but in an open and lightsome seate, farre removed from the fire and from the darknesse of Hell:

—— sub corpore terra

*In parte ignotâ quidam locus exstat apertus,  
Luce<sup>u</sup> sua fretus; Abrahæ sinus iste vocatur,  
Altior à tenebris, longè semotus ab igne,  
Sub terrâ tamen.*

Yea he maketh it to be one house with that which is eternall in the heaven, distinguisht onely from it, as the outer and the inner Temple (or the *Sanctum* and the *Sanctum Sanctorum*) were in the time of the Law, by

<sup>t</sup> Dicat mihi aliquis: In inferno est Paradisus? Ego hoc dico, quia sinus Abrahæ Paradisi veritas est: sed & sanctissimum Paradisum fateor. *Ibid.* <sup>u</sup> Confer locum ex *Augustino*, de *Genesi ad litter.* lib. 12. cap. 34. *suprà* citatum, in fine pag. 259.

<sup>r</sup> Simulq; considerandum, quod Abrahâ apud inferos erat: necdum enim *Christus* resurrexerat, qui illum in Paradisum duceret. Antequam *Christus* moreretur, nemo in Paradisum conscenderat, nisi *latro*. *Rhomphæa* illa flammea, & vertigo illa claudebat paradisum. Non poterat aliquis intrare in Paradisum, quem *Christus* clauserat: *latro* primus cum *Christo* intrauit. *Homil. in Luc. 16. de Divit. tomo 2. Oper. Chrysost. Latin.* f. Paradisus pauperis, sinus erat Abrahæ. *Ibid.*

the Vayle that hung between : which vayle being rent at the passion of Christ, he saith these two were made one everlasting house.

x Nulli patet  
cœlum terrâ  
adhuc salvâ, ne  
dixerim clausâ.  
Cum transacti-  
one enim mun-  
di referabun-  
tur regna cœ-  
lorum, *Tertull.*  
*de Animâ, cap.*  
*55.*

y Quomodo  
Perpetua for-  
tissima martyr  
sub die passio-  
nis in revelati-  
one Paradisi,  
solos illic com-  
martyres suos  
vidit; nisi quia  
nullis triumphis  
Paradisi jani-  
trix cedit, nisi  
qui in Christo  
decesserint?

*Tempore divisa & spatio, & ratione ligata*

*Vna domus, quamvis velo partita videtur.*

*Atq; adeo passo Domino velamine rupto,*

*Cœlestes patuere plagæ, cœlataque sancta;*

*Atque duplex quondam, facta est domus una perennis.*

Yet elsewhere hee maketh up the partition againe : maintaining very stiffly, that the gates of <sup>x</sup> Heaven remaine still shut against all men, untill the end of the world come and the day of the last judgement. Only <sup>y</sup> Paradise he leaveth open for Martyrs (as that other author of the latin Homily <sup>z</sup> seemeth also to doe:) but the soules of the rest of the faithfull he <sup>a</sup> sequestreth into Hell, there to remaine <sup>b</sup> in *Abrahams* bosome untill the time of the generall resurrection. And to this part of Hell doth he imagine *Christ* to have descended, not with purpose to fetch the soules of the Fathers from thence (which is the only errand that our Romanistes

Tota Paradisi clavis tuus sanguis est. *Ibid. Vid. etiâ lib. de Resurrect. carn. cap. 41.* <sup>z</sup> Si persecutio venerit, imitemur latronem : si pax fuerit, imitemur Lazarum. Si martirium fecerimus, statim intrabimus Paradisum : si paupertatis poenam sustinuerimus, statim in sinum *Abrahæ*. Habet & sanguis, habet & pax loca sua : habet & paupertas martirium suum, & egestas benè tolerata facit martirium ; sed egestas propter Christum, non propter necessitatem. *Homil. de Divite. inter opera Chrysost.* <sup>a</sup> Habes etiam de Paradiso à nobis libellum, quo constituimus omnem animam apud inferos sequestrari in diem Domini. *Tertull. de Anim. cap. 55.* Omnes ergo animæ penes inferos ? inquis. Velis ac nolis, & supplicia jam illic & refrigeria habes, pauperem & divitem. *&c.* Cur enim non putes animam & puniri & foveri in inferis, interim sub expectatione utriusq; judicii in quâdam usurpatione & candidâ ejus ? *Ibid. cap. ult.* <sup>b</sup> Quod si Christus Deus, quia & homo, mortuus secundum scripturas, & sepultus secundum ea dem, hic quoque legi satisfacit, formâ humanæ mortis apud inferos functus ; nec antè ascendit in sublimiora cœlorum, quàm descendit in inferiora terrarum, ut illic Patriarchas & Prophetas compotes sui faceret : habes, & regionem inferum subterraneam credere, & illos cubito pellerè, qui satis superbè non putent animas fidelium inferis dignas ; servi super magistrum, aspernati si fortè in *Abrahæ* sinu, expectandæ resurrectionis solatium carpere *Ibid. cap. 55.*

conceive



conceive he had thither) but, *ut illic Patriarchas & Prophetas compotes sui faceret*, that he might there make the Patriarches and Prophets partakers of his presence.

S. Hierome saith, that <sup>c</sup> our Lord Iesus Christ descended into the furnace of Hell, wherein the soules both of sinners and of just men were held shut; that without any burning or hurt unto himselfe, he might free from the bonds of death those that were held shut up in that place: and that hee <sup>d</sup> called upon the name of the Lord out of the lowermost lake, when by the power of his divinitie hee descended into Hell, and having destroyed the barres of Tartarus, (or the dungeon of Hell) bringing from thence such of his as he found there, ascended conquerour up againe. He saith further, that <sup>e</sup> Hell is the place of punishments and tortures, in which the rich man that was cloathed in purple is seene: unto which also the Lord did descend, that he might let forth those that were bound out of prison. Lastly, <sup>f</sup> the Sonne of God (saith he, following Origen, as it seemeth; too unadvisedly here) descended into the lowermost parts of the earth, and ascended above all heavens: that he might not only fulfill the law and the prophets, but certaine other hidden dispensations also, which hee alone doth know with the Father. For wee cannot understand, how the blood of Christ did profite both the Angels and those that were in Hell; and yet that it did profite them, wee cannot be ignorant. Thus farre S. Hierome; touching Christs descent into the lowermost Hell: which Thomas and the other Schoolemen will not admitt that hee ever came unto.

<sup>c</sup> Dominus noster Iesus Christus ad fornacem descendit inferni, in quo clausus, & peccatorum, & iustorum animæ tenebantur: ut absque executione & noxâ sui, eos qui tenebantur inclusi, mortis vinculi liberaret. *Id. lib. 1. in Daniel cap. 3.*

<sup>d</sup> Invocavit ergo redemptor noster nomen Domini de lacu novissimo, cum in virtute divinitatis descendit ad inferos, & destructis claustris Tartari, suos quos ibi repertus erans, victor ad superos ascendit. *Id. lib. 2. in Lament. Ierem. cap. 3.*

<sup>e</sup> Infernus locus suppliciorum atq; cruciatuum est, in quo videtur dives purpuratus: ad quem descendit & Dominus, ut victos de carcere dimitteret. *Id. lib. 6. in Esai. cap. 14.* <sup>f</sup> Descendit ergo in inferiora terræ, & ascendit super omnes cœlos filius Dei: ut non tantum legem prophetasque compleret, sed & alias quasdam occultas dispensationes, quas solus ipse novit cum patre. Neq; enim scire possumus, quomodo & angelis & his qui in inferno erant, sanguis Christi profuerit; & tamen quin profuerit, nescire non possumus. *Id. lib. 2. in Iphes. cap. 4.*

g Restabat tamen ad plenū nostræ redemptionis effectū, ut illuc usque homo sine peccato a Deo susceptus descenderet, quousque homo separatus a Deo, peccati merito cecidisset; id est, ad Infernum, ubi solebat peccatoris anima torqueri, & a Sepulchro, ubi consueverat peccatoris caro corrumpi: sic tamen, ut nec Christi caro in sepulchro corrumpetur, nec inferni doloribus anima torqueretur. Quoniam anima immunis a peccato, non erat subdenda supplicio: & carnem sine peccato non debuit vitare corruptio Ful-

gent ad Trasimund lib. 2. cap. 30.

h Hoc autem idē factum est, ut per morientem temporaliter carnem iusti, donaretur vita æterna carni; & per descendentem ad infernum animam iusti, dolores solverentur inferni Ibid.

i Expers peccati Christus, cum ad tartari ima descendens, seras inferni januasque confringens, vincas peccato animas mortis dominatione destructas, ē diaboli faucibus revocavit ad vitam. Ambros. de mysterio Pasche, cap. 4.

k Deposito quidem corpore imas atque abditas Tartari sedes filius hominis penetravit: sed ubi retentus esse inter mortuos putabatur, ibi vincula mortuorum ligatā morte laxavit. Euseb. homil. 6. de Pascha.

Yet this must they of force grant, if they will stand to the authority of the Fathers. § It remayned, saith Fulgentius, for the full effecting of our redemption, that man assumed by God without sinne, should thither descend, whither man separated from God should have fallen by the desert of sinne; that is, unto Hell, where the soule of the sinner was wont to be tormented, and to the Grave, where the flesh of the sinner was accustomed to bee corrupted: yet so, that neyther the flesh of Christ should be corrupted in the Grave nor his soule be tormented with the paines of Hell. Because the soule free from sinne, was not to be subjected to such punishment: neither ought corruption to tainte the flesh without sinne. h And this hee saith was done for this end: that by the flesh of the just dying temporally, everlasting life might be given to our flesh; and by the soule of the just descending into Hell, the paines of hell might be loosed.

It is the saying of S. Ambrose, that i Christ being voyd of sinne, when hee did descend into the lowermost parts of Tartarus, breaking the barres & gates of Hell, called backe unto life out of the jaws of the Divell the soules that were bound with sinne, having destroyed the dominion of death: and of Eusebius Emisenus or Gallicanus (or who ever was the author of the sixt Paschall homily attributed to him) that k the sonne of man laying aside his body, pierced the lowest & hidden scates of Tartarus: but where he was thought to have beene detained among the dead, there binding death, did hee loose the bonds of the dead.

Present



Presently<sup>l</sup> therefore, saith *Casarius* (in his third Patchall homily; w<sup>ch</sup> is the same with the first of those that goe under the name of the former *Ensebius*) the everlasting night of Hell at Christs descending shined bright: the gnashing of the mourners ceased, the burthens of the chaines were loosed, the bursted bands of the damned fell from them. The tormentors astonished in minde were amazed: the whole impious shoppe trembled together, when they beheld Christ suddainly in their dwellings: So *Arnoldus Bonavallensis* in his booke *de Cardinalibus operibus Christi* (commonly attributed to *S. Cyprian*) noteth, that at that time<sup>m</sup> there was a cessation from infernall torments: whic by <sup>a</sup> *Arator* is thus more amply expressed in verse.

--pavidis resplenduit umbris

*Pallida regna petens, propria quem luce corruscum  
Non potuit fuscare chaos. fugere dolores,  
Infernus tunc esse timet, nullumq; coërcens  
In se pœna redit, nova tortor ad otia languet:  
Tartara mœsta gemunt, quia vincula cuncta quiescunt.  
Mors ibi quid faceret, quò vite portitor ibat?*

*S. Augustine* doth thus deliver his opinion touching this matter. ° That Christs soule came unto those places wherein sinners are punished, that hee might loose them from torments, whom by his hidden justice he judged fit to be loosed; is not without cause beleevd. p Neyther did our Saviour being dead for us, scorne to visite those parts: that hee might loose from thence such as hee could not bee ignorant, according to his divine and secret justice, were not to

loca, in quibus peccatores cruciantur, ut eos solveret à tormentis, quos esse solvendos occultâ nobis suâ justitiâ judicabat, non immeritò creditur. *Augustin. de Genesi ad literam, lib. 12. cap. 33.* p Nec ipsam tamen rerum partem noster salvator mortuus pro nobis visitare contempsit; ut inde solveret quos esse solvendos secundum divinam secretamque justitiam ignorare non potuit. *Ibid. cap. 34.*

1 Confestim igitur æterna nox inferorum Christo descendente resplenduit: siluit stridor lugentium ille, soluta sunt onera catenarum, disrupta ceciderunt vincula damnatorum. Attonitæ mentis obstupescere tortores: omnis simul impia officina contremuit, cum Christum repenté in suis sedibus vidit. *lib. homil. 1. Casarius Arelatens. de Pasch. hom. 3.* m Ab infernalibus tormentis cessatum est. *Arnald. abb. Bonavallis, tract. de Unctione Chrismati, in fine.* n *Arator, historie Apostolica lib. 1.* o Christi animam venisse usque ad ea

1. Ἄν εἰς ἄδ' αὖ κατὴν, συγκαταλθῇ, γινώσκει καὶ τὰ ἐκείνῃ τῷ χειρομυστήρει, τίς ἡ οἰκονομία τῆς διπλῆς κα-  
ταβάσεως τίς ὁ λόγος. αὐτῶς σώζει πάντας θηφανεῖς, ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ πνεύματι Greg. Ναζιανζ. ανατ. 42.  
σμε est 2. in Pascha. τ. Εἰ γὰρ ἐνὶ Κυρίῳ δι' ἃν ἔπαιον εἰς ἄδ' αὖ κατὰ λθῇ, ἢ διὰ τὸ θεωρηλίστατος,  
ἀποστῇ κατὰ λθῇ, etc. Clem. Alexandr. lib. 6. Strom. II. Διὸν παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ γένει γλυκυφάνες, διὰ τὸ  
τὸ φαῖναι (ἐξ αὐτῶν) ἰδιότυπα ὁμοῦς ἐκδοκίμας, εἰ καὶ ἐν ἄδ' αὖ ἔπαιον ὄντες καὶ ἐφορεῖ, ἐπακρύσσει τὸ τῷ  
κυρίῳ φαῖναι, εἴτε τὸ ἀνθρῶπινον, εἴτε καὶ τὸ διὰ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀνθρώπων, ἢ τῶν παχέων, ὅτι σφραγισμένοι καὶ πιστε-  
σται. Ibid. X. καὶ ἐν ἄδ' αὖ κατὰ γένον οἰκονομία; ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ πνεύματι αἰ ψυχῶν, ἀκκοσσοῦν τὸ κερύγ-  
ματ' αὐτῶν, ἢ τῶν ματῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ἢ τὸ κἀκὸν δι' αὐτῶν, δι' αὐτῶν ἐκδοκίμας, ὁμολογῶσιν, Ibid.

bee loosed. ¶ But whether hee loosed all that hee found in those paines, or some whom hee thought worthy of that benefit, I yet enquire. For that he was in hell, and bestowed this benefit upon some that did lye in the paines thereof, I doe not doubt. Thus did S. Augustine write unto Eudias, who inquired of him; whether <sup>r</sup> our Saviour loosed all from thence, and emptied Hell? which was in those dayes a great question: and gave occasion to that speech of Gregory Nazianzen. <sup>t</sup> If hee descend into Hell, goe thou downe with him (namely in contemplation and meditation) learne the mysteries of Christs doings there, what the dispensation and what the reason was of his double descent (to wit, from heaven unto earth, & from earth unto hell:) whether at his appearing he simply saved all, or there also such only as did beleieve. What Clemens Alexandrinus his opinion was herein, every one knoweth. that <sup>r</sup> our Lord descended for no other cause into Hell, but to preach the Gospell; and that <sup>u</sup> such as lived a good life before the time of the Gospell, whether Iewes or Grecians, although they were in hell and in durance, yet hearing the voyce of our Lord (eyther from himselfe immediately or by the working of his Apostles) were presently converted and did beleieve: in a word, that <sup>x</sup> in Hell things were so ordred, that evē there all the soules, having heard this preaching might eyther shew their repentance, or acknowledge their punishment to be just, because they did not beleieve. Hereupon, when Celsus the Philoso-

pher



pher made this objection concerning our Saviour:

¶ Surely you will not say of him, that when hee could not persuade those that were heere, hee went unto Hell to persuade those that were there. Origen, the scholler of Clemens, sticketh not to returne unto him this answer. ¶ Whether he will or no, wee say this, that both being in the bodie hee did persuade, not a few, but so many that for the multitude of those that were persuaded by him he was layd in wayt for: and after his soule was separated from his body, hee had conference with soules separated from their bodies; converting of them unto himselfe such as would, or such as he discerned to be more fit for reasons best knowne unto himselfe.

The like effect of Christs preaching in Hell, is delivered by <sup>a</sup> Anastasius Sinaita, <sup>b</sup> Iobius or Iovius, <sup>c</sup> Damascen, <sup>d</sup> Oecumenius, <sup>e</sup> Michael Glycas, and his transcriber <sup>f</sup> Theodorus Metochites. Procopius saith; that <sup>g</sup> hee preached to the spirits that were in Hell, restrained in the prison house, releasing them all from the bonds of necessity. wherein he followeth S. Cyrill of Alexandria, writing upon the same place, <sup>h</sup> that Christ went to preach to the spirits in Hell, and appeared to them that were detayned in the prison house; and freed them all from bonds and necessity, and paine, and punishment. The same S. Cyrill in his Paschall homilies affirmeth more directly, that our Saviour <sup>i</sup> entring into the lowermost denues of Hell, and

γ οὐ δύναν-  
ται πείθει αὐτοὺς,  
ὅτι μὴ πείσας αὐτοὺς  
οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ ἑσχατίᾳ  
τοῦ αἵματος πείσας  
αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ. Cels.

Ζ. Καὶ μὴ ἐν αὐτῇ  
τοῦ σώματος, ὅτι καὶ  
ἐν σωματὶ αὐτοῦ  
ἐκλήβετο ἑαυτὸν,  
καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς αἵματι  
ἐκλήβετο τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
σώματος αὐτοῦ.

καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς αἵματι  
ἐκλήβετο τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
σώματος αὐτοῦ. καὶ  
πᾶσι τοῖς αἵματι  
ἐκλήβετο τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
σώματος αὐτοῦ.

καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς αἵματι  
ἐκλήβετο τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
σώματος αὐτοῦ. καὶ  
πᾶσι τοῖς αἵματι  
ἐκλήβετο τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
σώματος αὐτοῦ.

καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς αἵματι  
ἐκλήβετο τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
σώματος αὐτοῦ. καὶ  
πᾶσι τοῖς αἵματι  
ἐκλήβετο τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
σώματος αὐτοῦ.

καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς αἵματι  
ἐκλήβετο τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
σώματος αὐτοῦ. καὶ  
πᾶσι τοῖς αἵματι  
ἐκλήβετο τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
σώματος αὐτοῦ.

καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς αἵματι  
ἐκλήβετο τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
σώματος αὐτοῦ. καὶ  
πᾶσι τοῖς αἵματι  
ἐκλήβετο τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
σώματος αὐτοῦ.

καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς αἵματι  
ἐκλήβετο τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
σώματος αὐτοῦ. καὶ  
πᾶσι τοῖς αἵματι  
ἐκλήβετο τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
σώματος αὐτοῦ.

de Orthodoxa fide, lib. 3. cap. ult. & in Serm. de Defunct. d. Oecumen. in 1. Petr. 3. e. Mich. Glyc. part. 2. Annalium. f. Theodor. Metochis. in Historia Romana a. a. Meursio nuper edita: qua ex Glyc. tota est desumpta. g. οὐδὲ δύναται πείθει αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀπολύει αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πένης, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐσχατίας. h. Quod spiritibus in inferno prædicatum abierit, & detentis in domo custodiz apparuerit Christus, & omnes vinculis liberaverit, & necessitate, & poenâ, & supplicio. Cyrill. Alexandr. fin. lib. 3. in Esai. cap. 42. i. καὶ εἰσὶν εἰς τὸν αἵματι τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ εἰς τὸν αἵματι τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ εἰς τὸν αἵματι τῶν αἰώνων. Id. Homil. Paschal. 29.

κ τὸν ἀπλῆτον τὸ  
 διατακτικὸν καὶ αὐτὸς  
 μὴ ἔχον. Id. hom.

11.

1 Σισύλῳ τῷ ᾧ  
 πιδύματι τῷ ὁ ἀ-  
 δης. Id. hom. 6.

m Ὁ δὲ γὰρ ἀ-  
 δὴς σκυλεύσας τὸ  
 ἄδης, καὶ τὰς ἀ-

φύλας τῶν ᾧ πα-  
 καίμαρτον πνεύ-

μασι διακρίσας  
 πύλας, ἡρώδης τῷ καὶ  
 μέγιστος ἀφ' οὗ ἐκείνου

τὸ διακρίνον, ἀνέστη  
 τοῦ αἵματος. Id.  
 homil. 7.

n Nam Chri-  
 sto ad inferos  
 descendente,

non sanctorum  
 animæ tantum

liberatae sunt  
 inde; sed om-

nes adeo prius  
 in Diaboli er-

rore, & simu-  
 lachrorum cultu  
 servitutem ser-

vientes, aucti  
 agnitione Dei,  
 salutem sunt

consecuti:

quare & gratias agebant, Deum laudantes. Andronic. Dialog. contra Iudeos, cap. 60.

o Om-  
 nibus, qui jam inde ab initio apud me fuerant, tanquam accipiter celeriter advolans, ab-  
 reptis, desertum me reliquit. Chrysost. in Ascens. Domini, serm. 8. à Ger. Vossio edit. p. m. à δὲ  
 τοιαῦτα λέγειν εἰσὶν ἁμαρτῶν δόγματα καὶ αἰσθητὰ καὶ μὴ ἰσχυρὰ. Chrysost. in Matth. cap. 11. homil. 36.

edit. Græc. vel 37. Latin. q Alij sunt hæretici, qui dicunt Dominum in infernum de-  
 scendisse, & omnibus post mortem etiam ibidem renunciâsse (se nunciâsse, corrigendum est  
 ex Gregorio) ut confitentes ibidem salvarentur. Philast. Brixienf. de Hæresib. cap. 74. r Alia  
 (hæresi) descendente ad inferos Christo credidisse incredulos, & omnes inde existimat libe-  
 ratos. Augustin. de Hæresib. cap. 79. f Omnipotentem Dominum salvatorem nostrum  
 Iesum Christum ad inferos descendente, omnes qui illic confiterentur eum Deum, salvâsse atq; à  
 peccis debitis liberâsse Vid. Gregor. lib. 6. epist. 15. & in Evangel. hom. 22.

preaching to the spirits that were there; & emptied that  
 unsatiable denne of death, <sup>1</sup> spoyled Hell of spirits, and ha-  
 ving thus m spoyled all Hell, left the Divell there solitarie  
 and alone. n For when Christ descended into Hell, sayth  
 Andronicus, not onely the soules of the Saints were deli-  
 vered from thence; but all those that before did serve in  
 the error of the Divell and the worship of idols, being en-  
 riched with the knowledge of God, obtayned salvation: for  
 which also they gave thankes, praysing God. Whercupon  
 the author of one of the sermons upon the Ascension,  
 fathered upon S. Chrysostom, bringeth in the Divell  
 complayning, that the sonne of Mary, <sup>o</sup> having taken  
 away from him all those that were with him from the verie  
 beginning, had left him desolate. whereas the true Chry-  
 sostom doth at large confute this fond opinion: censu-  
 ring the maintayners thereof, as the r bringers in of old  
 wives conceytes and Iewish fables. Yea q Philastrius, &  
 S. r Augustin out of him, doth brand such for hereticks:  
 whose testimonie also is urged by S. Gregory against  
 George and Theodore, two of the clergie of Constanti-  
 nople; who held in his time (as many others did before  
 and after them) that <sup>f</sup> our omnipotent Lord and Saviour  
 Iesus Christ descending into Hell, did save all those who  
 there confessed him to be God, and did deliver them from



the paines that were due unto them. and when Clement our countryman, about 150. years after, did reue that old error in Germanie, that <sup>t</sup> the sonne of God descending into Hell delivered from thence all such as that infernall prison did detayne, beleevers and unbeleevers, prayfers of God and worshippers of idols: then Romane Synod held by Pope Zacharie condemned him and his followers for it.

But to leave Clemens Scotus, and to returne unto Clemens Alexandrinus, at whom Philastrius may seeme to have ayimed specially: it is confessed by our Adversaries, that he fell into this error, partly being <sup>x</sup> deceived with the superficial consideration of the wordes of S. Peter, touching Christs preaching to the spirits in prison, 1. Pet. 3. 19. partly being deluded with the authority of Hermetes, the supposed scholler of S. Paul; by whose <sup>u</sup> dreames he was perswaded to beleeve, that not onely Christ himselfe, but his Apostles also did descend into Hell, to preach there unto the dead & to baptize them. But touching the wordes of S. Peter is the maine doubt: whether they are to bee referred unto Christs preaching by the ministerie of Noë unto the world (of

<sup>t</sup> Qui contra fidem sanctorū contendit, dicens; quod Christus filius Dei descendens ad inferos, omnes quos inferni carcer detinuit inde liberasset, credulos & incredulos, laudatores Dei simul & cultores idolorum. Bonifat. Moguntin. ad Zachariā P. epist. 135.

<sup>u</sup> Dominum Iesum Christū descendentem ad inferos, omnes pios & impios exinde prædicat abstraxisse, ab omni fit sacerdotali officio nudatus, & a-

nathematis vinculo obligatus; pariterq; Dei iudicio condemnatus, vel omnis qui ejus sacrilegis consenserit prædicationibus. Synod. Romana sub Zachariā P. an. 745. habita: Ibid. & Concilior. tom. 3. x Deceptus fuit superficie verborū Petri; quem non animadvertit longē distinctiū loqui, atq; primā facie videatur. Henric Vicius, de D. sens. Christi ad inferos, sect. 43. y Delatus autoritate Hermetis, putat Christū euangeliiū prædicasse damnatis, & eorum aliquos liberasse, qui ex gentilibus sanctē vixerant. Alphons. Mendoz. in Controvers. Theologic. quæst. 1. positiv. sect. 4. secundum Andradum lib. 2. Defens. fidei Tridentina. z Οἱ ἄποστολοι καὶ διδασκαλοὶ, οἱ κηρύττοντες τὸ ἔργον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ κοίμῃσιν, τῇ συνήθει καὶ τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καθύπερθε τοῖς ὁσπρεκακημένοις: καὶ αὐτὴ ἰδοὺσαν αὐτοὺς τῶν σφραγίδων τῶν κηρύγματ' αὐτοῦ. Κατέβησαν δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ πάλιν ἀνέβησαν: ἀλλ' ἔπειτα, ζῶντες κατέβησαν, καὶ πάλιν ζῶντες ἀνέβησαν: οὗτοι οἱ ὁσπρεκακημένοι, οὗτοι κατέβησαν, ζῶντες δὲ ἀνέβησαν διὰ τῶν δὲ ἰσοσπρεκακῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. διὰ τῶν καὶ συνανέβησαν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸ οἰκοδόμησιν τὸ πύργον. καὶ ἀναστάντες πάλιν ἐκείνην ὅτι ἐν ἡκαὶ σὺν ἡκαὶ ἀνέβησαν καὶ ἐν ἡκαὶ ἀνέβησαν, μένω δὲ τὸ σφραγισθὲν τῶν ἐκ ἡκαὶ. Hermetes in Pastore, lib. 3. simili. ad. 9. Cyprianus a Clemente Alexandrino, lib. 2. Stromat.

a 1. Pet. 1. 11.

b 2. Pet. 2. 5.

c Ephes. 2. 17.

d Nehem. 9. 30.

Zachar. 7. 12.

2. Sam. 23. 2.

e Genes. 6. 3.

f Vir pruden-  
tissimus. Hiero-  
nym lib. 15. in  
Esai. cap. 54.  
g Prædicavit  
spiritibus in  
carcere consti-  
tutis, quando  
Dei patientia  
expectabat in  
diebus Noë,  
diluvium impijs  
inferens. Ibid.

the ungodly ; or unto his owne immediate preaching to the spirits in Hell after his death upon the Crosse. For seeing it was *the spirit of Christ* which spake in the Prophets, (as S.<sup>a</sup> Peter sheweth in this same Epistle) and among them was Noë<sup>b</sup> a preacher of righteousness (as hee declareth in the next :) even as in S. Paul, Christ is sayd to have<sup>c</sup> come and preached to the Ephesians, namely by his spirit in the mouth of his Apostles; so likewise in S. Peter may he be sayd to have gone and preached to the old world, <sup>d</sup> by his spirit in the mouth of his Prophets (and of Noë in particular) when God having said that his Spirit<sup>e</sup> should not alwayes strive with man, because he was flesh, did in his long suffering wait the expiration of the time which he then did set for his amendment, even an hundred and twentie yeares. For which exposition the Aethiopian Translation maketh something: where the Spirit, by which Christ is sayd to have beene quickned and to have preached, is by the Interpreter termed *Marphes Kades*, that is, *the Holy Spirit*. the addition of which epithet wee may observe also to be used by S. Paul in the mention of the resurrection, and by S. Luke in the matter of the preaching of our Saviour Christ. for of the one we read, Rom. 1. 4. that he was declared to be the Sonne of God, with power, according to the Spirit of Holinesse, (or, the most holy Spirit) by the Resurrection from the dead. and of the other, Act. 1. 2. that hee gave commandements to the Apostles by the holy Spirit.

Thus doth S. Hierome relate, that <sup>f</sup> a most prudent man (for so he termeth him) did understand this place: <sup>g</sup> He preached to the spirits put in prison ; when the patience of God did wayte in the dayes of Noë, bringing in the flood upon the wicked. as if this preaching were then performed,



med,<sup>a</sup> when the patience of God did expect the conversion of those wicked men in the dayes of Noë. S. Augustine more directly, wisheth us to<sup>b</sup> consider, least happily all that which the Apostle Peter speaketh of the spirits shut up in prison, which beleev'd not in the dayes of Noë, pertaine nothing at all unto Hell, but rather to those times which hee compareth as a patterne with our times. For Christ (sayth he)<sup>i</sup> before ever hee came in the flesh to die for us, which once he did, came often before in the spirit to such as hee pleased, admonishing them by visions in the spirit as hee pleased: by which spirit hee was also quickened, when in his passion hee was mortified in the flesh. Venerable Bede, and Walafrius Strabus in the Ordinarie Glosse after him, set downe their mindes herein yet more resolutely.<sup>k</sup> He who in our times comming in the flesh, preached the way of life unto the world, even he himselfe also before the flood, comming in the spirit preached unto them, which then were unbelievers and lived carnally. For by his holy spirit hee was in Noë, and the rest of the holy men which were at that time; and by their good conversation, preached to the wicked men of that age, that they might bee converted to a better course of life. The same exposition is followed by Anselmus Laudunensis in the Interlineary Glosse, <sup>l</sup> Thomas Aquinas in his Summe, and diverse others in their Commentaries upon this place. Yea since the Councell of Trent, and in a booke written in defence of the faith of Trent, Doctor Andradius professeth that hee thinketh this to

<sup>h</sup> Considera tamen ne forte totum illud, quod de conclusis in carcere spiritibus, qui in diebus Noë nō crediderāt, Petrus Apostolus dicit, omnino ad inferos non pertineat; sed ad illa potentius tempora, quorum formam adhuc tempora translit. *August. ep. 99*  
<sup>i</sup> Quoniam priusquam veniret in carne pro nobis moriturus, quod semel fecit, sepe antea veniebat in spiritu ad quos volebat, visis eos admonens sicut volebat utique in spiritu, quo spiritu & vivificatus est, cum in passione esset carne mortificatus. *Ibid.*

<sup>k</sup> Qui nostris temporibus in carne veniens iter vitæ mundo prædicavit, ipse etiam ante diluvium eis qui tunc increduli erant & carnaliter vivebant, spiritu veniens prædicavit. Ipse enim per spiritum sanctum erat in Noë, cæterisque qui tunc fuere sanctis; & per eorum bonam conversationem, pravis illius ævi hominibus, ut ad meliora converterentur prædicavit. *Bede in 1. Pet. 3. & Gloss. ordinar. ibid.* <sup>l</sup> *Thom. 3. part. Sum. quæst. 32. art. 3. ad 3.*





that a certaine Scholler using many opprobrious speeches against Plato the philosopher; Plato appeared unto him in his sleepe, and said. Man, forbear to use opprobrious speeches against mee: for thereby thou hurtest thy selfe. That I was a sinfull man I doe not denie: but when Christ descended into Hell, in verie deede none did beleve in him before my selfe. Nicetas Serronius reciteth this out of the histories of the Fathers: q which whether it bee to bee beleaved or no, I leave (saith he) to be judged by the hearers. as if any great matter of judgement should be requisite, for the discerning of this to be (as Bellarmine doth censure it) <sup>r</sup> a fable, or (as Dionysius Carthusianus before him) <sup>s</sup> an apocryphall dreame. The like stufie is that also which was vented heere tofore unto the world in the apocryphall gospel of Nicodemus. to say nothing of that sentence which is read in the old Latin edition of the booke of Ecclesiasticus; <sup>t</sup> I will pearce all the lowermost parts of the earth, and behoid all that are asleepe, and enlighten all them that hope in the Lord. which although it be not now to be found in the Greeke originall, and hath perhaps another meaning then that to which it is applied; yet is it made by the author of the imperfect worke upon Matthew one of the chiefe inducements, which ledd him to thinke that our Saviour descended into Hell, to visite there the soules of the righteous.

The tradition that of all others deserveth greatest consideration, is the article of the Creed touching Christs descent into Hell: which <sup>u</sup> Genebrard affirmeth to have beene so hatefull to the Arrians, that, as Ambrose reporteth upon the fifth Chapter of the epistle to

Domino. *velut ab autore Operis imperfecti in Matth. (inter opera Chrysostomi) homilia 4 citatur. Descendā ad inferiores partes terræ, & visitabo omnes dormientes, & illuminabo sperantes in Deum. Ecclesiastic. 24. 45.* <sup>u</sup> Gilbert. Genebrard. lib. 3. de Trinitate.

q Hoc de Platone commemoratur: quod credendum sit necne, auditoribus iudicandum relinquo. Nicet commentat. in Gregor. Nazianz orat. 2. de Pascha.

r Quare inter fabulas numeranda est illa narratio, quam in historijs Patrum circumferri dicit Nicetas, etc. Hæc quidem fabula est. Bellarm. lib. 4 de Christo, cap 16.

s Istud inter Apocryphorum computandum est somnium. Dionys. Carthusian. in 1. Pet. 3.

t Penetrabo omnes inferiores partes terræ, & inspicia omnes dormientes, & illuminabo omnes sperantes in

x Sozomen. lib.

4. hist. cap. 18.

γ καὶ εἰς τὰ κα-  
ταχθόνια κατη-  
βήντα, ὅν αὐτοὶ οὐ  
ᾄδουσιν ἰδύμενοι.

Theodoret. lib. 2,  
hist. cap. 21.

z καὶ εἰς τὰ κα-  
ταχθόνια διὰ τὸ  
θεῖον, ὅν πῃ x  
αὐτοὶ οὐ ᾄδουσιν ἰ-  
δύμενοι.

Athanas. in epist. de Syno-  
dis Arimini &  
Seleucia. Soerat.  
lib. 2. hist. cap. 41.  
edit. Grac. vol  
32. Latin.

a καὶ εἰς τὰ κα-  
ταχθόνια κατη-  
βήντα, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνους  
οἰκονομήσαντα, ὅν  
φυλακῇ καὶ ἰδύ-  
μενοι ἰσχυροῦνται.

Athanas. ibid. So-  
erat. lib. 2. cap.  
37. edit. Grac.  
vel 29. Latin.

The speech is ta-  
ken from Job 38  
17. in the Sep-  
tuagint.

the *Romanes*, they struck it quite out of the verie Creed. But neither is there the least footstep of any such matter to be seene in S. *Ambrose* : and it sufficiently appeareth otherwise, that the *Arrians* did not onely adde this article unto their Creedes, but also set it forth and amplified it with many wordes ; so farre off were they, from being guiltie of suppressing it. For as the Fathers of the first generall Councell, held in the yeare of our Lord C C C X X V. at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, did publish a Creed against the *Arrians* : so the *Arrians* on the other side, in the yeare C C C L I X. set out a Creed of their owne making, in a Synod purposely kept by them at *Nice* in *Thracia*, x that by the ambiguitie of the Councells name, the simpler sort might be more easily induced, to mistake this *Nicene* for that other Catholick *Nicene* Creed. And whereas the true *Nicene* fathers had in their Creed omitted the article of the descent into Hell ( which, as we shall afterwards heare out of *Ruffinus*, was not to be had in the Symbols of the *Easterne* Churches : ) these bastard fatherlings in their *Nicene* Creed, did not onely insert this clause, y *Hee descended to the places under the earth* ; but added also for further amplification, *Whom Hell it selfe trembled at*. The like did they ( with the words a little altered ) in another z Creed set out in a Conventicle gathered at *Constantinople* : and in a third Creed likewise ( framed by them at *Sirmium* and confirmed the same yeare in their great Councell at *Ariminum* ) they put it in with a more large augmentation, after this maner. a *He descended to the places under the earth, and disposed things there ; wwhom the keepers of Hell gates seeing, shooke for feare*. If therefore any fault were committed in the omission of this article ; it should touch the Orthodoxe Fathers of *Nice* and



b Constat ex  
hoc, nihil esse  
de Symbolo  
Apostolorum  
subtrahendum.  
Subtractum ta-  
men est illud :  
Descendit ad  
inferos. Verum  
qui detraxerūt,  
id non nega-  
bant neq; cum  
veritate pugna-  
bant. *Ioann. Fo-  
rolisviensis episc.  
in Session. 10.*

*Concil. Ferrar.*  
*c Epiphani. in*  
*A', κατωτ. pag.*  
*318. A' m p n*  
*πιστις παρὰ τοῦ*  
*δοτὸ ὁῦ ἀγίου*  
*δοσσε λων.*  
*d In Misia La-*  
*zinâ antiquâ, o-*  
*dit. Argentin.*  
*an. 1557. pag.*  
*41. post iezicizis*  
*Symbolum Cen-*  
*stansinopolis.*  
*subjicitur. Finito*  
*Symbolo Apo-*  
*stolorum dicat*  
*Sacerdos. Do-*  
*minus vobiscū.*  
*c Beatus Cy-*  
*prianus, vel po-*  
*tius Rufinus,*  
*in expositione*  
*symboli negat*  
*hunc articulū*  
*legi in Ecclesiæ*  
*Romanæ Sym-*

inserted

f *Omnipoten-*  
*sem.*] His addi-  
 tur: Invisibile  
 & impassibile.  
 Sciendū quod  
 duo isti sermo-  
 nes in Ecclesiæ  
 Romanæ sym-  
 bolo non ha-  
 bētur. Constat  
 autem apud  
 nos additos  
 hæreseos causā  
 Sabelij. *Ruffin.*  
*in expos. Symb.*  
 g. Nos tamen  
 illum ordinem  
 sequimur, quē  
 in Aquileiensi  
 Ecclesiā per la-  
 vacri gratiam  
 suscepimus *Id.*  
*ibid.*

h. Augustinus  
 in libro de Fide  
 & Symbolo, &  
 quatuor libris  
 de Symbolo ad  
 Catechume-  
 nos, non memi-  
 nit huius par-  
 tis, cum totum  
 Symbolum  
 quinque ex-  
 ponat. *Bellarm.*  
*de Christo, lib. 4.*  
*cap. 6.*

i. *Petr. Chryso-*  
*log. serm. 57. 58.*  
*59. 60. 61. 62.*

k. *Maxim. Ho-*  
*mil. de traditione Symboli.*  
*131. 181. 195.*

inserted this article into her Creed, is that of *Aquileia*: which added also the attributes of *invisible and im-* *passible*, unto *God the Father almightie* in the beginning of the Creed; as appeareth by *Ruffinus*, who framed his exposition of the Creed according to the order used in that Church. But whether any other Church in the world for 500. yeares after *Christ*, did follow the *Aquileians* in putting the one of these additions to the Apostolicall Creed, more then the other; can hardly, I suppose, bee shewed by any approved testimonie of antiquitie. *Cardinall Bellarmine* noteth, that S. *h. Augustine* in his booke de *Fide & Symbolo*, and in his foure bookes de *Symbolo ad Catechumeros*, maketh no mention of this part, when hee doth expound the whole Creed severall times. Nay *Petrus Chrysologus*, who was archbishop of *Ravenna* 450. yeares after *Christ*, doth i six severall times goe over the exposition of the Creed: and yet never medleth with this article. The like also may be observed in *k. Maximus Taurinensis* his exposition of the Creed. For as for the two *l. Latin* expositions thereof that go under the name of *S. Chrysostom* (the latter whereof hath it, the former hath it not, and the others that are found in the tenth Tome of *S. Augustins* works among the *Sermons de Tempore* (m foure of which doe repeat it, & n two doe omit it:) because the authors of them, together with the time wherein they were written, be altogether unknowne; they can bring us little light in this inquiry.

Neyther is there heereby any whit more derogated from the credit of this article, then there is from others, whose authority is acknowledged to bee undoubted

l. *Tom. 5. Oper. Chrysost. Latin.*

m. *Serm. de Tempore, 115.*

n. *Serm. 119. & 123.*

and



and beyond all exception: as namely that of our Saviours death, and the Communion of Saints. the one whereof as sufficiently implied in the article of the Crucifixion as a consequent, or the buriall as a necessarie antecedent thereof, the other as virtually containd in the article of the Church; wee finde omitted not in the Constantinopolitan Symbol alone, and in the ancient Apostolicall Creeds expounded by *Raffinus*, *Maximus*, and *Chrysologus*, but also in those that are extant in *Venantius Fortunatus* 580. and in *Petherius* and *Beatus*, 785. yeares after *Christ*. In all which likewise may be noted, that the title of *Maker of heaven and earth* is not given to the Father in the beginning of the Creed: which out of the Creed of *Constantinople* wee see is now every where added thereunto. Of which additions as there is now no question any where made: so by the consent of both sides, this of the descent into Hell also, is now numbred among the articles of the Apostles Creed. For the Scripture having expressely testified, that the prophetic of the Psalmist, *Thou shalt not leave my soule in Hell*, was verified in *Christ*; *Augustins* conclusion must necessarily be inferred thereupon. *Who therefore but an Infidell will denie that Christ was in Hell?* Thus all agree, that *Christ* did some manner of way descend into Hell: saith *Cardinall Bellarmine*. But the whole question is touching the exposition of this article. The common exposition which the *Romish* Divines give thereof, is this: that by *Hell* is here understood, not that place wherein the wicked are

o *Fortunat. lib. 11. num. 1. in Exposit. Symbol. P Ethev et Beat. lib. 1. contra Elia pandis Tolitan. pag. 51. edit. In-*

q *Descensum ad inferos nunc, consentientibus sectarijs, inter germanos Symboli Apostolici articulos numeramus.*

io *Busem, de descens. thes. 32. r Act. 2. 27 31. f Psalm. 16. 10.*

t *Quis ergo nisi infidelis negaverit fuisse apud Inferos Christum? Au-*

u *Ac primum omnes conveniunt, quod Christus aliquo modo ad inferos descendit. etc. At questio tota est de explicati-*

one huius articuli *Bellarmin. de Christo. lib. 4. cap. 6.*

x *In 3. Sent. disp.*

22. *D. Thom. Bonavent. Richard. Gab. Palud. & Marfil. quest. 13. & reliqui in hoc conveniunt, quod ad locum damnatorum non descendit. Fr. Suarez tom. 2. in 3. part. Thom. disp. 43. sect. 4. Non descendit ad inferos reprobatorum ac in perpetuum damnatorum, quoniam ex eo nulla est redemptio: igitur ad eum locum descendit, qui vel Sinus Abraham, vel communiter Limbus Patrum appellatur. Fr. Fecardent Dialog. 6. contr. Calvinian. pag. 509 edit. Colon.*

y Quia propter  
 si in illum A-  
 braham sinum  
 Christum mor-  
 tuum venisse  
 sancta scriptu-  
 ra dixisset, non  
 rominato in-  
 ferno ejusque  
 doloribus: mi-  
 nor si quisquā  
 ad inferos cum  
 descendisse af-  
 ferere auderet.  
 Sed quia evi-  
 dentia testimo-  
 nia & inferni  
 commemorant  
 & dolores;  
 nulla causa  
 occurrit, cur  
 illò credatur  
 venisse salva-  
 tor, nisi ut ab  
 ejus doloribus  
 salvos faceret.  
 August. ep. 99.  
 a Vnde illis ju-  
 stis qui in sinu  
 Abraham erant,  
 cum ille in in-  
 ferna descen-  
 deret, nondum  
 quid contulif-  
 set inveni; a

quibus cum secundum beatificam presentiam suæ divinitatis nunquam video recessisse. Id.  
 ibid. b Ἀγαθὴ δὲ γὰρ τὰ ἐν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, τὸ εὖ μὴ μαρτυροῦναι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁρμητὴρ, κα-  
 τὰ τὸν ἥθειαν καὶ τοῖς ἀρεταῖς. Plutarch. in lib. de Jfide & Ofride. c Ὅτι αἱ τὰ ἐν ὁρμητῇ εἰδῇ  
 οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀρετὰ κατὰ. Plato, in Cratilo.

tormented, but the bosome of *Abraham*, wherein the  
 godly Fathers of the old Testament rested; for whose  
 deliverie from thence: they say our Saviour tooke his  
 journey thither. But *S. Augustin* in that same place,  
 wherein he counteth it a point of infidelitie to denie  
 the going of *Christ* into Hell, gainsayeth this exposi-  
 tion thereof: professing that he could finde the name  
 of Hell no where given unto that place wherein the  
 soules of the righteous did rest. y Wherefore (saith he)  
*if the holy Scripture had said, that Christ being dead did*  
*come unto the bosome of Abraham, not having named Hell*  
*and the paines thereof: I marvelle whether any would*  
*have beene so bold, as to have avouched that Christ de-*  
*scended into Hell. But because evident testimonies doe*  
*make mention both of Hell and paines: I see no cause, why*  
*our Saviour should be beleevd to have come thither, but*  
*that he should deliver men from the paines thereof. And*  
*therefore, what benefite he brought unto those just men*  
*that were in the bosome of Abraham, when he did descend*  
*into Hell, I have not yet found. Thus farre S. Augustin.*

For the better understanding of this, wee are to call  
 unto minde that saying of the <sup>b</sup>Philosophers: that  
 they who do not learne rightly to understand words, use to  
 be deceived in the things themselves. It wil not be amisse  
 therefore, to consider somewhat of the name of *Hell*:  
 that the <sup>c</sup>nature of the word being rightly understood,  
 wee may the better conceive the truth of the thing that  
 is signified thereby. Wee are to know then first of our  
 English word *Hell*, that the originall thereof is by di-  
 verse men delivered diversly. Some derive it from the

Hebrew



Hebrew word *Sheol*: cyther subtracting the first letter, or including it in the aspiration. For <sup>d</sup> this letter S (saith *Priscian*) hath such an affinitie with the aspiration; that the *Bæotians* in some words were wont to write H for S, saying *Muha* for *Musa*. Others bring it from the Greeke word *ἔλος*, which signifieth *a lake*: others from the English *hole*, as signifying *a pit-hole*; others from *hale*, as noting the place that haleth or draweth men unto it. Some say, that in the old Saxon or German, *Hel* signifieth *deepe*; whether it bee *high* or *low*. But the derivation given by <sup>e</sup> *Verstegan* is the most probable; from being *helled* over, that is to say, hidden or covered. For in the old German tongue (from whence our English was extracted) <sup>f</sup> *Hil* signifieth *to hide*: and *Hiluh* in *Otfridus Wissenburgensis*, is *hidden*. And in this countrey, with them that retayne the ancient language which their forefathers brought with them out of England, *to hell the head*, is as much as *to cover the head*: and hee that *covereth* the house with tile or slate, is from thence commonly called *a hellier*. So that in the originall propriety of the word, our *Hell* doth exactly answer the Greeke *ᾠδης*, which denoteth τὸν αἰὼν τὸ ὄρωρ, the place which is unseene or removed from the sight of man.

Wee are in the second place therefore to observe, that the tearme of *Hell*, beside the vulgar acception, wherein it signifieth that which Luke 16. 28. is called *the place of torment*; is, in the Ecclesiasticall use of the word, extended more largely to expresse the Greeke word *Hades* and the Latin *Inferi*, & whatsoever is containned under them. Concerning which *S. Augustine* giveth this note: <sup>g</sup> *The name of Hell is variously put in Scriptures, and in many meanings, according as the sense of*

*Aded autē cognatio est huic literæ, id est S, cū aspiratione; quod pro cā in quibusdam dictionibus solebant Bæoti pro S, H scribere. Muha pro Musa dicentes. Priscian.*

*lib. 1. c. Ricb. Versteg. Restitution of English antiquities, chap. 7. f. Vid. Goldasti animadvers. in Winsbekij Paræneses, pag. 400.*

<sup>g</sup> *Variè in Scripturis & sub intellectu multiplici, sicut rerum de quibus agitur sensus exigit, nomen ponitur inferorum. Augustin. quæst. super Numer. cap. 29.*

h Qui *ad* illu  
proprie sedem  
damnatorum  
esse existant,  
non minus hal-  
lucinantur,  
quàm illi qui  
cum legunt a-  
gunt apud La-  
tinos scripto-  
res, Inferos, de  
eodem loco in-  
terpretantur.  
Casanb. in Gre-  
gor. Nyssen. epist.  
ad Eufath.  
Ambros. & Ba-  
sil. g. no. 116.

the things which are entreated of doth require, and Ma-  
ster Casaubon (who understood the propertie of Greeke  
and Latin wordes as well as any) this other. <sup>h</sup> They who  
thinke that H A D E S is properly the seate of the damned,  
be no lesse deceived, then they who, when they read INF E-  
R O S in Latin writers, doe interpret it of the same place.  
The lesse cause have wee to wonder, that Hell in the  
Scripture should bee made the place of all the dead in  
common, and not of the wicked onely. as in Psalm.  
89. 47, 48. Remember how short my time is : wherefore  
hast thou made all men in vaine ? What man is hee that  
liveth, and shall not see death ? shall hee deliver his soule  
from the hand of H E L L ? and Esai. 38. 18, 19. H E L L  
cannot prayse thee, death cannot celebrate thee : they  
that goe downe into the pit cannot hope for thy truth. The  
L I V I N G, the L I V I N G, hee shall prayse thee, as I doe  
this day. Where the opposition betwixt Hell and the  
state of life in this world is to be observed, Now as the  
common condition of the dead is considerable three  
maner of wayes, eyther in respect of the body sepa-  
rated from the soule, or of the soule separated from the  
bodie, or of the whole man indefinitely considered in  
this state of separation : so do we finde the word *Hades*  
( which by the Latins is rendred *Infernus* or *Inferi*, and  
by the English, *Hell* ) to be applied by the ancient Greeke  
interpreters of the old Testament to the common state  
and place of the bodie severed from the soule, by the  
heathen Greekes to the common state and place of  
the soule severed from the bodie, and by both of them  
to the common state of the dead, and the place propor-  
tionably correspondent to that state of dissolution.  
And so the Doctors of the Church, speaking in the  
same language which they learned both from the sa-  
cred



cred and the forraine writers, are accordingly found to take the word in these three severall significations.

Touching the first we are to note, that both the *Septuagint* in the Old Testament, and the *Apostles* in the New, doe use the Greeke word *ΑΙΔΗΣ HADES* (and answerably thereunto the Latin Interpreters the word *Infernus* or *Inferi*, and the English the word *Hell*) for that which in the Hebrew text is named *שְׁאוֹל SHEOL*: on the other side, where in the New Testament the word *HADES* is used, there the ancient Syriack translator doth put *ܫܝܬܐ Shejul* in steed thereof. Now the Hebrew *Sheol* (and so the *Chaldy*, *Syriack* and *Aethiopian* words which draw their originall from thence) doth properly denote the interior parts of the earth, that lye hidden from our sight; namely whatsoever tendeth downward from the surface of the earth unto the center thereof. In which respect we see that the Scripture describeth *Sheol* to be a deepe place; and opposeth the depth thereof unto the height of Heaven. (Iob. 11. 8. Psalm. 139. 8. Amos 9. 2.) Againe, because the bodies that live upon the surface of the earth, are corrupted within the bowells thereof; <sup>k</sup> *the dust returning to the earth as it was*: therefore is this word commonly put for the state and the place wherein dead bodies do rest, and are disposed for corruption. And in this respect wee finde that the Scripture doth oppose *Sheol* not only unto Heaven, but also unto this *land of the living* wherein we now breathe. (Esai. 38. 10, 11. Ezech. 32. 27.) the surface of the earth being the place appointed for the habitation of the living; the other parts ordayned to be the chambers of death. Thus they that are in the graves (Iob. 3. 28.) are said to sleepe in the dust of the earth (Dan. 12. 2.) The Psalmist, in

i A. 2. 27.

1. Cor. 15. 55.

k Ecclesiast. 12.

7. Iob. 34. 15.

his prophesie of our Saviours humiliation, tearmeth it *the dust of death*: (Psal. 22. 15.) which the *Chaldee* Paraphrast expoundeth בית קבורה *the house of the grave*; interpreting *Sheol* after the selfe same maner, in Psal. 31. 18. & 89. 49. R. *Mardochai Nathan* in his Hebrew Concordance, giveth no other interpretation of the word שְׁאוֹל *Sheol*, but only קבר, or, *the grave*. R. *Abraham Aben-Ezra* in his commentary upon those words, Genes. 37. 35. *I will goe downe into Sheol unto my sonne mourning*; writeth thus. <sup>1</sup> *Here the Translator of the erring persons* (he meaneth the Vulgar Latin translation used by the Christians) erreth, in translating *Sheol* Hell or *Gehenna*: for behold, the signification of the word is קבר or *the grave*. for prooffe whereof he alledgeth divers place of Scripture. Where by the way you may note, that in the last edition of the Masoriticall and Rabbinicall Bible, printed by *Bombergius*, both this and diverse other passages elswhere have beene cut out by the Romish Correctors: which I wish our *Buxtorfius* had understood, when he followed that mangled and corrupted copie in his late renewed edition of that great worke. R. *Salomo Iarchi*, writing upon the same words, Gen. 37. 35. saith, that <sup>m</sup> according to the literall sense, the interpretation thereof is the Grave: (In my mourning I will be buried, and I will not be comforted all my dayes:) but after the Midrash or Allegoricall interpretation, it is *Gehenna*. In like maner, R. *David Kimchi* expounding that place, Psal. 9. 17. *The wicked shall turne into Hell, and all the nations that forget God*; acknowledgeth, that by the *Derash* or <sup>n</sup> Allegoricall exposition, into *Hell* is as much to say, as into *Gehenna*: but according to the literall meaning he expoundeth it, לקבר into *the grave*; intimating withall, that the Prophet <sup>o</sup> useth here the terme of turning

וְכָאן תַּעֲזֶה מִתְרַגְּמִים  
לְשׁוֹנֵי שְׂדֵדִים  
שְׂאוֹל נִיחָא  
Aben Ezra, in  
Genes. 37.

כְּשֶׁשָׁאוֹל לְשׁוֹן מֵ  
קֶבֶר הוּא בְּאֵרֵי  
אֶקְבֵּר וְלֹא אֶתְנַחֵם  
כִּי יִשִּׁי וּבְמִדְרָשׁוֹ  
נִיחָא Salom.  
Iarchi, in Ge-  
nes. 37.

in Elias in  
Tischbi, verb.  
ידע.

וְאֵכָּר יִשְׁוּי כְּמוֹ  
זֶה לְפָנֵי תַּעֲזֵיב  
Kimchi, in Ps. 9.



Out of which observation of *Kimchi* wee may further note, that the Hebrewes, when they expound *Sheol* to be the *grave*, do not meane so much thereby an artificial grave (to wit, a pit digged in the earth, or a tomb rayed above ground) as a naturall sepulchre: such as the Poët speaketh of in that verse;

and Seneca in his Controversies. ¶ Nature hath given a buriall unto all men: such as suffer shipwrack the same wave doth bury, that cast them away; the bodies of such as are crucified dropp away from the Crosses unto their buriall; to such as are burnt alive, their punishment is a funerall. For this is the difference that is made by authors, betwixt burying and interring: that he is understood to be buried who is put away in any maner, but hee to be interred who is covered with the earth. Hence different kindes of burialls are mentioned by them, according to the different usages of severall nations: the name of a sepulture being given by them, as well to the burning of the bodies of the dead, used of old among the more civill nations; as to the devouring of them by dogges, which was the barbarous custome of the Hyrcanians. Therefore Diogenes was wont to say, that if the dogges did teare him, he should have an Hyrcanian buriall: and those beasts which were kept for this use, the Bactrians did terme in their language Se-

cap. 54.  
Γ Διλόμοι κα.  
τὰ ἴδιη τὰς  
παφίς, ὁ μὲν Ἑλλή-  
νισται, ὁ δὲ Πέρ-  
σαι· ἴσα φησιν, ὁ δὲ  
Ἰνδοὶ ὁ ἄλλος περ-  
σῆται, ὁ δὲ Σινδοί.  
καποδον, παρ-  
χίον· ὁ δὲ λίγυπτι-  
C. Lucianus, de  
lusu.

*pulchra*

y Ion. 2. 2.

z 'Hr' avāc' cō  
 ζῶντι τὰ ζῶντα ἐπὶ-  
 τῇ γῇ, ὡς ὁ φῶς  
 αἰῶν διὰ τὴν θῆ-  
 σιν, ἡ ζωὴ αἰῶν  
 φῶς γὰρ ὁ φῶς  
 ζωὴ αἰῶν, ὡς  
 αἰῶν παρὰ τὸν  
 αἰῶν τῶν αἰῶν  
 γὰρ ἐξ αἰῶν  
 παρὰ τὸν αἰῶν  
 Basil. Se-  
 leuc orat 12. que  
 in Ionam est 1.

a Jerem. 22. 19.

b Lucan. lib. 7.

c Magna pa-  
rensterra est.

Ovid. 1. Metam.

d Lucret. de rer.  
natur. lib. 1.

e Job. 1. 21.

f Job. 17. 13, 14.

pulchrall dogges; as Strabo relateh out of Onesicritus. So in the Scripture, the Prophet *Ionas* calleth the belly of the Whale, wherein he was devoured, y the belly of *Sheol*, that is, of Hell or the Grave. For *Ionas* (saith Basil of Seleucia) was carried in a living grave, and dwelt in a swimming prison; dwelling in the region of death, the common lodge of the dead and not of the living, while he dwelt in that belly which was the mother of death. and in the prophecie of *Jeremy*, King *Iehojakim* is said to bee a buried, (although with the buriall of an asse,) when his Carcasse was drawen and cast forth beyond the gates of *Ierusalem*.

— b capit omnia tellus

*Quæ genuit; cælo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.*

The earth which begetteth all, receiveth all: and hee that wanteth a coffin, hath the welkin for his winding sheet. c The earth is our great mother;

d *Omniparens, eadem rerum commune sepulcrum.*

the common mother, out of whose wombe as naked we came, so e naked shall we retorne thither. according to that, in Psalm. 146. 4. His spirit goeth forth, he returneth to His earth. and Psalm. 104. 29. Thou takest away their breath, they die; and retorne to THEIR dust. And this is the *Sheol*, which *Iob* wayted for, when he said: f *Sheol* or the grave, (for that is the Hell which is meant here: as is confessed not by *Lyranus* only, but by the Iesuite *Pineda* also) is mine house; I have made my bedde in the darkenesse. I have said to corruption, Thou art my father: to the vverme, Thou art my mother, and my sister.

This is that common sepulchre, *non factum sed natum*, not made by the hand of man, but provided by nature it selfe: betwixt which naturall and artificiaall grave



grave these differences may be observed. The artificial may be appropriated to this man or that man. *The Patriarch David is both dead and buried, and his sepulcher is with us unto this day*: saith S. Peter, A&T. 2. 29. and, *Yee build the tombes of the Prophets, and garnish the sepulchers of the righteous*: saith our Saviour Matth. 23. 29. But in the naturall there is no such distinction. It cannot be said, that this is such or such a mans *Sheol*: it is considered as the common receptacle of all the dead, as wee read in *Iob*: *g I knowe that thou wilt bring mee to death, and to the house appointed for all living.* *h For to everie man* (as *Olympiodorus* writeth upon that place) *the earth it selfe is appointed as a house for his grave.* *i There the prisoners rest together* (saith *Iob*) *they heare not the voyce of the oppressor. The small and great are there; and the servant, free from his master.* Againe, into a made grave a man may enter in alive and come out alive againe (as *k Peter* and *John* did into the sepulcher of *Christ*: ) but *Sheol* eyther findeth men dead when they come into it (which is the ordinarie course) or if they come into it alive (which is *l* a new and unwonted thing) it bringeth death upon them; as wee see it fell out in *Korah* and his complices, who are said to have gone downe alive into *Sheol*, when the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up. (Numb. 16. 30. 33.) Lastly, as many living men doe goe into the grave made with hands, and yet in so doing they cannot bee said to goe into *Sheol* (because they come from thence alive againe:) so some dead men also want the honour of such a grave (as it was the case of Gods servants *m* whole bodies were kept from burial) and yet thereby *n* are not kept from *Sheol*; which is the way that all flesh must goe to. For all goe unto one place; all are of the dust,

g *Iob. 30. 23.*h *Cuilibet enim homini domus pro sepulchro ipsa terra est constituta. Olympiodorus. Cassin. Græc. in 1. b. 30.*i *Iob. 3. 18. 19.*k *Joh. 20. 6, 7.*l *Num. 16. 30.*m *Psal. 79. 2, 3.*n *Revel. 11. 8, 9.*

⁊ Sepulchra  
autem mortu-  
orum in hoc  
loco, similiter  
& in multis  
alijs secundum  
certiorē Scrip-  
turæ sensum  
accipiēda sunt,  
non solum ea  
quæ ad depōsi-  
tionem huma-  
norum corporū  
videntur esse  
constructa, vel  
in saxi excisa,  
aut in terrā de-  
fossa; sed om-  
nis locus in  
quocunq; vel  
integrum hu-  
manū corpus,  
vel ex parte ali-  
quā jacet: etiā  
si accadat ut u-  
num corpus  
per loca multa  
dispersum sit,

absurdum non erit omnia ea loca in quibus pars aliqua corporis jacet, sepulchra corporis  
ejus dici. Si enim non ita accipiamus resurgere de sepulchris suis mortuos divinā virtute:  
qui nequaquam sunt sepulturæ mandati, neque in sepulchris depositi, sed sive naufragijs,  
sive in desertis aliquibus defuncti sunt locis, ita ut sepulturæ mandari non potuerint, non  
videbuntur annumerari inter eos, qui de sepulchris resuscitandi dicuntur. Quod utiq; valde  
absurdū est. Origen, in Esai. lib. 28. citatus à Pamphilo, vel Eusebio potius, in Apologia pro Origene.

and all turne to dust againe. ( Ecclesiast. 3. 20. ) We con-  
clude therefore, that when *Sheol* is said to signifie the  
grave; the tearme of grave must bee taken in as large  
a sense, as it is in that speech of our Saviour, Iohn. 5.  
28. *All that are in the graves shall heare his voyce, and  
shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resur-  
rection of life, and they that have done evill, unto the re-  
surrection of damnation.* and in Esai. 26. 19. according  
to the Greeke reading: *The dead shall rise, and they that  
are in the graves shall bee raised up.* upon which place  
Origen writeth thus. *In this place and in many others  
likewise, the graves of the dead are to be understood accor-  
ding to the more certaine meaning of the Scripture, not  
such onely as wee see are builded for the receiving of mens  
bodies, eyther cut out in stones or digged downe in the  
earth: but every place wherein a mans bodie lyeth, eyther  
entire or in any part, albeit it fell out that one body should  
be dispersed through many places; it being no absurditie at  
all, that all those places in which any part of the body lyeth,  
should bee called the sepulchres of that bodie. For if wee do  
not thus understand the dead to bee rayssed by the power of  
God out of their graves: they which are not committed to  
buriall, nor layd in graves, but have ended their life either  
in shipwrackes or in some desert places, so as they could not  
be committed to buriall, should not seeme to bee reckoned  
among them who are said should bee rayssed up out of their  
graves. which would bee a very great absurditie. Thus  
Origen.*

Now



Now you shall heare, if you please, what our Romish Doctors doe deliver touching this point. ° There be two opinions, saith Pererius upon Genes. 37. 35. concerning this question. The one of the Hebrewes, and of many of the Christians in this our age, but especially of the Heretickes, affirming that the word *Skeol* signifieth nothing else in the Scripture, but the pit or the grave, and from thence reasoning falsly, that our Lord did not descend into Hell. ¶ The other opinion is of undoubted and certaine truth: that the Hebrew word *Sheol*, and the Latin *Infernus* answering to it, both in this place of Scripture and elsewhere oftentimes doth signifie, not the pit or the grave, but the place of Hell, and the places under the earth wherein the soules are after death. ¶ Wheresoever Hierome (saith Augustinus Steuchus upon the same place) and the Septuagint have translated Hell, it is in the Hebrew, *Sheol*, that is, the pit or the grave. For it doth not signifie that place, wherein Antiquitie hath thought that the soules of the wicked are received. The Hebrew word properly signifieth the grave: saith Iansenius upon Proverb. 15. 12. the Grave properly, and Hell onely metaphorically: saith Arias Montanus, in his answer unto Leo á Castro. and, <sup>r</sup> in the old Testament, the name of Hell doth alwayes almost import the Grave: saith Alphonsus Mendoza. The Iesuite Pineda commendeth one Cyprian a Cistercian monke, as a man famous for learning

o Dux super hac questione sunt sententia. Vna est Hebræorum, & de Christianis multorum in hac ætate nostra, maxime verò Hæreticorum affirmantium vocem *Sceol* non significare aliud in Scripturâ nisi fossam sive sepulchrum, & ex hoc falso argumentantiû. Dominum nostrum non descendisse ad Infernû. Pererius in Genes. 37. sect. 92. p Altera est sententia explorata certaque veritatis, vocem Hebrææ *Sceol*, & Latinam ei respondentem *Infernus*, & in hoc loco Scripturæ,

& alibi sæpenumerò significare non fossam vel sepulchrû, sed locû inferorum, & subterranea loca, in quibus sunt animæ post mortem. *Ibid.* sect. 96. ¶ Hebraicè, ubicunq; Hieronymus ac Septuaginta infernû interpretati sunt, est *Sheol*, hoc est, fossa sive sepulchrû. Neque enim significat eum locum, ubi sceleratorû animas recipi antiquitas opinata est. *Aug. Steuch.* in Gen. cap. 37. ¶ Ferè semper Inferni nomen sepulchrum sonat in veteri Testamento. *Alphons. Mendoz. Controvers. Theologicæ. quæst. I. positiu. sect. 5.* ¶ Illud non præteribo, parùm consideratè (ne graviori inuram notâ) Cyprianû Cisterciensem (virum alioquâ doctrinâ & pietate conspicuum) affirmâsse, *Sheol*, id est, inferos vel infernum in toto veteri Testamento accipi pro sepulchro. *Io. Pineda.* in Job. cap. 7. vers. 9. num. 2.

Et ne vehementius sibi placeant ob sum illud Sheol: nunquam efficiant ut uno saltem Scripturæ loco prolato præclaram illam interpretationem sepulchri confirmant. *Anar. Croquet. Cateches. 19.*

u Ordinariè accipitur pro loco animarum subterraneo; & vel raro vel nunquam, pro sepulchro. *Bel-larmine. lib. 4. de Christo, cap. 10.*

x Vox *asur* significat semper infernum, nunquam sepulchrum. *Ibid. cap. 12.*

y Contra Bezam late ostendimus, nec *asur* nec *asur* pro sepulchro unquam, sed

pro inferno semper in Scripturis accipi. *Stapleton. Antidot. in 1. Corinth. 15. 55 & Act. 2. 27.*

z Caterum pro sepulchro vox infernus, *asur*, *asur*, nunquam accipitur. Sepulchrū Græcè *ταφός*, Hebraicè *קבר* vocatur. Quare & omnes paraphrastæ Hebræorum illam vocem *asur* explicant per vocem *gehennæ*; ut late ostendit Genebrardus lib. 3. de Trinitate. *Ibid. in Act. 2. 27.* a Quomodo in errore versantur qui Sheol nunquam sepulchrū designare contendunt: sic fronte sunt perficti, qui uspiam *gehennæ* regionem negant significare. *Genebrard. de Trinitate. lib. 3.*

and pietie: yet holdeth him worthie to be censured, for affirming that *Sheol* or *Hell* is in all the old Testament taken for the Grave. Another croaking monke (*Croquet* they call him) crieth out on the other side, that we shall never be able to prove by the producing of as much as one place of Scripture, that *Sheol* doth signifie the Grave. Cardinall *Bellarmino* is a little (and but a verie little) more modest heerein. The Hebrew *Sheol*, hee saith, is ordinarily taken for the place of soules under the earth; and eyther rarely or never, for the grave: but the Greeke word *Hades* alwayes signifieth *Hell*, never the grave. But *Stapleton* will stand to it stoutly, y that neyther *Hades* nor *Sheol* is in the Scriptures ever taken for the grave, but alwayes for *Hell*. z The word *Infernus*, *Hades*, *Sheol*, saith hee, is never taken for the grave. The grave is called in Greeke *ταφός*, in Hebrew *קבר*. Wherefore all the Paraphrastes of the Hebrewes also doe expound that word *Sheol* by the word *Gehenna*; as *Genebrard* doth shew at large in his third Booke of the Trinity. Where yet hee might have learned some more moderation from *Genebrard* himselfe, unto whom hee referreth us: who thus layeth downe his judgement of the matter in the place by him alledged. a As they be in an error who contend that *Sheol* doth never designe the grave: so have they a shamelesse forehead, who denie that it doth any where signifie the region of the damned or *Gehenna*.

It is an error therefore in *Stapleton* (by his owne

author



authors confession) to maintayne that *Sheol* is never taken for the *grave*; and in so doing, hee doth but bewray his old wrangling disposition. But least any other should take the *shamelesse forehead* from him, hee faceth it downe, that all the paraphrastes of the Hebrewes, do interpret *Sheol* by the word *Gebenna*. Whereas it is well knowne, that the two Paraphrastes that are of greatest antiquitie and credit with the Hebrewes, *Onkelos* the interpreter of *Moses*, and *Jonathan ben Uzziel* of the *Prophets*, never translate it so. Beside that of *Onkelos*, wee have two other Chaldee Paraphrases which expound the harder places of *Moses*; the one called the *Targum* of *Ierusalem*, the other attributed unto *Jonathan*: in neyther of of these can wee finde, that *Sheol* is expounded by *Gebenna*; but in the latter of them we see it twice expounded by *בית קברות* the house of the grave. In the Arabicke interpretations of *Moses*, where the translator out of the Greek hath *ἡ αἰς αλ-gehinn*, Hell; there the translator out of the Hebrew putteth *التراي* *al-tharai*, which signifieth *earth* or *clay*. *Iacobus Tamosius* in his Persian translation of the *Pentateuch*, for *Sheol* doth alwaies put *Gor*, that is, the *grave*. The Chaldee Paraphrase upon the *Proverbs* keepeth still the word *שׁוֹל* deflected a little from the Hebrew: the Paraphrast upon *Iob* useth that word thrise, but *קברות* and *בית קברות* (which signifie the *grave*) in steed thereof five severall times. In *Ecclesiastes* the word commeth but once: & there the Chaldee Paraphrast rendreth it *בית קברות* the house of the grave. *R. Ioseph Cæsius* doth the like in his paraphrase upon *Psalms* 31. 17. and 89. 43. In *Psalms* 141. 7. he rendreth it by the simple *קברות* the grave: but in the 15. and 16. verses of the 49. *Psalm*, by *גֵּהֶנָּה* or *Gebenna*. And only there, and

b *Genes.* 37. 35.  
& 44. 29.

c *Ibidem* (in  
*Genes.* quam  
cum *Commenta-*  
rio *Arabico MS*  
penes me habeo:  
& *Disseronam*)  
32. 22.

d *Pentateuch*  
*Arabic ab Er-*  
*penio, edit. an.*  
1622.

e *Pentateuch*  
*Quadrilingue*  
à *Iudeis Con-*  
*stantinopoli ex-*  
*cuf.*

\* *Ier apud Ar-*  
*menios & Tur-*  
*cas terram sig-*  
*nificat.*

f *Iob.* 11. 8. &  
24. 19. & 26. 6.

g *Iob.* 21. 13.

h *Iob.* 7. 9. &  
14. 13. & 17.

i *Ecclesiast.* 9. 10.





there is a privation of the sense made, not a destruction of the bodies. I say then that the world is changed, inasmuch as every day a part thereof is made invisible, but never utterly dissolved. wherewith wee may compare likewise that place of Plutarch in his booke of living privately. Generation doth not make any of the things that be, but manifesteth them: neyther is corruption a translation of a thing from being to not being, but rather a bringing of the thing that is dissolved unto that which is unseene. Whereupon men, according to the ancient traditions of their fathers, thinking the sunne to be Apollo, called him Delius and Pythius: (namely from manifesting of things:) and the ruler of the contrary destinie (whether he be a God, or an Angel) they named Hades; by reason that we, when we are dissolved, doe goe unto an unseene and invisible place. By the Latins this Hades is termed Dispiter or Diespiter: which name they gave unto this lower ayre that is joyned to the earth, vvhether all things have their beginning and ending; quorum quod finis ortus, Orcus dictus, saith Varro. All this earthly power and nature, saith Iulius Firmicus, they named Ditem patrem, because this is the nature of the earth, that all things doe both fall into it, and taking their originall from thence doe againe proceed out of it. Whence the Earth is brought in, using this speech unto God, in Hermes. x I doe receive the nature of all things. For I, according as thou hast commanded, doe both beare all things, and receive such as are deprived of life. The use which we make of the testimo-

Dispiter dic-  
tur, infimus aer, qui est conjunctus terræ, ubi omnia oriuntur, ubi aboriuntur: quorum quod finis ortus, Orcus dictus. Varro, de lingua Latin. lib. 4. cap. 10. u Terrenam vim omnem atque naturam, Ditem patrem dicunt: quia hæc est natura terræ, ut & recidant in eam omnia, & rursus ex eâ orta procedant. Iul. Firmic. Matern. de errore profan. relig. ex Ciceron. lib. 2. de natur. Deor. x Καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ ἵνα καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναστὰς, καὶ ὅσα πάλιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς διζῶμαι. Herm. Minerva Mundi, apud Io. Stobæum in Eclogis Physicis, pag. 124.

y Paul. Comitol.  
Caten. Græc. in  
Job. 17. vlt.

z An non cō-  
mune est mor-  
taliū omniū  
mori? an non  
Infernus est  
omniū domi-  
ciliū? an non  
illic omnes suo-  
rum laborum  
exitum inveni-  
unt? Poſychroni-  
us, vel Ogmio-  
dorus, in Catenā,  
ibid.

ny of Hippocrates, & those other authorities of the hea-  
then, is to shew, that the Greek Interpreters of the old  
Testamēt did most aptly assume the word *Hādes*, to ex-  
presse that cōmon state & place of corruption which  
was signified by the Hebrew *Sheol*. & therefore in the last  
verse of the 17. of *Iob*, where the Greeke maketh men-  
tion of descending into *Hādes*; y Comitolus the Iesuite  
noteth that S. Ambrose rendreth it, *in sepulchrum*, into  
the grave. which agreeth well with the paraphrase that  
the Greeke Scholiasts make upon that place. = *Is it not*  
*a thing common unto all mortall men, to die? is not Hell*  
*(or Hādes) the house of all? doe not all finde there an end*  
*of their labours?* Yea some doe thinke, that *Homer* him-  
selfe doth take αἶθρς either for the earth or the grave,  
in those verses of the eighth of his *Iliads*.

Ἡ' μὴ ἐλῶρ, εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα περόεντα,  
τῆλε μάλ' ἢ χι βάρδιον ὑπὸ χροῶς ἐς ἑρέθεον.  
εἶδα σιδηρεῖαι τε πύλαι, καὶ χάλκεος θύρας,  
τόσσον ἐνερθ' αἶθεω, ὅσον ἑρᾶνός ἐς ἀπὸ γαίης.

— Ple cast him downe as deepe

As Tartarus (the brood of night) where Barathrum doth sleepe  
Torment in his profoundest sinks; Where is the floore of brasse,  
And gates of iron: the place for depth as far doth Hell surpasse,  
As heaven for height exceeds the earth.

For Tartarus being cōmonly acknowledged to be a part  
of *Hādes*, and to be the very *Hell* where the wicked spi-  
rits are tormented; they thinke the *Hell*, from whence  
*Homer* maketh it to be as farre distant as the heaven is  
from the earth, can be referred to nothing so fitly as to  
the *Earth* or the *Grave*. It is taken also for a tombe in  
that place of *Pindarus*:

Ἀτρεθε



---α ἄτερθε δὲ πρὸ δα---

μάτῳ ἑτέροι λαχόντες αἰδᾶν

Βασιλείας ἱεροῖ

ἐντί.

a Pindar. Pyth.  
Od. 5.

Other sacred Kings have gotten a tombe apart by themselves before the houses, or before the gates of the Citie. And therefore we see that αἰδᾶς is by Suidas in his Lexicon expressly interpreted ὁ τάφος, and by Hesychius, τύμβος, τάφος, a tombe, or a grave. and in the Greeke Dictionary set out by the Romanists themselves, for the better understanding of the Bible, it is noted, that <sup>b</sup> Hades doth not onely signifie that which we commonly call Hell, but the sepulchre or grave also. Of which, because Stapleton and Bellarmine doe denie that any proofe can be brought: these instances following may be considered.

b Ἄδης, Orcus, Tartarus, sepulchrū. Lexic. Græcolat. in sacro Apparatu Biblior. Regior. edit. Amsterp. an. 1572.

In the booke of *Tobi*, chap. 3. 10. I shall bring my fathers old age with sorrow εἰς ἄδης, unto Hell: what can it import else, but that which is in other wordes expressed, chap. 6. 14. I shall bring my fathers life with sorrow εἰς τὸν τάφον, unto the grave? In the 93. and 113. Psalm. according to the Greeke division, or the 94. and 115. according to the Hebrew; where the Hebrew hath מִן הַמָּוֶת the place of silence (meaning the grave, as our adversaries themselves do grant) there the Greeke hath Hades or Hell. In *Esaï*. 14. 19. where the vulgar Latin translateth out of the Hebrew; *Descenderunt ad fundamenta lacu, quasi cadaver putridum, They descended unto the foundations of the lake or pit, as a rotten carkeis*: in steed of the Hebrew מִן הַמָּוֶת which signifieth the lake or pit, the Greeke both there and in *Esaï*. 38. 18. putteth in Hades or Hell. and on the other side *Ezech*. 32. 21.

R r

where

where the Hebrew saith, *The strong among the mightie shall speake to him out of the middest of Sheol or Hell*; there the Greeke readeth, εἰς ῥάδος λάκκῳ or ἐν ῥάδα ῥάδεσσι, *in the depth of the lake or pit*: by Hell, lake and pit nothing but the grave being understood; as appeareth by comparing this verse with the five that come after it. So in these places following, where in the Hebrew is *Sheol*, in the Greeke *Hades*, in the Latin *Infernus* or *Inferi*, in the English *Hell*: the place of dead bodies, & not of soules is to be understood. Gen. 44. 31. *We shall bring downe the gray haire of our father with sorrow unto Hell.* where no lower Hell can be conceited, into which gray haire may be brought, then the Grave. So 1. King. 2. 6. *David giveth this charge unto Salomon concerning Ioab: Let not his hoare head goe downe to Hell in peace.* and in the ninth verse concerning Shimei: *His hoare head bring thou downe to Hell with bloud.* Psalm. 141. 7. *Our bones are scattered at the mouth of Hell.* Esai. 14. 11. *Thy pompe is brought downe to Hell: the worme is spread under thee, and the wormes cover thee.* Psal. 6. 5. *In death there is no remembrance of thee: in Hell who shall give thee thanks?* of which there can bee no better paraphrase, then that which is given in Psalm. 88. 11, 12. *Shall thy loving kindnesse bee declared in the grave? or thy faithfulness in destruction? Shall thy wonders bee knowne in the darke? and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?*

*Andradius* in his defence of the faith of the Council of Trent, speaking of the difference of reading which is found in the sermon of S. Peter, Act. 2. 24. (where God is sayd to have raysted up our Saviour, *loosing the sorrowes of death*, as the Greeke bookes commonly reade, or *the sorrowes of Hell*, as the Latin) saith  
for



for reconciliation thereof, that <sup>c</sup> there will be no disagreement betwixt the Latin and Greeke copies, if we do marke that Hell in this place is used for Death and the Grave, according to the Hebrews maner of speaking : as in the 15<sup>th</sup> Psalme, which Peter presently after citeth ; Because thou wilt not leave my soule in Hell. and Esai. 38. For Hell cannot confesse unto thee. For when he disputeth (saith hee) of the resurrection of Christ ; he confirmeth by many and most evident testimonies of David, that Christ did suffer death for mankinde in such sort, that he could not be overwhelmed with death nor long lye hidden among the dead. And it seemeth to me, that by the sorrowes of Hell or Death, a death full of sorrow and miseries is signified, according to the Hebrewes maner of speaking : as in Matthew. 24. the abomination of desolation is taken for an abominable desolation. Thus farre Andradius : clearly forsaking herein his fellow-defenders of the Tridentine faith, who by the one text of loosening the sorrowes of death, would faine prove Christs descending to free the soules that were tormented in Purgatory ; and by the other of not leaving his soule in Hell, his descending into Limbus to deliver the soules of the fathers that were at rest in Abrahams bosome.

The former of these texts, Act. 2. 24. is thus expounded by Ribera the Iesuite. <sup>d</sup> God raised him up loosening and making voyde the sorrowes of death, that is to say, that which death by so many sorrowes had effected ; namely that the soule should bee separated from the bodie. His fellow S<sup>a</sup> interpreteth the loosening of the sorrowes of death

tem doloris atque miseriarum plenam, Hebræorum dicendi more, significari : sicut Matthæi c. 24. abominatio desolationis accipitur pro desolatione abominandâ. Andrad. defens. Tridentin. fid. lib. 2. <sup>d</sup> Suscitavit illum Deus, solvens & irritans dolores mortis, hoc est, quod per tot dolores mors effecerat, ut scilicet anima separaretur a corpore. Fr. Ribera, in Hose. cap. 13. num. 23.

<sup>c</sup> Nullum erit inter Latina Græcæque exempla dissidium, si animadvertamus infernū hoc loco pro morte atque sepulchro, Hebræorum dicendi more, usurpari : ut Psal. 15. quem mox Petrus citat ; Quoniam non dereliquisti animā meā in inferno. & Esai. 38. Quia non infernus confitebitur tibi. Nam cum de Christi resurrectione differat, multis atque apertissimis Davidis testimonijs confirmat, ita pro humano genere mortem Christū obijisse, ut morte obrui & delitescere inter mortuos diu non posset. Videtur autem mihi per dolores inferni sive mortis, mor-

e Quasi dicat,  
Ereptū a mor-  
tis molestitijs :  
has enim dolo-  
res vocat. quā-  
quā mortis  
epitheton pos-  
sit esse dolor ;  
quod morti  
conjugi so-  
leat. *Enimian Sa.*  
*Norat. in Acl.*  
24.

f Inedit. Aldinā  
et Vaticanā.  
nam Complu-  
tensis habet

αὐτὴν ἀδύ.

g In Hebræo  
pro inferno po-  
nitur Sheol :  
quod non so-  
lum significat  
infernum, sed  
etiam signifi-  
cat fossam, sive  
sepulturam ; &  
sic accipitur  
hic, eo quod  
sequitur ad  
mortem. *Nec. de*

*Lyra, in Psalm.*

114.

h *משך נפשו*  
*משך נפשו*

*R. Dav Kimchi*  
*in Psal. 16. 10.*

Hoc melius ex  
suā consuetu-  
dine explicans,  
exaggeransq ;  
Nec dabis san-  
ctū tuū videre  
corruptionem.

*Aug. Serenus.*

to be the delivering of him from the troubles of death :  
although sorrow ( saith hee ) may be the epithet of death,  
because it useth to bee joynd with death. The Apostles  
speech hath manifest reference to the wordes of David,  
2. Sam. 22. 5, 6. and Psalm. 18. (al. 17.) 4, 5. where in the  
former verse mention is made of *מַשַּׁחַת הַמָּוֶת* the sorrowes of  
death, in the latter of *מַשַּׁחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם* which by the Septuagint  
is in the place of the Psalmes translated *ἀδύες ἁδύς*, the  
sorrowes of Hell, in 2. Sam. 22. 6. f *ἀδύες θανάτου*, the  
sorrowes of Death; according to the explication follow-  
ing in the end of the selfe same verse. The sorrowes of  
Hell compassed me about; the snares of Death preven-  
ted me. and in Psalm. 116. 3. The sorrowes of Death  
compassed me, & the paines of Hell found me, or, gate  
hold upon me. where *Lyranus* hath this note. g *In the*  
*Hebrew for Hell is put Sheol : which doth not signifie onely*  
*Hell, but signifieth also the pit, or the grave; and so it is*  
*taken heere, by reason it followeth upon Death.* The like  
explicatorie repetition is h noted also by the interpre-  
ters to have beene used by the Prophet, in that other  
text alledged out of Psalm. 16. 10. as in Psalm 30. (al.  
29.) 3. *ἀνῆγαγες ἐξ ἁδύς πρὸς ψυχὴν μου, ἔσωσάς με ἀπὸ*  
*τῶν κατὰ θανάτου ἐν ᾧ λάκκοι.* Thou hast brought up my  
soule from Hell, thou hast kept me safe ( or alive ) from those  
that goe downe to the pit. and Iob. 33. 22. *ἤγαγεν δὲ εἰς*  
*θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ, ἡ δὲ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἁδύ.* His soule drew  
neere unto death, and his life unto Hell. whence that in  
the prayer of *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach* is taken, Eccle-  
siastic 51. *ἤγαγεν ἕως θανάτου ἡ ψυχὴ μου, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ μου*  
*ἦν οὐνεβὺς ἀδύ καὶ κάτω.* My soule drew neere unto death, &  
my life was neere to Hell beneath. And therefore for Hell  
doth *Pagnin* in his translation of the sixteenth Psalme  
put the Grave ( being therein also followed in the In-  
terlucary



terlineary Bible approved by the Censure of the University of *Lovaine* ) & in the notes upon the same, that goe under the name of *Vatablus*, the word *Soule* is (by comparing of this with Levitic. 21. 1. ) expounded to be the *Bodie*. So doth *Arias Montanus* directly interpret this text of the Psalme: *Thou shalt not leave my soule in the grave, that is to say, my body.* and *Isidorus Clarius* in his annotations upon the second of the Acts, saith that, [*My soule in hell,*] in that place is according to the maner of speech used by the Hebrewes, put for [*My bodie in the grave or tombe.*] least any man should thinke that Master *Beza* was the first deviser or principall author of this interpretation.

Yet him alone doth Cardinali *Bellarmino* single out here, to try his manhood upon; but doth so miserably acquite himselfe in the encounter, that it may well bee doubted whether he laboured therein more to crosse *Beza*, then to strive with himselfe in the wilfull suppressing of the light of his owne knowledge. For whereas *Beza* in his notes upon Act. 2. 27. had shewed out of the 1. and 11. verses of the 21. Chapter of *Leviticus*, and other places of Scripture, that the Hebrew word *נפש* which wee translate *Soule*, is put for a dead bodie: the Cardinall, to rid himselfe handsomely of this which pinched him very shrewdly, telleth us in sober sadnesse, *that there is a very great difference betwixt the Hebrew* and the Greeke *ψυχη*. For *נפש* (saith he) is a most generall word, and signifieth without any trope as well the soule as the living creature it selfe, yea and the body it selfe also; as by very many places of Scripture it doth appeare.

in Levitico non ponitur pars pro parte, id est, anima pro corpore; sed vocabulū, quod ipsum corpus significare solet: aut certē ponitur totum pro parte, id est, vivens pro corpore. At Actor. 2. ponitur *ψυχη*, quæ animā solam significat, *Bellarmino de Christi lib. 4. cap. 12.*

Rr 3

And

i Censuram  
Lovaniensium  
iudicio exami-  
nata, & A-  
cademiæ suf-  
fragio compro-  
bata. Biblia in-  
terlineat. edit.  
an. 1572.

k Nō relinques  
animam meam  
in sepulchro.  
Psal. 16. 10. id  
est, Corpus me-  
um. Ar. Mont.  
in Hebraice lin-  
gua Idiosmismis,  
voc. Anima. in  
sacr. Bibl. Appa-  
rat. edit. an.  
1572.

l Heb. pro,  
Corpus meum  
in sepulchro  
vel tumulo. Isid.  
Clarius, in Act.

m Dico, multū  
inter *נפש* & *ψυχη*  
interesse.  
Nam *נפש* est  
generalissima  
vox, & signifi-  
cat sine ullo  
tropo tam ani-  
mam, quā a-  
nimal, immo et  
etiam corpus; ut  
patet ex pluri-  
mis Scripturæ  
locis etc. Itaque

And therefore in *Leviticus*, where that name is given unto dead bodies, *one part is not put for another, to wit, the soule for the body; but a word, which doth usually signifie the bodie it selfe: or the whole at leastwise is put for the part, namely the living creature for the body thereof. But in the second of the Acts* ψυχὴ *is put, which signifieth the soule alone.* Now did not the Cardinall know (thinke you) in his own conscience, that as in the *second of the Acts* ψυχὴ *is put, where the originall text of the Psalm there alledged hath* נפש, *so on the other side, in those places of* *Leviticus* (which he would faine make to be so different from this) where the originall text readeth נפש, *there the Greeke also putteth* ψυχὴ? Doe we not there reade, *Ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἑμιανθήσονται*, Levit. 21. 1. and in the 11. verse: *ἐπὶ πάσῃ ψυχῇ τετελευτηκυῖα ἡ εἰσελεύσεται*, *He shall not goe in to any dead soule, that is, to anie dead bodie?* The Cardinall himselfe bringeth in Num. 23. 10. & 31. 35. & Gen. 37. 21. and Num. 19. 13. to prove that נפש doth signifie cyther the whole man, or his verie bodie: and must not the word ψυχὴ, which the Greeke Bible useth in all those places, of necessitie also be expounded after the same maner? Take, for example, that last place, (which is most pertinent to the purpose) Numb. 19. 13. *ὁ ἀπτόμενος τῆς τεθνηκότος ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἀνθρώπου*, which the vulgar Latin rendreth, *Omnis qui tetigerit humana anima morticinum*: and compare it with the 11. verse; *ὁ ἀπτόμενος τῆς τεθνηκότος πάσης ψυχῆς ἀνθρώπου*, *Hee that toucheth any soule of a dead man* (that is, as the vulgar Latin rightly expoundeth the meaning of it, *Qui tetigerit cadaver hominis*, *He that toucheth the dead body of any man*) shall be uncleane seven dayes. and wee shall need no other prooffe, that the Greeke word ψυχὴ, being put for the Hebrew



may signifie the *dead body* of a man: even as the Latin *Anima* also doth, in that place of the heathen Poët, --- *animamque sepulchro Condimus*. We buried his *soule* in the grave. The argument therefore drawne from the nature of the word *ψυχή*, doth no way hinder, that in *Act 2.27*. *Thou wilt not leave my soule*, should be interpreted, eyther *Thou wilt not leave me* (as in the 31. verse following, where the Greek text saith that *his soule was not left*, the old Latin hath, *He was not left*) or, *Thou wilt not leave my body*. as the Interpreters, writing upon that place, *Genes. 46.26*. *All the soules that came with Iacob into Egypt which came out of his loynes*, do generally expound it, eyther by a *Synecdoche*, whereby the one part of the man is put for the whole person (as we may see in the commentaries upon *Genesis* attributed to *Eucherius, lib. 3. cap. 31*. *Alcuinus* in *Genes. interrog. 269*. *Anselmus Laudunensis* in the interlineary Glosse, *Lyrans* and others) or by a *Metonymie*, whereby that which is contayned is put for that which doth containe it; for illustration whercof, *S. Augustine* very aptly bringeth in this example. ° *As we give the name of a Church unto the materiall building, wherein the people are contayned, unto whom the name of the Church doth properly appertaine; by the name of the Church, that is, of the people which are contained, signifying the place which doth contayne them: so because the soules are contayned in the bodies, by the soules here named the bodies of the sonnes (of Iacob) may be understood. For so may that also be taken, where the Law saith that he is defiled, who shall goe in to a dead soule (Levit. 21. 11.) that is, to the*

*Virgil. AE-  
neid. 3.*

° Sicut ergo  
appellamus Ec-  
clesiam basili-  
cam, quā con-  
tinetur popu-  
lus, qui verē  
appellatur Ec-  
clesia; ut no-  
mine Ecclesiae,  
id est, populi  
qui continetur;  
significemus  
locum qui con-  
tinet: ita quod  
animae corpo-  
ribus continen-  
tur, intelligi  
corpora filiorū  
per nominatas  
animas pos-  
sunt. Sic enim  
melius accipi-  
tur etiam illud  
quod Lex in-  
quinari dicit  
cū, qui intrave-  
rit super animā  
mortuam, hoc  
est, super de-

functi cadaver; ut nomine animae mortuae, mortuum corpus intelligatur, quod animā con-  
tinebat: quia & absente populo, id est Ecclesiā, locus tamen ille nihilominus Ecclesia nū-  
cupatur. *Augustin. epist. 157. ad Optat.*

carcase

carcase of a dead man; that by the name of a dead soule, the dead body may be understood which did containe the soule: even as when the people are absent, which be the Church, yet the place neverthelesse is still tearmed the Church.

p Vox dicitur,  
ut supra ostendimus, significat semper infernū, nunquā sepulchrum. At corpus Christi non fuit in inferno: ergo anima ibi fuit. Bellarm. l. 6. 4. de Christo, cap. 12.

q Id. ibid. cap. 10.

r Consulantur omnia dictionaria. Ibid. cap. 12.

f Accipitur Infernus in scripturā dupliciter. uno modo pro fossā, ubi ponuntur mortuorum cadavera. Alio modo pro loco, ubi descendunt animæ damnatorum ad purgandū, & generaliter illorū, qui non admittuntur statim ad gloriam. Lyrani. in Esai. 5.

t Est in Scripturā frequens infernum pro sepulturā, atq;

Yea but p the word Hades (saith Bellarmine) as wee have shewed, doth alwayes signifie Hell, and never the Grave. But the body of Christ was not in Hell: therefore his soule was there. If he had said, that the word Hades did either rarely or never signifie the Grave, although he had not therein spoken truely, yet it might have argued a little more modestie in him, and that he had taken some care also, that his latter conceits should hold some better correspondencie with his former. For he might have remembred, how in the place unto which hee doth referre us, he had said, that q the LXXII. Seniors did every where in their translation put Hades in stead of Sheol: which (as he there hath told us) is ordinarily taken for the place of soules under the earth, and eyther rarely or never for the grave. But wee have shewed not only out of those Dictionaries, unto which the<sup>r</sup> Cardinall doth referre us (having forgotten first to looke into them himselfe) but by allegation of diverse particular instances likewise (unto none of which he hath made any answer) that Hades in the translation of the LXXII. Seniors is not rarely, but verie usually taken for the place of dead bodies. So for the use of the word Infernus in the Latin translation; Lyranius noteth, that it is taken in the Scripture, not for the place of the damned only, but also for the pit wherein dead mens carcases were layd. And among the Iesuites, Gasspar Sanctius yeeldeth for the generall, that Infernus or Hell is frequently

quently



quently in the Scripture taken for buriall: and in particular, *Emmanuel* Sa confesseth it to be so taken, in Gen. 42.38. 1.Sam.2.6.Iob.7.9.and 21.13.Psalm.29.4.and 87.4.and 93.17.and 113.17.and 114.3.and 140.7. (according to the Greek division) Prov.1.12. and 23.14. Ecclesiast.9.10.Cantic.8.6.Ecclesiastic.51.7.Esai.28.15.and 38.10.Baruch.2.17.Dan.3.88.(in the Hymne of the three children) and 2.Maccab.6.23.in all which places, *Hades* being used in the Greek, and *Inferi* or *Infernus* in the Latin, it is acknowledged by the <sup>u</sup> Iesuite, that the *Grave* is meant: which by <sup>x</sup> Bede also is termed *Infernus exterior*, the exterior Hell. So *Alcuinus*, moving the question, how that speech of *Iacob* should be understood, Genes.37.35. *I will goe downe to my sonne mourning into Hell.* maketh answer: that <sup>y</sup> these be the words of a troubled and grieving man, amplifying his evils even from hence. Or else (saith hee) by the name of Hell he signified the Grave: as if he should have said. *I remaine in sorrow, untill the earth doe receive me, as the grave hath done him.*

So *Primasius*, expounding the place, Hebr. 13.20. <sup>z</sup> God the father (saith hee) brought his sonne from the dead, that is to say, from Hell; or from the Grave: according to that which the Psalmiste had foretolde; Thou wilt not suffer thine holy one to see corruption. And *Maximus Taurinensis* saith, that <sup>a</sup> Mary Magdalene received a reproofe, because after the resurrection she sought our Lord in the grave, and not remembring his words, whereby hee had said that the third day he would returne from hell, shee thought him still to be detayned by the lawes of hell. And *Prædixerat*: Non dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem. *Primasius* in Hebr. 13. <sup>a</sup> Maria Magdalene non leviter fuit objurgata, cur post resurrectionem Dominum quæreret in sepulchro; & non reminiscens verborum ejus, quibus se ab inferis tertiâ die reditum esse dixerat, putaret cum inferni legibus detineri. *Maxim. Taurin. de sepulchro Dom. homil. 4.*

S f

therefore

<sup>u</sup> *Emm. Sa, Notat. in Scriptur.*  
<sup>x</sup> *Bede, in Psalm.*  
 48.

<sup>y</sup> *Perturbati & dolentis verba sunt, mala sua etiam hinc exaggerantis. vel etiâ inferni nomine sepulchrum significavit, quasi diceret: In luctu maneo donec me terra suscipiat, sicut illud sepulchrum.*  
*Alcuin. in Gen. Interrog. 256.*  
<sup>z</sup> *Deus ergo pater eduxit filium suum de mortuis: hoc est, de inferno, vel de sepulchro. juxta quod Psalmista*

b Vnde & illa Maria Magdalene, quæ Dominum inter ceteros defunctos in sepulchro quærebat, arguitur, & dicitur illi: Quid quæris viventem cum mortuis? hoc est, Quid quæris apud inferos, quem rediisse jam constat ad superos? *Id. de ead. homil. 3.*  
 c Nam qui cum aut in infernis requirit, aut tumulis, dicitur ei; Quid quæris viventem cum mortuis? *Ibid.*  
 d Quid me contingere cupis, quæ me dum inter tumulos quæris, adhuc ad Patrem ascendisse non credis: quæ dum me inter inferna scrutaris, ad cœlestia rediisse diffidis; dum inter mortuos quæris, vivere cum Deo patre meo non speras? *Id. de sepulchro, Dom. hom. 4.*

therefore (saith he) while shee did seeke the Lord in the grave among the rest of the dead, shee is reprehended, and it is said unto her: Why seekest thou him that liveth, among the dead? that is to say, Why seekest thou him among them that are in the infernall parts, who is now knowne to have returned unto the supernall? c For he that seeketh for him eyther in the infernall places, or in the graves, to him it is sayd; Why seekest thou him that liveth among the dead? and to the same purpose he applieth those other wordes of our Saviour unto Mary; Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended unto my Father as if hee had sayd. d Why dost thou desire to touch me, who while thou seekest me among the graves, dost not as yet beleieve that I am ascended to my Father: who while thou searchest for me among the infernalls, dost distrust that I am returned to the celestials; while thou seekest me among the dead, dost not hope that I doe live with my father? Where his *Inferi* and *Inferna*, doe plainly import no more but *tumulos* and *sepulchra*.

Heere upon *Ruffinus* in his exposition of the Creed, having given notice, e that in the Symbol of the Church of Rome there is not added, He descended into hell, nor in the Churches of the East neyther; adjoyneth presently: Yet the force or meaning of the word seemeth to bee the same, in that he is sayd to have bene buried. For the tearmes of *buriall* and *descending into hell* in the Scripture phrase tend much to the expressing of the selfe same thing: but that the bare naming of the one doth lead us only to the consideration of the honor of buriall, the addition of the other intimateth unto us that

*Sciendum sane est, quod in Ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habetur additum; Descendit ad inferna: sed neq; in Orientis ecclesijs habetur hic sermo. vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo quod sepultus dicitur. Ruffin. in expos. Symbol.*

which



which is more dishonourable in it. Thus under the buriall of our Saviour may be comprehended his ἐνταφιασμός and ταφὴ, his *funeration* and his *interring*: which are both of them set down in the end of the 19. chapter of the Gospell according to S. Iohn. the latter in the two last verses, where Ioseph and Nicodemus are said to have laid him in a new Sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid: the former in the two verses going before, where it is recorded that they wound his body in linnen clothes, with spices, καὶ ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνταφιάζειν, as it is the maner of the Iews to bury. for to the ἐνταφιασμός or *funeratio* belongeth the imbalming of the dead body, & all other offices that are performed unto it while it remaines above ground. So Gen. 50.2. where the *Physicians* are said to have *imbalm*ed Israel; the Greek translators render it: ἐνταφιάσαν οἱ ἐνταφιάσαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ. and when Mary poured the pretious ointment upon our Saviour; himselfe interpreteth this to have beene done for his *funeration* or buriall. g For it was a custome in times past (saith Eusebius, commonly called Emissenus) that the bodies of noble men being to be buried, should first be annointed with pretious ointments, and buried with spices. And h who knoweth not (saith Stapleton) that a sepulchre is an honour to the dead, and not a disgrace? But the mention of Sheol (which hath speciall relation, as hath beene shewed, to the disposing of the dead body unto corruption) and so of Hades, Infernus, or Hell, answering thereunto, carrieth us further to the consideration of that which the Apostle calleth the sowing of the body in corruption and dishonour. (1. Corinth. 15. 42, 43.) For which, that place in S. Au-

mortuo honori esse, non dedecori; & quorundam sceleribus sepulchra negari? Stapleton. Antidot. in 1. Corinth. 15. 55.

f Πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι μὲν ἐστὶν ὡς, Matth. 26. 12. Προὐλαβὲν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὸν ἐνταφιασμόν. Marc 14. 8. Εἰς τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι μὲν τὴν ψαλμὸν αὐτοῦ. Ioh. 12. 7.

g Mos enim antiquitus fuit, ut nobiliū corpora sepelienda unguentis pretiosis ungerentur, & cum aromatibus sepelirentur. Euseb. Emiss. homil. Dominic. in Ramis Palazarum. h Quis nescit sepulchrum

i Nonne inferna Christo  
testimonium  
perhibuerunt,  
quando iure  
suo perduto  
Lazarum, quē  
dissolvendum  
acceperant, in-  
tegrū per qua-  
triduum reser-  
vaverunt; ut  
incolumē red-  
derent, cū  
vocem Domini  
sui iubentis au-  
dirent? *Oiat.*  
*contra Iudeos,*  
*Pagan. & Ar-*  
*rian cap. 17.*  
*rom. 6. Oper.*  
*Augustin.*  
*k. Μηνί π. μιλ-*  
*λον μ. ἀποστολῆν*  
*εἰς θάλασσαν.*  
*Act. 13. 34.*  
*l. οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἔσ-*  
*θίον ἐκ ἰσθμῶν θι-*  
*ναφθορῶν. ibid.*  
*vers. 35. ex Psal.*  
*16. 10.*  
*m. Ne mireris*  
*quomodo de-*  
*scenderit in*  
*corruptionem;*  
*cujus caro non*  
*vidit corrupti-*  
*onem. Descen-*  
*dit quidem in*  
*locum corrup-*  
*tionis, qui pe-*  
*netravit infer-*  
*na; sed corrup-*  
*tionem incor-*  
*ruptus exclusit.* *Ambros. de Virginib. lib. 3.*

*gustine* is worth the consideration. *i Did not the Hells* (or, the Grave) *give testimony unto Christ, when loosing their power, they reserved Lazarus (whom they had recei-ved to dissolve) for foure dayes together; that they might restore him safe againe, when they did heare the voyce of their Lord commanding it?* where you may observe an Hell appointed for the dissolution of dead mens bodies: the descending into which (according to *Ruffinus* his note) differeth litle or nothing from the descending into the Grave.

In the thirteenth of the Acts *S. Paul* preacheth unto the Iewes, that God raysed up his Sonne from the dead, *knot to returne now any more unto corruption:* and yet presently addeth, that therein was verified that prophecie in the Psalme; *Thou wilt not suffer thy Holy one to see corruption.* implying thereby, that he descended in some sort for a time into corruption, although in that time he did not suffer corruption. And *m* *doe not wonder* (saith *S. Ambrose*) *how he should descend into corruption, whose flesh did not see corruption.* He did descend indeed into the place of corruption, who pierced the Hells; but being uncorrupted he shut out corruption. For as the word *μῆλον*, which the Prophet useth in the Psalm, doth signifie as well the pit or place of corruption, as the corruption it selfe: so also the word *θαλάσσαν*, whereby *S. Luke* doth expresse the same, is used by the Greek Interpreters of the old Testament to signifie not the corruption it selfe alone, but the verie place of it likewise. as where we read in Psalm. 7. 13. *He is fallen into the pit which he made.* and, Psalm 9. 16. *The heathen are sunke downe in the pit that they made.* and, Proverb. 26. 27. *Who so diggeth a pit, shall fall therein.* *Aquila* in the



first place, the *Septuagint* in the second, *Aquila* and *Symmachus* in the third, retaine the Greek word *Αἰς φθόρον*, \* an. 1578. al- though in the Arabick Testa- ments, printed by Erpenius ann. 1616. the terms be varied: & ἡσθ So that our Saviour, descending into *Sheol*, *Hades* or *Hell*, may thus be understood to have descended into *corruption*, that is to say, into the pit or place of corrup- tion, (as *S. Ambrose* interpreteth it) although hee were free in the meane time from the *passion of corruption*. And because *חַי* and *חַי*, *חַי* & *Αἰς φθόρον*, *Hell* and *Corruption*, have reference to the selfe same thing: there- fore doth the Arabick interpreter, \* translated by *Iu- bins*, in *A. 2. 31.* (or, as the Arabian divideth the book, *A. 4. 10.*) confound them together, and retaine the same word in both the parts of the sentence, after this manner. *Hee was not left in perdition, neyther did his flesh see perdition.* even as in the 29. *Psalm* (or the 30. accor- ding to the division of the Hebrewes) the Arabick readeth, *ال-جهنم*, or *Hell*, where the Greek hath *Αἰς φθόρον*, the Hebrew *חַי*, & the Chaldee paraphrase *בית קברות*, that is, *the house of the grave*.

*Athanasius* in his booke of the Incarnation of the Word, written against the Gentiles, observeth that when God threatned our first parents, that whatsoever day they did eate of the forbidden fruite they should die the death; by •dying the death hee signified, that they should not onely die, but also remaine in the corruption of death: & that our Saviour comming to free us from this corruption, kept his owne body uncorrupted, as a pledge and an evidence of the future resurrection of us all. which hath wrought such a contempt of death in his disciples, that (as he addeth afterwards) we may see

*αὐτῶν ἀποδείξαι, ὅτι πᾶσι ὡς ἀποδείξαι ὅτι ὁ πᾶσι ἰσομήτως ἀναστάντες τὴν αὐτῶν ψυχῶν. Ibid. pag. 4. q. 9. ὅτι ὁ πᾶσι ἰσομήτως ἀναστάντες τὴν αὐτῶν ψυχῶν. Ibid. pag. 4. q. 9. ὅτι ὁ πᾶσι ἰσομήτως ἀναστάντες τὴν αὐτῶν ψυχῶν. Ibid. pag. 4. q. 9. ὅτι ὁ πᾶσι ἰσομήτως ἀναστάντες τὴν αὐτῶν ψυχῶν.*

Γ Κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν  
 αὐτὴν φθορὰν  
 ἑαυτὴν, ἀπὸ τῆς  
 αὐτῆς. Grati in  
 Oloëcho Ana-  
 stasimo.

Γ' Ο ΛΙΘΟΣ κα-  
κῦλισται, ὁ τιφθ  
κακίγεται. Ἰδετε τ  
φθορὰν τῆς ζωῆ  
πατρίδος εἰς.  
τὸ θνητὸν σῶσας  
σαρκὶ θιγῇ. ὁ αἰὲς  
θρίων. *Cum illas,*  
*in Græcorum*  
*Pentecostariorum,*  
t Neque no-  
stras animas  
derelinquet in  
inferno, nec da-  
bit nos in cor-  
ruptione in  
perpetuū ma-  
nere : sed qui  
illum post diē  
tertium revo-  
cavit ab infe-  
ris, & nos re-  
vocabit in tem-  
pore opportu-  
no ; & qui illi  
donavit, ut  
nō videat caro  
ejus corruptio-  
nem, nobis do-  
nabit, non qui-

men which are by nature weake, leaping or dauncing unto death, being not agast at the corruption thereof, nor fearing the descents into Hell. So the Grecians sing in their Liturgy at this day: <sup>†</sup>The corruption-working pallace of Hell was dissolved, when thou didst arise out of the Grave, O Lord. and againe. <sup>†</sup>The stone is rouled away, the grave is emptied. Behold corruption is trodden under by life. That which was mortall is saved by the flesh of God. Hell mourneth. For God (saith <sup>†</sup>Origen) will neyther leave our soules in hell, nor suffer us to remaine for ever in corruption: but he that recalled him after the third day from hell, will recall us also in fit time; and he who granted unto him, that his flesh should not see corruption, will grant also unto us, that our flesh shall not see corruption, but that in fit time it shall bee freed from corruption. Neyther is it any whit strange unto them that are conversant in the writings of the ancient Doctors, to heare that our Saviour by his buriall descended into Hell, spoyled Hell, and brought away both his owne body and the bodies of the Saints from Hell. Wee finde the question moved by Gregory Nyssen, in his sermon upon the Resurrection of Christ; <sup>u</sup>how our Lord did dispose himselfe at the same time three maner of wayes? both in the heart of the earth, (Matth. 12. 40.) and in Paradise with the thiefe, (Luk. 23. 43.) and in the hands of his Father. (Luk. 23. 46.) <sup>x</sup>For neither will any man say, (quoth he) that Paradise is in the places under the earth, or the places under the earth in Paradise, that at the same time he might be in

both;





C Δὲ μὲν περὶ  
 θεῶν καὶ αὐτῶν  
 ἢ τῶ ἀδελφῶν πυθ-  
 μένα, δια τῶ ἐκεί-  
 κατεχομένης τι-  
 κρὸς δὲ μὲν τῶ  
 περὶ αὐτῶν πλῶτον  
 τῶ ἡμῶν σαρκὸς  
 καὶ αὐτῶν τῶ πλῶ-  
 χροῦς διατρετὶ τὸ  
 κατὰ τὸ δὲ μὲν  
 σαρκατικῶν μὲν τῶ  
 λυτῶν ἀνάστα-  
 τὸς ἐν σὺν καὶ  
 σαρκατικῶν κα-  
 τὰ μὲν. Gregor.  
 Neocesar. ferm.  
 in Theophanta,  
 pag. 111. Oper.  
 edit. Mogunt. &  
 inter Opera  
 Chrysostomi, tom.  
 7. edit. Savilian.  
 pag. 60.  
 d Πῶς δὲ σω-  
 τὴν καὶ πύλας  
 χερσὶ καὶ μοχλοῖς  
 σιδεροῦ σωτηρίας  
 ποιῇ; διὰ τῶ σω-  
 ματικῶν αὐτῶν. τότε  
 γὰρ αὐτῶν ἰδεῖν  
 ἐν σάρκα ἀδελφῶν  
 τὴν καὶ διαλύον  
 αὐτῶν διατρετὶ τὴν  
 τυρανίδα. ἡ δὲ  
 ἢ, τῶ περὶ αὐτῶν  
 διατρετὶ τὴν ἰσχύ-  
 ἀνηρημένον, ἢ τῶ αὐτῶν τῶ πλῶτον καὶ τῶ ἀμαρτήματα λειομένα. Chrysost. in Matth. cap. 11.  
 homil. 36. edit. Grec. vel 37. Latin. C Εὐλόγησε τὸν ἄδελφον ὁ κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἄδελφον. ὅπως αὐτὸν  
 γένοιτο μὲν (γένοιτο μὲν reponendum, ex MS. Constantinopolitano) τὴν σαρκὸς αὐτῶν. Καὶ τὸτο αὐτῶν  
 ἡμεῖς ἰδὲ. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν, φασὶν, ὅπως αὐτῶν, σωτηρίας οὐ κατὰ τὸν ὅπως αὐτῶν, καὶ γὰρ κατελθὼν. ὅπως αὐτῶν, καὶ  
 γὰρ εἰσπράχθη ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ ὁ θεὸς περιέτυχεν ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ ὁ σωτὴρ αὐτῶν ἡ ἀδελφὴ ὅπως ἡ ἀδελφὴ, καὶ πᾶσι  
 αὐτῶν ἐκ ἡ ἀδελφῶν. Orat. Catechetic. in S. Pascha; tom. 5. oper. Chrysostom. edit. Savilian. pag.  
 916. & in Græcorum Pentecostariorum: ubi pro primâ voce εὐλόγησε, rectius habetur ἰκα-  
 λώσατο.

Gregory Bishop of Neocæsarea: wherein our Saviour is  
 brought in speaking after this maner. *c* I must descend  
 into the very bottome of Hell, for the dead that are delay-  
 there. I must by the three dayes death of my flesh over-  
 throw the power of long continuing death. I must light  
 the lamp of my BODY unto them which sit in darkenesse  
 and in the shadow of death. and that of S. Chrysostom  
 (who is accounted also to be the author of that other  
 sermon attributed unto S. Gregory: ) *d* How were the  
 brasen gates broken, and the iron barres burst? By his  
 BODY. For then appeared first a body immortall, and dis-  
 solving the tyrannie of death it selfe: whereby was shewed,  
 that the force of death was taken away, not that the sinnes  
 of those who dyed before his comming were dissolved. and  
 that which we reade in another place of his workes:  
*c* He spoyled Hell, descending into Hell: hee made it bitter,  
 when it tasted of his flesh. Which Esay understanding be-  
 fore hand, cryed out, saying: Hell was made bitter, meeting  
 thee below. ( so the Septuagint render the words, Esai.  
 14. 19.) It was made bitter: for it was destroyed. It was  
 made bitter: for it was mocked. It received a BODY, and  
 light upon God: it received Earth, and met with Hea-  
 ven: it received that which it saw, and fell from that  
 which it did not see. Thus Casarius expounding the  
 parable, Luk. 13. 21. wherein the kingdome of God is  
 likened unto leaven, which a woman tooke, and hid in









---tumuloq; inferna refringens

Regna, resurgentes secum iubet ire sepultos.

Cælum habitat, terris intervenit, abdita rumpit

Tartara, vera fides, Deus est, qui totus ubiq; est.

where, in saying that our Saviour by his grave did break up the infernall kingdomes, and commanded those that were buried to rise up with him; he hath reference unto that part of the history of the Gospell, wherein it is recorded, that The graves were opened, and many bodies of the Saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy citie, and appeared unto many. (Matth. 27. 52, 53.) upon which place S. Hilary writeth thus. *u* Inlightning the darke- nesse of death, and shining in the obscure places of Hell; by the resurrection of the Saints that were seene at the present, he tooke away the spoyles of death it selfe. To the same effect writeth S. Ambrose also. *x* Neither did his sepulchre want a miracle. For when he was anoynted by Ioseph, and buried in his tombe; by a new kinde of worke, he that was dead himselfe did open the sepulchres of the dead. His body indeed did lye in the grave; but he himselfe being free among the dead, did give libertie unto them that were placed in Hell, dissolving the law of death. For his flesh was in the tombe, but his power did worke from heaven. which may be a sufficient commentary upon that sentence, which we reade in the Exposition of the Creed attributed unto S. Chrysostom. *y* He descended into Hell, that there also he might not want a miracle. For

*u* Illuminans enim mortis tenebras, & infernorum obscura collustrans; in sanctorum ad præfens conspicatorum resurrectione mortis ipsius spolia detrahebat. Hil. in Matth. Canon. 33.

*x* Sed nec sepulchrum quidem ejus miraculo caret. Nam cum esset unctus a Ioseph, & in ejus monumento sepultus; novo

opere quodam, ipse defunctus defunctorum sepulchra referabat. Et corpus quidem ejus jacebat in tumulo, ipse autem inter mortuos liber, remissionem in inferno positus, solutâ mortis lege donabat. Erat enim caro ejus in monumento, sed virtus ejus operabatur e cælo. Ambros. e iura nat. ap. 5. *y* Descendit ad infernum, ut & ibi a miraculo non vacaret. Nam multa corpora sanctorum resurrexerunt cum Christo. Homil. 2. in Symbol. tom. 5. Lat. in Oper. Chrysostom.

πῆντο καὶ ἐνταυτοῖς τῷ Κυρίῳ καταχθονίαν ὥς τῷ πλῆθει τῷ συνικιασμένῳ τῷ Κυρίῳ· Πολλὰ γὰρ φησὶ, σώματα ἢ κακομημένον ἀγρίαν ἡγήθη, ἢ κοιμημένων ἀποχόρται· καὶ κατὰ λαὸν εἰς ἀδύω μόνῳ, ἀπὸ λαοῦ ὃ μὲν πλῆθος, καὶ ἴσως τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ῥαγμοὶ, καὶ τὸ μυστικὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἵκναι. Ignas. epist. 2. ad Trallian.

And hitherto also may bee referred that famous saying, of *Christs descending alone & ascending with a multitude*: which we meet withall in foure severall places of antiquitie. First, in the heads of the sermon of *Thaddæus*, as they are reported by *Eusebius* out of the Syriack records of the citie of *Edessa*. <sup>a</sup> *He was crucified, and descended into Hades or Hell, and brake the rampiere never broken before since the beginning; and rose againe, and rayssed up with him those dead, that had slept from the beginning: and descended alone, but ascended to his Father with a great multitude.* Secondly, in the epistle of *Ignatius* unto the *Trallians*. <sup>b</sup> *He was truly, and not in opinion, crucified, and died; those that were in heaven, and in earth, and under the earth, beholding him. those in heaven, as the incorporall natures. those in earth, to wit the Jewes and the Romanes, and such men as were present at that time, when the Lord was crucified. those under the earth, as the multitude that rose up together with the Lord: for many bodies (saith he) of the Saints*

*which*



which slept arose, the graves being opened. And hee descended into Hades or Hell alone, but returned with a multitude, and brake the rampiere that had stood from the beginning, and overthrew the partition thereof. Thirdly, in the disputation of Macarius Bishop of Ierusalem, in the first generall Councell of Nice. c After death wee were carried into Hades or Hell. Christ tooke upon him this also, and descended voluntarily into it; he was not detayned as wee, but descended onely. For hee was not subjected unto death, but was the Lord of death. And descending alone, he returned with a multitude. For he was that spirituall graine of wheat, falling for us into the earth, and dying in the flesh; who by the power of his godhead raysted up the temple of his body, according to the Scriptures, which brought forth for fruite the Resurrection of all mankinde. Fourthly, in the Catechises of Cyrill Bishop of Ierusalem: whose wordes are these. d I beleeeve that Christ was raysted from the dead. For of this I have many witnesses, both out of the divine scriptures, & from the witnesse and operation even unto this day of him that rose againe: of him (I say) that descended into Hades or Hell alone, but ascended with many. For he did descend unto death; & many bodies of the Saints that slept were raised by him. which resurrection he seemeth afterward to make common unto all the Saints that dyed before our Saviour. e All the righteous men (saith he) were delivered, whom death had devoured. For it became the proclaymed

c Κατεβόμενος  
μὲν τὸν θάνατον  
εἰς τὸν ᾄδω. Ἀ-  
νδρίζατο καὶ τὸν, καὶ  
κατήλθεν ἐκείθεν  
εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ θάνατος  
νίκη καὶ θάνατον  
ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ κατήλ-  
θεν, ὁ ᾄδω ἡμῶν  
καὶ ἡμῶν τὸν θά-  
νατον, ἀλλὰ ἡμῶν  
στὴν τὴν θάνατον.  
καὶ μὲν ὁ κατήλ-  
θεν, καὶ πάλιν  
ἀνέστη. αὐτὸς  
καὶ ὁ ᾄδω καὶ  
καὶ ὁ θάνατος, ὁ ᾄδω  
ἡμῶν πᾶσι εἰς τὸ  
ζῆν, καὶ ὁ θάνατος  
σάρκα, ὅς τῃ τῇ  
ζήτησιν αὐτῇ  
δωσόμεν ἀνάστη-  
σιν σωματικῶν  
αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς  
νεφάρων, καὶ πο-  
φισαί τῃ τῇ  
πάντες ἀνθρώποις

ζῆναι ἀνέστη. Macar. Hierosolymit. apud Gelasium Cyzicen. in Act. Concil. Nican. lib. 1. ca. 23. et 24.  
d Πιστεύω ὅτι καὶ χεῖρος ἐν νεκρῶν ἐργασίᾳ. πολλὰς ἀρῶν τὰς εἰς τὰς μαρτυρίας, ἐν τῇ θείᾳ  
νεφάρῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇ αἰσθητῇ τῇ ἀναστάσει καὶ ἀνέστη. τῇ μόνῃ καὶ κατήλθεν εἰς ᾄδω, πολ-  
λοῦτο ὁ ἀναστῆναι κατήλθεν καὶ εἰς τὸν θάνατον, καὶ πολλὰ σωματὰ τῇ ἀνασταμένην ἀγίαν ἡγέρθη δι' αὐτοῦ.  
Cyrill. Hierosol. cateches. 14. c Ελθόντες πάντες οἱ δίκαιοι, ὅς κατέβη ὁ θάνατος. ἴδοι ὁ τὸν κη-  
ρυχθέντα βασιλεῖα, τῇ καλῶν ἀνθρώπων γένεσιν ἀνθρώπων. Εἶτα ἵκανε τῇ δίκῃ ἐλθὼν πᾶσι  
ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἴκος, καὶ πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἰδὼν σὺν τῷ ἰκατοῦ. Id. ibid.

f Εἰ γὰρ τὸ πικρὸν  
 τῆς θανάτου ἡλθεῖν ἡμῶν  
 ζῶντων, καὶ πάλιν  
 ἡμῶν μὲν οὐ τὸ  
 πικρὸν ἀφ' ὧν  
 ἐστὶν πάλιν καὶ ἡμῶν  
 θνήσκοντες φανέναι  
 ζῶντας ὁ τῆς ἐσ-  
 χυμένης ἀναστάσεως  
 σημεῖον ἐστίν. Πο-  
 λὺ γὰρ σώματα τῶν  
 κατὰ μνήμην ἀ-  
 γίων ἡμεῶν, οἷον  
 Chrysost. in  
 Matth. 27. ho-  
 mil. 88. edit.  
 Græc. vel. 89.  
 Latin. ubi tamen  
 Interpres verit.  
 Multo majus  
 profectò est  
 multos jam o-  
 lim mortuos in  
 vitâ reduxisse.  
 g Ergo & in  
 sepulcrum  
 quoad corpus,  
 quod mortuū  
 erat, descendit:  
 juxta verò di-  
 vinitatem, quæ  
 vivebat, infer-  
 num interea  
 devicit. Tertio  
 die resurrexit:  
 sed & animas

fidelium secum unâ suscitavit; & dedit spem corporibus etiâ a morte resurgendi sibi similiter  
 in secundo adventu Conf. ff. Armen. ar. 122. 123. 124. h Audito igitur quod locutus  
 esset in eo Deus, & cognito per Spiritum sanctum quod filius Dei non solum veniret in ter-  
 ras, sed etiam descensurus esset ad inferos, ut mortuos resuscitaret, (quod tunc quidē factum  
 est ad testimonium præsentium, & exemplum futurorum) conversus ad Dominum ait: Vti-  
 nam in inferno conservares, absconderes autem me donec desinat ira tua, & statuas mihi  
 tempus in quo memoriam mei facias. Amros. de Interpretatione, lib. 1. cap. 8.

King, to be the deliverer of those goodproclaymers of him.  
 Then did every one of the righteous say: O death where  
 is thy victory? o Hell, where is thy sting? for the conque-  
 rer hath delivered us. wherewith we may compare that  
 saying of S. Chrysostom. f If it were a great matter, that  
 Lazarus being foure dayes dead should come forth: much  
 more, that all they who were dead of old should appeare to-  
 gether alive. which was a signe of the future resurrection.  
 For many bodies of the Saints which slept arose; saith the  
 text. and these articles of the Confession of the Ar-  
 menians. g According to his body, which was dead, he de-  
 scended into the grave: but according to his divinitie,  
 which did live, he overcame Hell in the meane time. The  
 third day he rose againe: but withall rayed up the soules  
 (or persons) of the faithfull together with him; and  
 gave hope thereby, that our bodies also should rise againe  
 like unto him at his second comming.

Of those who arose with our Saviour from the  
 Grave, or (as anciently they used to speake) from Hell;  
 two there be whom the Fathers nominate in particu-  
 lar: Adam and Iob. Of Iob, S. Ambrose writeth in this  
 maner. h Having heard what God had spoken in him, and  
 having understood by the holy Ghost, that the Sonne of  
 God was not onely to come into the earth, but that he was  
 also to descend into Hell that he might rayse up the dead,  
 (which was then done, for a testimony of the present, and  
 an example of the future:) he turned himselfe unto the



Lord and said : O that thou wouldest keepe me in Hell, that thou wouldest hide me untill thy wrath be past, and that thou wouldest appoint me a time in which thou wouldest remember me. ( Iob. 14. 13. ) in which wordes he affirmeth that Iob did propheticie, <sup>i</sup> that he should be rayssed up at the passion of our Lord ; as in the end of this booke, saith he , he doth testifie. meaning the apocryphall Appendix, which is annexed to the end of the Greeke edition of Iob : wherein we reade thus. <sup>k</sup> It is written, that he should rise againe , with those whom the Lord was to raise. which although it be accounted to have proceeded from the Septuagint ; yet the thing it selfe sheweth, that it was added by some that lived after the coming of our Saviour Christ. Touching Adam, S. Augustine affirmeth that <sup>l</sup> the whole Church almost did consent, that Christ loosed him in Hell. which we are to beleeve ( saith he ) that shee did not vainely beleeve, whence-soever this tradition came ; although no expresse authoritie of the Canonickall Scriptures be produced for it. The onely place which he could thinke off that seemed to look this way, was that in the beginning of the tenth Chapter of the booke of Wisedome : Shee kept him who was the first formed father of the world, when hee was created alone, and brought him out of his sinne. which would be much more pertinent to the purpose, if that were added, which presently followeth in the <sup>m</sup> Latin text ( I meane in the old edition : for the new corrected ones have left it out ) *Et eduxit illum de limo terra, and brought him out of the claye of the earth.* which being placed after the bringing of him out of his sinne, may seeme to have reference unto some deliverance ( like that of Davids , Psalm. 40 2. *He brought me up out of the horrible pit, out of the mirye claye* ) rather then unto

his

i Quod in passione Domini resuscitandus foret ; sicut in fine huius libri testatur. Ibid.

k Γεγονηκεν δε αυτου παλαι ανα- στας, μετ' ας ος κωρι & ανιστην vel ανιστην. Appendix ad Iob.

l Et de illo quidem primo homine patre generis humani, quod cum ibidem solverit, Ecclesia ferre tota consentit : quod cum non inaniter credidisse credendum est, undecumque hoc traditum sit, etiamsi canonicarum scripturarum hinc expressa non proferatur auctoritas. Aug. epist. 99.

m In Biblijs Regijs, edit. Anvers. an.

1572 & magnis Latinis Biblijs edit. Venet. an.

1583. ubi in hac particula habentur nota

Glosse interlineales & Nic. Lyran.





Adam together with thee, by thy almighty hand. <sup>†</sup> Rising out of thy tombe, thou didst rayse up the dead, and break the power of death, and rayse up Adam. <sup>†</sup> Having slept in the flesh as a mortall man, o King and Lord, the third day thou didst arise againe; rayssing Adam from corruption, and abolishing death. <sup>†</sup> Iesus the deliverer, who rayssed up Adam of his compassion, &c. Therefore doth Theodorus Prodromus begin his Tetrastich upon our Saviors Resurrection with

Εἵγρεο πρῶτόπλασε παλαιγενες, ἔγρεο τύμβος.

Rise up, thou first formed old man, rise up from thy grave.

S. Ambrose pointeth to the ground of the tradition, when he intimateth that Christ suffered in a Golgotha, where Adams sepulchre was, that by his Crosse he might rayse him that was dead; that where in Adam the death of all men lay, therein Christ might be the resurrection of all.

Which he receaved (as he did many other things besides) from Origen: who writeth thus of the matter.

\* There came unto me some such tradition as this, that the body of Adam the first man was buried there, where Christ was crucified: that as in Adam all doe die, so in Christ all might be made alive; that in the place which is called the place of Calvarie, that is, the place of the head, the head of mankinde might finde resurrection with all the rest of the people, by the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour, who suffered there and rose againe. For it was unfit, that when many which were borne of him did receive forgive-

da talis, quod corpus Adæ primi hominis ibi sepultum est ubi crucifixus est Christus: ut sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, sic in Christo omnes vivificentur; ut in loco illo qui dicitur Calvarie locus, id est locus capitis, caput humani generis resurrectionem inveniat cum populo universo per resurrectionem Domini Salvatoris, qui ibi passus est, & resurrexit. Inconveniens enim erat, ut cum multi ex eo nati remissionem acciperent peccatorum, & beneficium resurrectionis consequerentur; non magis ipse pater omnium hominum huiusmodi gratiam consequeretur. Origen, in tractat. 35. in Matth. cap. 27.

† Εἵγρεο πρῶτο  
μυηματῶν τοῦ  
παιθῆναι τὴν ἕλ-  
εως, καὶ τὴν θάνατον  
τοῦ κατὰ τὸ σωτῆ-  
ρισματὸς καὶ τοῦ Α-  
δάμ αἰχμητῆς.  
Ibid. fin. pa. 239.

† Σαυῆς ὁ ἀνθρώπου  
καὶ θανάτου ὁ ἁγί-  
ος καὶ κύριος,  
παύμας ὁ ἱερεὺς  
ἐν τῷ Αδάμ ἡ γῆ-  
ρας ἐν ὁδοῦ καὶ  
κατὰ τὸν δόξα  
κατὰ τὸν. Ibid. pag.  
262. b.

† In hoc: ὁ λυ-  
τῶν τῶν ἡγίων  
καὶ Αδάμ τῶν ὁ-  
σπασθῆναι ἀντι-  
Ib. pag. 278. b.  
u Quam susce-  
pit in Golgo-  
thā Christus,  
ubi Adæ sepul-  
chrum, ut illā  
mortuū in suā  
cruce resuscita-  
ret. Vbi ergo in  
Adam mors  
omnium, ibi in  
Christo omniū  
resurrectio.  
Ambros. ab. 5.

epist. 19.  
x Venit ad me  
traditio quæ-

γ' ὅτιν ἐστὶν ἀλ-  
 λαχὲ παρὰ τὸ  
 εἰς ἄλλου τὸ πρὶν  
 γαυρᾶται, ἢ εἰς τὸν  
 κρητὶς τοῦτον, ὅν  
 ἡ Κορινθιοὶ διδύ-  
 σμαλοι φασὶν ὡς  
 Ἀδὰμ τὸν τάφον.  
 Athanas. in pas-  
 sion. & crucem  
 Domini.  
 & Epiphan. cont.  
 Taisan. hares.  
 46. Vide etiam  
 Paula & Eusto-  
 chij epist. ad  
 Marcellam, to-  
 mo 1. oper. Hie-  
 ronym. epist. 17.

nesse of their sinnes and obtayne the benefit of Resurre-  
 ction, he who was the father of all men should not much  
 more obtaine the like grace. Athanasius, ( or who ever  
 else was author of the Discourse upon the Passion  
 of our Lord, which beareth his name ) referreth this  
 tradition of Adams buriall place unto the report of the  
 y Doctors of the Hebrewes ( from whom belike hee  
 thought that Origen had received it ) and addeth with-  
 all, that it was very fit, that where it was said to Adam,  
*Earth thou art and to earth thou shalt returne*; our Savi-  
 our finding him there, should say unto him again. *Arise  
 thou that sleepest, and stand up from the dead, and Christ  
 shall give thee light.* & Epiphanius goeth a little further,  
 and findeth out a mysterie in the water and bloud that  
 fell from the Crosse upon the relicks of our first father  
 lying buried under it: applying thereunto both that in  
 the Gospell, of the *arising of many of the Saints*, Matth.  
 27. 52. and that other place in S. Paule, *Arise thou that  
 sleepest, &c.* Ephes. 5. 14. which strange speculation,  
 with what great applause it was received by the multi-  
 tude at the first delivery of it, and for how little reason:  
 he that list may reade in the fourth book of S. Hieroms  
 cōmentaries, upon the 27. of S. Matthew, & in his third  
 upon the fifth to the Ephesians. for upon this first point,  
 of Christs descent into the Hell of the grave, and the  
 bringing of Adam and his children with him from  
 thence, we have dwelt too long already.

In the second place therefore we are now to consi-  
 der, that as *Hades* and *Inferi*, ( which we call *Hell* ) are  
 applied by the Interpreters of the holy Scripture, to  
 denote the place of bodies separated from their soules:  
 so with forraine authors ( in whose language, as being  
 that wherewith the common people was acquainted,  
 the



Atque utinā  
non superflua  
his & inutilia  
miscuissent.

Ambros. de bona  
mōrtis, cap. 10.

b Satis fuerat  
dixisse illis,  
quòd liberatæ  
animæ de cor-  
poribus *atque*  
peterent, id est,  
locum qui non  
videtur. Quem  
locum Latine  
infernum dici-  
mus *Ibid.*

Ε Α' Μα' χ' Ελ'  
 λήναι, χ' Ερρεαροι,  
 χ' πωπιταί, χ' φε-  
 λίστοι, χ' πωπ  
 Α' Δ' Α' πωπ γ' Α' Δ'  
 συμφωπύσι ω τέ-  
 ται ή μ' ν, οι χ' με  
 μοίαι, και ουσι

d Ἰσχυῖται ἐλθῆναι Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως πρὸς τὴν τῷ δόγματι τῷ ἐκ ἀντίστροφου ἀλλόθεν καὶ δὴ  
εἰ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀποκαθίστησι, ὁμοίως ἰδοὺ καὶ τινὰ μὲν ταῦτα εἶναι, καὶ ὁμοίως, καὶ διακρίσει αὐτὸς, καὶ καλῶς καὶ  
τιμῶς, καὶ φήκει, καὶ πρὸς τὸν. καὶ Ἰσχυῖται ἐλθῆναι, καὶ ἀντιπρὸς, καὶ ὅτι τινὰ ἀντιπρὸς, ἀντιπρὸς τῷ δόγμα  
ματι τῷ ἀλλόθεν, καὶ εἰ καὶ ὅτι ἄλλοις διακρίνεται, δὴ ὅτι τῷ πατρὶς συμμενῶσι καὶ λέγουσι τῷ ὅτι ἐν  
ταῦτα γινόμενοι ὁμοίως ἐκεῖ. Chrysostom. de falso et providentiā, 4. 1. 1. 6. ed. 1. Saui. p. 374.

and seats of judgement in Hades, and punishments, and honors, and sentences, and judgements. And if thou shalt aske the Iewes, or heretickes, or any man; he will reverence the truth of this doctrine: & although they differ in other things, yet in this doe they all agree and say, that there are accounts to be made there of the things that be done here. Only amōg the Iews, the Sadducees, w<sup>ch</sup> e say that there is no resurrection, neyther Angel, nor Spirit; τὰς καὶ ἁδὶς τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιρέσει, take away the punishments, and honours that are in Hades: as is noted by f Iosephus. For which wicked doctrine they were condemned by the other sectes of the Iewes: who generally acknowledged, that there was *עולם הבא* *Olam hanneshamoth* (for so doe they in their language untill this day call that, which Iosephus in Greeke rearmeth *Hades*) that is to say, the world of spirits; into which they held that the soules were translated presently after death, and there received their feuerall judgements.

The same thing doth *Theodoret* suppose to be signified by that phrase of being gathered to ones people, which is so usuall in the word of God. For it being said of *Iacob*, before he was buried, that he gave up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people, *Genes. 49. 33.* *Theodoret* observeth, that *Moses* h<sup>y</sup> these words did closely intimate the hope of the resurrection. For if men (saith he) had beene wholly extinguished, and did not passe unto another life; he would not have sayd, Hee was gathered to his people. So likewise where it is distinctly noted of *Abraham*, *Genes. 25. 8, 9.* first, that hee gave up the ghost and died, then, that hee was gathered to his people, and lastly, that his sonnes buried him: *Cardinall* i *Cajetan* and the Iesuite *Lorinus* interpret the first *de compositi totius dissolutione*, of the dissolution of the parts

e Act. 23. 8.

f Ioseph de Bel-  
lo Iudaic. lib. 2.  
cap. 12. circa fi-  
nem.

g Eliu Levita  
in Tishbi, verb.  
נצח עמך.

h Διὰ τὰ τῶν ὅσων  
λόγων ἐνέχεται ὁ  
ἐκτίσθαι τὸ ἀνθρώπου  
σώμα. Εἰ γὰρ περ-  
τάπητος δὲ οὐδεὶς  
ῥέοντο, ὡς μὲν εἰς ἡ-  
μέραν καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ  
εἶναι, ὡς ἐνέχεται,  
Προστίθεται ὡς  
ἔστιν αὐτῷ. i *theo*  
*doret. in Genes.*  
*quest. 109.*  
i *Cajetan. in Ge-*  
*nes. 25.*  
k *Lorin. in*  
*Act. 13. 36.*



parts of the whole man, consisting of body and soule; the second of the state of the soule separated from the body, and the third of the disposing of the body parted from the soule. Thus the Scriptures speech of being gathered to our people should be answerable in meaning to the phrase used by the heathen of descending into Hell or going to Hades: which, as <sup>1</sup> *Synesius* noteth out of *Hom.* *Syns. epist. 4.* *mer*, was by them opposed τῇ ἀκρίβει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπωλείας, to a most absolute extinguishment as well of the soule as of the body. And forasmuch as by that tearme, the immortalitye of the soule was commonly signified: therefore doth *Plato* in his *Phaedo* disputing of that argument, make this the state of his question; <sup>m</sup> *Whether* the soules of men deceased be in Hades or no? and our Ecclesiasticall writers also doe from thence sometimes fetch a difference betwixt Death and Hades. <sup>n</sup> *You shall* finde, saith *Theophylact*, that there is some difference betwixt Hades and Death: namely that Hades containeth the soules, but Death the bodies. For the soules are immortal. The same we read in <sup>o</sup> *Nicetas Serronius* his exposition of *Gregory Nazianzens* second Paschall oration. *Andreas Casarensis* doth thus expresse the difference. <sup>p</sup> *Death is the separation of the soule and the body. But Hades is a place to us invisible or vnseene and unknowne, which receiveth our soules when they departe from hence.* The ordinary Glosse, following *S. Hierome* upon the thirteenth of *Hosea*, thus. <sup>q</sup> *Death is that, where- by the soule is separated from the body. Hell is that place,*

*m* *Εἰς αὐτὴν*  
*ἀδὰ αἰτίαν ψυχῶν*  
*τῶν ἀποθανόντων*  
*ἐν τῇ*  
*ἑ. Plat. Phaedon.*  
*pag. 81. edit.*

*Gracolin. an.*  
*1590.*

*n* *Comperies*  
*aliquid esse*  
*inferni & mor-*  
*tis discrimen:*

*videlicet, quod*  
*animas infer-*  
*nus contineat,*  
*mors vero cor-*  
*pora. Nam im-*  
*mortales sunt*  
*animæ. Theo-*  
*phylact. in 1.*

*Corinth. 15.*

*o* *Hoc diffe-*  
*runt mors &*

*infernus: quod*

*illa corpora, hic animas detineat. Nicet. in Gregor. Nazianz. orat. 42.* <sup>p</sup> *Θάνατος ἀπὸ*  
*χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος. ὅθεν ὁ τόπος ὅπου αἰδνεῖται αἱ ἀψυχὲς καὶ ἀγνοεῖται καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐμὴν*  
*ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνδεδυμένος διχόλυπος. Andr. Casarens. in Apocalyps. commentar. cap. 64. edit. Græc. 63.*  
*Latin.* <sup>q</sup> *Mors est, quâ separatur anima à corpore. Infernus est locus ubi recludun-*  
*tur animæ, vel ad refrigerium, vel ad pœnam. Strabus in Gloss. ordinar. in Hieronym. lib. 3. in*  
*Ose. cap. 13.*

wherein the soules are included, eyther for comfort or for paine.

The *ſoule goeth to Hades*, ſaith *Nicetas Choniates* in the *Proöme* of his *Hiſtorie*: *but the bodie returneth againe into thoſe things, of which it was compoſed.* *Caius*, (or who ever elſe was the author of that auncient fragment, which wee formerly ſignified to have been falſely fathered upon *Iofephus*) holdeth that *in Hades*, the ſoules both of the righteous and unrighteous are containd: but that the righteous are led to the right hand by the Angels that awayte them there, and brought unto a liſtome region, wherein the righteous men that have beene from the beginning doe dwell (and this wee call *Abrahams boſome*: ſaith he) whereas the wicked are drawn toward the left hand by the puniſhing Angels, not going willingly, but drawn as priſoners by violence. Where you may obſerve how he frameth his deſcription of *Hades*, according to that modell wherewith the Poets had before poſſeſſed mens mindes.

<sup>u</sup> *Dextera, quæ Ditis magni sub mœnia tendit,  
Hâc iter Elysium nobis: at lava malorum  
Exercet pœnas, & ad impia tartara mittit.*

The right hand path goth underneath the Walls of Pluto deepe;  
That way we must, if paths to Paradise we thinke to keepe:  
The left hand leads to paine, and men to Tartarus doth send.

For<sup>x</sup> as Wee doe allot unto good men a resting place in Paradise; so the Greekes doe assigne unto their Heroës the Fortunate Ilandes, and the Elysian fields: saith I zetzes.

Γ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐς ἀ-  
δελφότητα καὶ ψυχῃ,  
πρὸς ἅπαντας, ἐξ ὧν  
ἡμεῖς, τὸ σῶμα  
ἐπιτελεῖν ὁρμήσει.  
Nisi, inquit, Hispo-  
ritur.

f Πιστ' ἔδω, ὡς  
 ὁ σωτήρ τας ψυ-  
 χὰς διακρίναι τε καὶ  
 ἀδικῶν, αἰατ' ἀπο-  
 κτείν. Causa, in  
 fragmento de  
 Causâ sive es-  
 sentiâ Univerſi:  
 de quo (suprà,  
 pag. 222.

τ' Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δι-  
 χαμοί, εἰς διζύα  
 φωνάζοντες, καὶ  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν  
 ἡγῶν τέτοιον ἀγῶνα  
 ἐμμελῆσαι, ἀγῶνα  
 εἰς χάριν φησι-  
 νόν, ὡς οἱ ἀπ'  
 ἀρχῆς δίδχαμοι πο-  
 λιτῶν οὐκ εἰς.

τά τω ὄνομα κε-  
κλήσασθαι κόλπον  
Ἀχραίοι, οἱ δ' ἄ-  
δικοι εἰς ἀρετὴν  
ἐλκονται ὑπὸ ἀγ-  
γέλων καλαστών, ἵ-  
πῃσι ἐκκείσας πο-  
ροθύμους, ὅγχα μὲν  
βίης οἷς δίσκοις  
ἐλκόμενοι. *Ibid.*  
u *Virgil. Ae-*  
*neid. 6. confered.*

cum Platonis narratione lib. 10. de Republ. paulo potest citandâ X Ὁπερ ἡμεῖς τὴν ἐν περὶ πόλεως  
τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἀνδραγαθίαν διασχεδῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἡγεσίας Ἑλλήνων τὰς μαχίμας ἴσους, καὶ τὸ ἡ-  
λῶσιον πειθιστικόν, Tzetz. in Hesiodi' Erg.

And









h "Ηρ δ' ἀπολείψας σῶμα, ἐς αἰθέρ' ἐλεύθερον ἔλθας,  
 "Εσσεαι ἀθάνατος θεὸς, ἄμβροτος, ὅκ' ἔτι θνήσκει.

h Pythagor. aut.  
 Canticum con-  
 mentar. Hiero-  
 nimo pag 310.

When thou shalt leave the body, and come unto a free hea-  
 ven; thou shalt be an immortall God, incorruptible, and  
 not subject to mortalitie any more. So Epicharmus the  
 scholler of Pythagoras: i If thou be godly in minde, thou  
 shalt suffer no evill when thou art dead; thy spirit shall re-  
 maine above in heaven. and Pindarus: k The soules of the  
 ungodly flie under the heaven (or under the earth) in  
 cruell torments, under the unavoidable yokes of evils.  
 but the soules of the godly, dwelling in heaven, doe prayse  
 that great blessed one with songs and hymnes.

i Εὐσεβὺς τῷ πα-  
 ρακρίσει, καὶ παύσει  
 γ' ἂν ἐν καπνῷ καὶ  
 σμαρτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 πνεύματος διαμίνει  
 κατ' ἑκάστην. Epist.  
 charm. apud  
 Clement. Alex-  
 andr. lib. 4. (from)

Ci. ero in his Tusculan questions alledgeth the testi-  
 mony of i Ennius, approving the common fame, that  
 Romulus did lead his life in heaven with the Gods. and in  
 the sixth booke of his Common-wealth, he bringeth in  
 Scipio teaching that m unto all them which preserve, assist,  
 and enlarge their countrey, there is a certaine place ap-  
 pointed in heav. n, where they shall live blessed world with-  
 out end. n Such a life (saith he) is the way to heaven, and  
 into the company of these, who having lived and are now  
 loosed from their body, doe inhabite that place which thou  
 see'st, pointing to the Galaxias or milky circle. whereof  
 we reade thus also in o Manilius:

k Ψυχὰς δ' ἀσ-  
 τὴν ἰσχυροῦς  
 (αὐτὰρ ὅτι τοῖς)  
 γὰρ πτωχῶν καὶ  
 ἀλγῶν οὐσίῃς,  
 ἰσὺς ζυγῶν ἀ-  
 ρύη τοῖς κακῶν  
 Εὐσεβίου ὅτι πα-  
 ρακρίσει (id.  
 ἐν ἑκάστης τῆς  
 σελ.) μὴ παύσει  
 καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ.  
 Pindar. ibid. &  
 apud Theodoret.  
 in Therapeutic.  
 ad Græcos, lib. 8.  
 I Romulus in  
 caelo cum dijs  
 agit ævum: ut  
 fama assenti-  
 ens dixit Enni-  
 us. Cic. Tuscul.

Ansortes animæ, dignataq; nomina cælo  
 Corporibus resoluta suis, terraq; remissa;

quest lib 1. m Omnibus, qui patriam conservarint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum esse in  
 cælo ac definitum locum, ubi beati ævo sempiterno fruuntur. Id. in Somno Scipionis.  
 n Ea vita, via est in cælum, & in hunc cœtum eorum, qui jam vixerunt, & corpore laxati,  
 illum incolunt locum quem vides (erat autem is splendidissimo candore inter flammæ elu-  
 cens circulus) quem vos, ut à Graijs accepistis, orbem lacteum nuncupatis ibid. o Manil.  
 lib. 1. Astronom.

Huc migrant ex orbe, suumq; habitantia cælum,  
Æthereos vivunt annos, mundosq; fruuntur?

Γ' Η δ' ψυχὴ αἰσ,  
τὸ αἰσθῆς, τὸ εἰς  
ποιεῖται τὸ αἰσθῆς  
ταρὸν εἰς αἰσθῆς,  
γονιτῆτον καὶ καὶ  
ρὸν καὶ αἰσθῆς, εἰς  
φ' αἰσθῆς αἰσθῆς,  
παρὸν τ' αἰσθῆς καὶ  
φρόνιμος τ' αἰσθῆς. οἱ  
αὖτ' αἰσθῆς εἰς αἰσθῆς, αἰσθῆς  
ταρὸν καὶ τ' αἰσθῆς  
lib. 11. pag. 325.  
pag. 323. X

With *Damascius* the philosopher of *Damascus*, this circle *P* is the way of the soules that goe to the Hades in heaven. Against whom *Iohannes Philoponus* doth reason thus, from the etymologie of the word. ¶ If they passe through the *Galaxias* or milky circle; then this should be that *ᾠδὴς* or Hades that is in heaven: and how can that be Hades, which is so lightsome? To which, they that maintayned the other opinion, would peradventure oppose that other common derivation of the word from the Dorick *ἁδῶ*, which signifieth to please or to delight; or that which *Plato* doth deliver in the name of *Socrates*, *ἀπὸ τῆς εἰδέναι* from seeing or knowing all good things. For, there did *Socrates* looke to finde such things: as appeareth by that speech which *Plato* in his Dialogue of the Soule maketh him to use the same day that he was to depart out of this life. (The soule, being an invisible thing, goeth hence into such another noble and pure and invisible place; to Hades, in truth, unto the good and wise God: whither, if God will, my soule must presently goe. which place is alledged by *Eusebius*, to prove that *in the things which concerne the immortalitie of the soule, Plato doth differ in opinion nothing from Moses*. The tale also which *Socrates* there telleth of the *pure land* seated above in the pure heaven, though it have a number of toyes added to it (as tales use to have) yet the foundation thereof both *Eusebius* and *Origen* doe judge to have beene taken from

τις αὐτῆς ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς. Id. apud. eund. in Phadone. pag. 385. g. ε Euseb. Prepar. Evangel. lib. 11. pag. 325. υ Eν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀθανάσιος, ὡς ἐν Μουσέως ὁ Πλάτων δίδωκε τῇ δόξῃ. Ibid. pag. 323. x Plat. Phedon. pag. 393. 399.

the





κ Πηλίκον ὃ τὸ  
 καὶ δὲν ἀμὰ γανίσι  
 ἢ συμπληροῦσι τὸ  
 λῆξιν διδρακταῖον  
 αὐτῶν τῶν τ' ἡ-  
 γῶν ἀδυνατοῖαν, ἢ  
 τὰ ὑπὲρ γῆς δι-  
 αμνηστῆσαν, ἢ τὰς  
 νύκτας τῆς γῆς  
 βίβλιν αὐτῶν. Ori-  
 gen contra Cel-  
 sum, lib. 5 pag.  
 267.

l 'Ο μὲν δὲ πολλοὶ  
 ἔμμελ' ὡς ἱστῶ-  
 ται οἱ σφοδρὸι κα-  
 λῶν, Ὁμήρου τε  
 ἢ Ἡσιόδου, ἢ πῶς  
 ἀλλοῖς μυθολο-  
 γοῖσι περὶ τὰ πᾶσι  
 ποιητῶν, ἢ τῶν  
 μὲν θεῶν, μὲν τῶν  
 ποταμῶν αὐτῶν, τὸ  
 περὶ τινὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 γῆς βαθεῖαν ἀβύ-  
 σσον εἰσάγει. Lu-  
 cian. de luctu.

m In terram  
 enim cadenti-  
 bus corpori-  
 bus, hisque hu-  
 mo testis, ex  
 quo dictum est  
 humari; sub  
 terrâ cense-  
 bant reliquam  
 vitam agi mor-  
 tuorum. quam eorum opinionem magni errores consecuti sunt: quos auxerunt Poëtae.

Cic. Tuscul. quest. lib. 1.

n Heraclid Pontic de Allegor. Homer. Servius, in Virgil.

Aeneid. lib. 6.

o Πρὸς τὸ πᾶσι τὸ ἐν κλίματι, ἢ ἀνεκῶς ἐφαρμύσσοντες, ἢ ἀντι-  
 Geminus, in Phenomen. cap. 13.

that the place, wherein both rewards were given to the good and punishments to the wicked, was *under the earth*: which as *Origen* doth declare to have been the common opinion of the Jewes, so doth *Lucian* shew that it was the more vulgar opinion among the Gre- cians. For among them <sup>l</sup> the common multitude, whom wise men (saith he) call simple people, being perswaded of these things by *Homer* and *Hesiod* and such other fabulous authors, and receiving their Poëms for a law; tooke *HAD-ES* to be a certaine deepe place under the earth. The first originall of which conceite is by *Cicero* derived from hence. <sup>m</sup> The bodies falling into the ground, and being covered with earth, (whence they are said to be interred) men thought that the rest of the life of the dead was led under the earth. upon which opinion of theirs (saith he) great errors did ensue: which were increased by the Poëts. Others do imagine, that the Poets herein had some re- lation to the <sup>n</sup> sphericall situation of the world: for the better understanding whereof, these particulars follo- wing would be considered by them that have some knowledge in this kinde of learning.

First, the materiall Spheres in ancient time were not made moveable in their sockets, as they are now, that they might bee set to any elevation of the Pole: but were<sup>o</sup> fixt to the elevation of x x x v i. degrees; which was the height of the *Rhodian* climat. Second- ly, the *Horizon* which devided this Sphere through the middle, and separated the visible part of the world from the invisible, was commonly esteemed the ut-



most bound of the earth : so that whatsoever was under that *horizon*, was accounted to be under the earth. for neyther the common people, nor yet some of the learned Doctors of the Church (as P *Lactantius*, & S. *Augustine*, & *Procopius*, and others) could be induced to beleieve that which our daily navigations finde now to bee most certaine; that there should bee another southerne hemisphere of the earth, inhabited by any *Antipodes*, that did walke with their feete just opposite unto ours. *Thirdly*, the great Ocean was supposed to be the thing in nature which was answerable to this *horizon* in the Sphere. Therefore it is observed by *Strabo* that *Homer*, and by *Theon*, & *Achilles Statius*, and others that *Aratus* and the rest of the Poets doe put the *Ocean* for the *Horizon*: and thereupon where the astronomers say that the Sunne or the starres at their setting, goe under the *horizon* the common phraze of the Poets is, that they doe *tingere se Oceano*, dive themselves into the *Ocean*. for as they tooke the Earth to be but halfe a globe, and not a whole one: so they imagined that demye globe to be as it were a great mountaine or Iland seated in, and invironed round about with the Ocean. Thus the author of the booke *de Mundo*, affirmeth that *x the whole world is one Iland, compassed about with the Atlanticke sea*: and *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, in the beginning of his *Geography*,

Μηίσομαι Ωκεανόιο Εαδυρόδω. ἐν γὰρ ἐκείνῳ  
Γῶσα χθών, ἅτε νῆσος ἀπειρίτος, ἐσεφάνωται.

γὰρ ἡμισφαίριον περὶ γῆ τὴν σφαῖραν ἔχον αὐτὴν τὰς εἰς τὸ ὠκεανὸς, ὅς ἐστιν περικλυθεὶς τῇ γῇ, καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. *Ach. l. Stat. in A-  
nt. pag. 93 edit. Florentin. ubi etiam alius scholiastes, pag. 115. de horizonte similiter notat. Οἱ δὲ  
περικλυθεὶς αὐτὸν καλεῖται. x ὅτι καὶ ὁ σύμπαντος (αἰκμῆς) μὲν νῆσος ἐστίν, ὡς αὐτὸς Ἀτλαντῆς.  
ἡ δὲ καλεῖται θαλάσσης περιρριμένη. *Aristot. de Mundo, cap. 3.**

X x 3

wherein

p *Lactant. In-  
stitut. lib. 3. cap.  
23.*

q *Augustin. de  
Civ. Dei. lib.*

16. cap. 9.

r *Procop. in  
Genes. cap. 1.*

s *Strabo, Geo-  
graph. lib. 1. ad  
quem doctiss. Ca-*

*sauhonius hanc  
ex Grammaticis*

*Oceani definiti-  
onem producit.*

Ωκεανὸς ἐστὶν ὡς  
καὶ ὁ δὲ χθὼν  
ἐπερικλυθεὶς τῇ  
γῇ ἐστὶν σφαῖρα

καὶ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ  
γῆ. ὡς τῆς γῆς  
τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ  
ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ γῆ

καὶ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ  
γῆ. ὡς τῆς γῆς  
τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ  
ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ γῆ

καὶ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ  
γῆ. ὡς τῆς γῆς  
τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ  
ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ γῆ

καὶ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ  
γῆ. ὡς τῆς γῆς  
τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ  
ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ γῆ

καὶ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ  
γῆ. ὡς τῆς γῆς  
τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ  
ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ γῆ

καὶ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ  
γῆ. ὡς τῆς γῆς  
τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ  
ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ γῆ

καὶ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ  
γῆ. ὡς τῆς γῆς  
τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ  
ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ γῆ

καὶ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ  
γῆ. ὡς τῆς γῆς  
τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ  
ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ γῆ

καὶ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ  
γῆ. ὡς τῆς γῆς  
τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ  
ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ γῆ

καὶ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ  
γῆ. ὡς τῆς γῆς  
τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ  
ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ γῆ

καὶ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ  
γῆ. ὡς τῆς γῆς  
τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ  
ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ γῆ

καὶ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ  
γῆ. ὡς τῆς γῆς  
τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ  
ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ γῆ

καὶ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ  
γῆ. ὡς τῆς γῆς  
τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ  
ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ γῆ

καὶ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ  
γῆ. ὡς τῆς γῆς  
τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ  
ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ γῆ

wherein he followed *Eratoſthenes*, as his expoſitor *Euſtathius* therenoteth : who compareth alſo with this, that place of *Orpheus* ἐν τῷ περὶ Διὸς κῶδι' Ἡέας,

— κύκλον ἀκαμάτῃ καλλιῆρόν' Ὠκεανοῖο,  
ὅς γαῖαν δίνῃσι περίξ' ἔχει ἀμφιελίξας.

y Citat ab Ara-  
si scholiaste, e-  
dit. cum Hippar-  
cho, Florent. an.  
1567 pag. 115.  
z Achil. Stat. in  
Arateis, ibid.  
pag 93.

whereunto answereth that of y *Euphorion*, or (as z *Achilles Statius* citeth it) of *Neopolemus Parianus* in his Τετραβόλια.

Ὠκεανὸς, τῷ πᾶσι περιέξ' ὅλος ἐν δέδεταί χθών.

And this opinion of theirs the Fathers of the Church did the more readily entertayne: because they

\* Vid. Augustin.  
Quaest. 132. in  
Genesis.

a Quod autē  
universa terra  
in aquis subsi-  
stat, nec ulla sit  
pars ejus, quae  
infra nos sita  
est, aquis vacua  
& denudata,  
omnibus no-  
tum reor. Nam  
sic docet Scrip-  
tura: Qui ex-  
pandit terram  
super aquas. Et  
iterum: Quia  
ipse super ma-  
ria fundavit  
eam, & super  
flumina prae-  
paravit eam.

thought it had ground from \* Psalm. 24. 2. and 136. 6. and such other testimonies of holy Scripture.

a That the whole earth (saith *Procopius Gazaeus*) doth  
subsist in the waters, and that there is no part of it which is  
situated under us voyde and clear'd of waters; I suppose it  
be knowne unto all. For so doth the Scripture teach: Who  
stretcheth out the earth upon the waters. and againe: Hee  
hath founded it upon the seas, and prepared it upon the  
floods. Neyther is it fit we should beleieve, that any earth  
under us is inhabited, opposite unto our part of the world.

The same collection is made by S. b *Hilary*, c *Chryso-*  
stom, d *Casarius*, and others. Fourthly, it was thought  
by the ancient heathen, that the Ocean (supplying the  
place of the Horizon) did c separate the visible world  
from the kingdome of Hades: and therefore that such as  
went to Hades (or the world invisible to us) must first

&c. Nec decet ut credamus aliquam terram infra nos coli nostro orbi oppositam. *Procopius* in  
Genesis. cap. 1. b *Hilary* in Psalm. 2. c *Chrysostom* in Genesis. cap. 2. homil. 12. d *Cae-*  
sar. Dialog. 1. c Παρ' ὧν καὶ τὸ εἶναι τὴν γαῖαν, τὸν διορίζοντα τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν, ὅτι τὰς τῶν ἀδ' αὐτῶν  
ἀστέρας, ὅν τ' ἐν τῇ περὶ τῆς γαῖας ἐκείνης εἰς αὐτὴν περιέχουσιν. *Proclus Diadoch.* in *Hesiodi Epy.* ab *Hagene*  
*Sawfordo* citatus; qui complura Veterum testimonia huc facientia diligenter congeffit.

passé



pasſe the Ocean. and that the pole *Antarctick* was ſcene by them there, as the *Arctick* or North pole is by us here : according to that of *Virgil* in his *Georgicks*,

*Hic vertex nobis ſemper ſublimis : at illum  
Sub pedibus Styx atra videt, maneq; profund.*

*Fiftly*, as they held that *Hades* was for ſituation placed from the center of the earth downward; ſo betwixt the beginning and the loweſt part thereof they imagined as great a ſpace to be interjected, as there is betwixt Heaven and Earth. So ſaith *Apollodorus* of *Tartarus*, the dungeon of torment. *f This is a darke place in Hades, having as great a diſtance from the earth, as the earth from the heaven.* and *Hefiod* in his *Theogonia* (agreeably to that which before we heard from *Homer*)

τόσσοι ἐνερθ' ὑπὸ γῆς ὅσοι θρανός ἐς ἀπὸ γαίης.

ἴσοι γὰρ τ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς τὰ ἔλατος ἡρόεντα.

f τὸ πρὸς τὴν  
ἐν τῷ Ἅιδου  
ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς  
ὡς ἐκ τῆς οὐ-  
ραίας. Apollodorus,  
Bibliotheca, lib. 1.

*It is as farre beneath the earth, as heaven is from the earth: for thus equall is the diſtance from the earth unto darke Tartarus. whereunto that of Virgil may be added, in the ſixt of the Æneids:*

—— tum Tartarus ipſe

*Bis patet in præcepſ tantum tenditq; ſub umbras,  
Quantus ad æthereum cæli ſuſpectus Olympum.*

—— then Tartarus it ſelfe, that ſinke-hole ſteep

*Two times as low descends, two times as headlong downright deep  
As heaven upright is he.*

that, ſee how hye the heaven is over us, when we looke upward to it; the downright diſtance from thence to *Tartarus*, ſhould be twice as deepe againe. for ſo wee muſt conceive the Poets meaning to bee: if wee will make him to accord with the reſt of his fellowes.

These

g Nobis inferi, non nuda cal-  
vositas, nec  
subdivalis ali-  
qua mundi  
sentina credū-  
tur: sed in fos-  
sā terræ & in  
alto vastitas, &  
in ipsis visceri-  
bus ejus ab-  
strusa profun-  
ditas. *Tertull. de  
anima, cap. 55.*  
h Esse autem  
huius inferni  
regionis vassa-  
que abyssi in-  
colas plures,  
beati Ioannis  
Apocalypsi do-  
cemur. *etc. His-  
larius in Psalm. 2.*  
i Lucretius ex  
majore partē,  
& alij integrē  
docent, infero-  
rum regna ne  
esse quidem  
posse. Nam lo-  
cum ipsorum  
quem possu-  
mus dicere;  
cū sub terris  
dicantur esse

Antipodes? in mediā verō terrā eos esse, nec soliditas patitur, nec centrum terræ, quæ ter-  
ra si in medio mundi est; tanta ejus esse profunditas non potest, ut in medio sui habeat in-  
feros, in quibus est Tartarus: de quo legitur, Bis patet in præceptum tantum, *etc. Servius, in  
Æneid. 6.*

These observations, I doubt not, will be censured by many to favour of a needlesse and fruitelesse curiositie: but the intelligent reader for all that will easily discern, how hereby he may be led to understand, in what sense the ancient both heathen and Christian writers did hold *Hades* to be under the earth; and upon what ground. For they did not meane thereby (as the Schoolemen generally doe, and as *Tertullian* some- time seemeth to imagine) that it was contayned with- in the bowels of the earth: but that it lay under the whole bulke thereof, and occupied that whole space, which we now finde to be taken up with the earth, ayre and firmament of the southerne hemisphere. <sup>h</sup> the in- habitants of which infernall region and vast depth are thereupon affirmed by *S. Hilary* to be *non intra terram sed infra terram*, not within the earth but beneath the earth. And this proceeded from no other ground, but the vulgar opinion, that the southerne hemisphere of the earth was not inhabited by living men, as our nor- therne is insomuch that some of the heathen atheists, finding the contrary to be true by the discourse of right reason; endeavoured to perswade themselves from thence, that there was no such place as *Hades* at all. <sup>i</sup> *Lucretius* for the greater part, (saith *Servius*) and others fully teach, that the kingdomes of Hell cannot as much as have a being. For what place can we say they have; when under the earth our Antipodes are sayd to be? and that they should be in the midst of the earth, neyther will the solidity permit, nor the center of the earth. which earth if it be in the middle of the world, the profundity thereof can



not be so great, that it may have those Inferos within it, in which is Tartarus : whereof we reade,

*Bis patet in praeceptis tantum, tenditq; sub umbras  
Quantus ad aethereum caeli suspectus Olympum.*

But Christian men, being better instructed out of the word of God, were taught to answer otherwise. <sup>k</sup> If thou dost aske me (saith S. Chrysostom) of the situation and place of Gehenna: I will answer and say, that it is seated somewhere out of this world, and that it is not to be inquired in what place it is situated, but by what means rather it may be avoyded.

In the Dialogue betwixt Gregory Nyssen and that  
admirable woman *Macrina*, S. *Basil's* sister, touching  
the Soule and the Resurrection, this point is stood upon at  
large: the question being first proposed by Gregory in  
this manner. *Where is that name of Hades* so much spoken  
of? which is so much treated of in our common conversa-  
tion, so much in the writings both of the heathen and our  
owne. into which all men thinke that the soules are transla-  
ted from hence as into a certaine receptacle. For you will  
not say that the elements are this Hades. whereunto Ma-  
crina thus replyeth. *It appeareth that thou didst not*  
*give much heed to my speeche. for when I spake of the tran-*  
*slation of the soule from that which is seen unto that which*  
*is invisible; I thought I had left nothing behinde to be in-*  
*quired of Hades. Neyther doth that name, wherein soules*  
*are said to be, seeme to me to signifie any other thing eyther*  
*in profane writers or in the holy scripture, save onely a re-*  
*moving unto that which is invisible and unseene. There-*

k Si de situ & loco quaesieris, respondebo, dicamque extra terrarū orbē hunc aliquo esse positam. Non ergo erit, quo fuerit hæc loco sita, quia magis quo pacto evitari possit, quaerendū. *Chrysostom de p. amj. sanctor. tom. 3. Oper. Latin.*

1 Παῖς ἐκείνος τὸ  
 πολυδρῦνον αὐτοῦ τῷ  
 ἀδελφῷ Ἰσραὴλ· πολὺ  
 μὲν ὡς τῇ σκευαθείᾳ  
 τῷ βίῳ, πολὺ ὅτι  
 ἦ συγχρησάμενος τῇ  
 ἱερατικῇ καὶ ἡμιτε-  
 λῆς ἀεισερέμῳ, οἷς  
 οὐκ ἴσως οἶδενται  
 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιῶς  
 ἀδελφοῦ τῆς ψυ-  
 χῆς μεταστρεφόμε-  
 νος ἦν τῷ συγχρησά-  
 μῳ ἀδελφῷ Ἰσραὴλ.  
 Gregor. Nyssen.  
 in Macrinum,  
 tom. 2 Oper.  
 pag. 641.

m dñā ⑤ h̄ m̄  
 līdu ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩  
 p̄ lō; ⑪ ⑫ ⑬ ⑭ ⑮  
 t̄ ⑯ ⑰ ⑱ ⑲ ⑳

τὸ θεῖς μιν ὁσῶσι τ' ψυχῆς εἰσῶσι, ὃ δὲν ὡμῶν ὑπολαλοῦσιν εἰς τὸ περ' αὐτῶν ζήλῳρον. ὡς δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ  
ἀκρίτου πᾶσι τοῖς ἱσῶσι καὶ πᾶσι τ' θεῖς γὰρ οὗτοι τοῖς διανοημένοι ὡς τὰς ψυχὰς γινώσκουσιν ἰσῶ-  
σι, πᾶσι εἰς τὸ θεῖς καὶ ἀφαιρῶσι ματίχουσι. (for. ματίχουσι) Ibid. pag. 641, 642.

η καὶ πῶς γὰρ  
ὑποχθινὸν ἔστιν  
οἰσθῆναι τινὲς ὅτι  
ἀλλ' οὐδαμῶς οὐ  
αὐτῶς καὶ ἡ ψυχή  
παύει· πρὸς τὴν  
χρυσὴν; εἰς. Ibid.  
pag. 642.

○ Τὸ πῶς ἔστιν  
ἰχθυῶν, καὶ τὸ  
πῶς ἄλλως ἀναγνώ-  
ζοι τῶν τῶν κατὰ  
δοκίμην ὁνόματι ἡ  
ὑποχθινὸν οἰσθῆναι  
ἔστιν. ὅτι οἱ τῶν  
αἰρῶν παύει· καὶ  
πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν  
γὰρ, ὡς μὲν οἱ αὐ-  
τῶν μὲν τῶν  
τῶν τῶν παύει· καὶ  
αἰρῶν καὶ αὐτῶν  
εἰς. Ibid. pag.  
644.

ρ Τὸ ὅτι αἰσθῆ-  
σις μὲν κατὰ τὴν  
ἔσθῃν ὑποχθινὸν  
οἰσθῆναι. εἰς τὴν  
ἔσθῃν ὑποχθινὸν  
οἰσθῆναι.

αἰσθῆσις μεταβάλλει τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν φάνηται διὰ τῆς οἰσθῆσις ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ.  
μεταβάλλει δὲ τὸν αἰσθῆσις γίνεσθαι, τὸν γὰρ ἔσθῃν τῶν αἰσθῆσις. Theophylact. in Luc. cap. 16.

¶ Infernum autem hi quidam putant regionem sub terrâ caliginis & tenebrarum. &c. Alij verò Infernum ex apparitione ad disparitionem animæ nominaverunt. Quandiu anima est in corpore, per proprias videtur actiones: sed ubi à corpore discessura est, omnibus modis incognita nobis existit, Hugo. Escherian. de animar. regress. ab Inferis, cap. 11.

upon it being further demanded: *how then doe some thinke that a certaine subterraneall place should be so called, and that the soules doe lodge therein?* for answere thereunto it is said, that there is no maner of difference betwixt the lower hemisphere of the earth, and that wherein we live: that as long as the principall doctrine of the immortalitie of the soule is yeelded unto, no controversie should be moved touching the place thereof; that locall position is proper to bodies, and the soule being incorporeall hath no need to be detained in certaine places. then the place objected from Philip. 2. 10. of those *under the earth* that should bow at the name of *Iesus*, being largely skanned: this in the end is laid downe for the conclusion. *These things being thus, no man can constraine us by the name of things under the earth to understand any subterraneall place: forasmuch as the ayre doth so equally compasse the earth round about, that there is no part thereof found naked from the covering of the ayre.* Both these opinions are thus propounded by *Theophylact*, and by *Hugo Etherianus* after him. *What is Hades or Hell?* Some say that it is a darke place under the earth. Others say, that it is the translation of the soule from that which is visible unto that which is unseene and invisible. For while the soule is in the body, it is seene by the proper operations thereof: but being translated out of the body, it is invisible; and this did they say was *Hâdes*.

So where the author of the *Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie*

defineth



τὸ τοῦτο τὸ ἀφ' α-  
 νδρὶ τῶνδε ἱσχυαίη  
 ἢ ἀδ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ τῆσι δ'  
 αἰσθητῶν ἀφ' αὐτῶν  
 γὰρ αὐτῶν τ' ἡ ψυχὴ  
 χωρεῖται, εἰς τό-  
 πος ἀσχετὸς τοῖς  
 αἰσθητοῖς *Ada-*  
*xim. in Dionys.*  
*Ecclesiast. Hiero-*  
*arch. cap. 2.*  
 f *Suprà, pag.*  
 217.  
 r In isto mun-  
 do qui moriun-  
 tur separatione  
 carnis & ani-  
 mæ, juxta ope-  
 rum differentiã  
 diversa apud  
 Inferos obtinēt  
 loca. *Origen. de*  
*Principijs, lib. 4.*  
*apud Hieronym.*  
*epist. 59. ad A-*  
*victum.*  
 u Relinquit  
 anima mundi  
 hujus tenebras,  
 ac naturæ cor-  
 poreæ cæcita-  
 tem, & trans-  
 fertur ad aliud  
 seculum : quod  
 vel sinus Abra-  
 hæ, ut in Laza-  
 ro, vel Paradi-  
 sus, ut in latro-  
 ne qui de cruce  
 credidit, indi-

catur; veletiam si qua novit Deus esse alia loca, vel alias mansiones, per quæ transiens anima Deo credens, & perveniens usque ad flumen illud quod lætificat civitatem Dei, intra ipsum sortem promissæ patribus hæreditatis accipiat. *Origen, in Numer. 31. homil. 26.*

x Illa receptio  
utrum statim  
post istam vi-  
tam fiat, an in  
fine seculi in  
resurrectione  
mortuorum,  
atque ultimâ  
retributione  
judicii; non  
minima quæ-  
stio est. *August.*  
*Question Evan-*  
*gel. lib. 2. cap. 38.*  
y Solet esse  
magna quæ-  
stio, quo modo  
intelligatur in-  
fernus: utrum  
illuc mali tan-  
tum, an etiam  
boni mortui  
descendere so-  
leant. Si ergo  
tantum mali:  
quo modo iste  
ad filium suum  
se dicit lugen-  
tem descende-  
re? Non enim  
in poenâ infer-  
ni cum esse cre-  
didit. An per-  
turbati & do-  
lentis verba  
sunt, mala sua

etiam hinc exaggerantis? Id *Questio. 126, in Genesim. & Eucher. in Genes. l. b. 3. cap. 18.*  
z Vtrum ideo ad infernum, quia cum tristitia? An etiam si abesset tristitia, tanquam  
ad infernum moriendo descendurus hæc loquitur? De inferno enim magna quæstio est: &  
quid inde Scriptura sentiat, locis omnibus ubi fortè hoc commemoratum fuerit, obser-  
vandum est. *Augustin. Quest. 142, in Genesim. & Eucher. in Genes. lib. 3. cap. 27.* a *Supr.*  
*p. 215.*

to the point (as *Allen* speaketh) in the furnace of Purga-  
torie: but in the time of the Fathers, as *S. Augustin* no-  
teth, the <sup>x</sup> great question was, whether the receiving of  
them into those everlasting tabernacles were performed  
presently after this life; or in the end of the world, at the  
resurrection of the dead, and the last retribution of judge-  
ment. And so concerning Hell the question was as  
great among them, whether all, good and bad, went  
thither or no? whereof the same *S. Augustin* is a wit-  
ness also: who upon that speech of *Iacob*, Gen. 37. 35.  
*I will goe downe to my sonne mourning into Hell*, writeth  
thus. y It useth to be a great question, in what maner Hell  
should be understood: whether evill men onely, or good  
men also when they are dead doe use to goe downe thither.  
And if evill men only doe; how doth he say that he would  
goe downe unto his sonne mourning? for he did not believe  
that he was in the paines of Hell. Or be these the words of a  
troubled & grieving man, amplifying his evils frõ hence?  
and upon that other speech of his, Genes. 42. 38. *You*  
*shal bring down mine old age with sorrow unto Hell.* z Whe-  
ther therefore unto Hell, because with sorrow? Or although  
sorrow were away, speaketh he these things as if he were to  
goe down into hell by dying? For of Hell there is a great  
question: and what the Scripture delivereth thereof, in all  
the places where it hath occasion to make mention of it, is  
to be observed. Hitherto *S. Augustin*: who had refe-  
rence to this grevt question, when he said as hath beene  
a before alledged. Of Hell neyther have I had any expe-



b Vel communi lege naturæ,  
vel illas portas,  
de quibus

quod liberatus  
sit, Psalmita  
decantat: Qui  
exaltas me, de  
portis mortis,  
ut annunciem  
omnes lauda-  
tiones tuas in  
portis filiae Si-  
on Hieronym.  
lib. 12. in Esai.  
cap. 38.

C A' καὶ μὴν ἡ τοῦ  
 Ἰησοῦ ἐνσφαιρόν  
 πείρην ἔχει· γί-  
 γοντος γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς  
 χρεώσεως τῆς αἰθρίας  
 πίνοντες ψυχρῶν, καὶ τῶν  
 σαρκῶς ἐκ τῆς γε-  
 νομένης ζῆ καὶ ἐνέ-  
 σθενος λογικῆς ἀπο-  
 καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς  
 αἰθρίας πινοντες ἐμμε-  
 στεῖται· ὡς αὖτε καὶ ἡ  
 σαρξ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς  
 τοῦ τῆς αἰθρίας πινον-  
 τος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς

it was in the place of humane soules, and being out of the flesh did live and subsist. It was a reasonable soule therefore and of the same substance with the soules of men; even as his flesh is of the same substance with the flesh of men, proceeding from Mary: saith Eustathius the Patriarch of Antioch in his exposition of that text of the Psalme; *Thou wilt not leave my soule in Hell*, Where by *Αδης* or Hell, you see, he understandeth *χαλιδιον ταν ανδρα πικρον ψυχων*, the place of humane soules (which is the Hebrewes *עוֹלָם הַנְּפֻשִׁוֹת* or world of spirits) and by the disposing of Christs soule there after the manner of other soules, concludeth it to be of the same nature with other mens soules. So S. Hilary in his exposition of the 138. Psalme. *This is the law of humane necessitie*, saith he, *that the bodies being buried, the soules should goe to Hell. Which descent the Lord did not refuse for the accomplishment of a true man.* and a little after he repeateth it, that *de supernis ad inferos mortis lege descendit*, he descended from the supernall to the infernall parts by the law of death. and upon the 53. Psalme more fully. *To fulfill the nature of man he subjected himselfe to death, that is, to a departure as it were of the soule and body; and pierced into the infernall seates, which was a thing that seemed to be due unto man.*

So Leo, in one of his Sermons upon our Lords passion. *Hee did undergoe the lawes of Hell by dying, but did dissolve them by rising againe: and so did cut off the perpetuitie of death, that of eternall hee might make it temporall.* So Irenaeus, having said, that our Lord & conversed three dayes where the dead were, addeth that

d Humanæ ista lex necessitatis est, ut conscriptis corporibus ad inferos animæ descendant. Quam descensionem Dominus ad consummationem veri hominis non recusavit. Hilari, in Psal. 138.

e Ad explendam quidem hominis naturam etiā mortis, id est, discessionis se tanquam animæ corporisque subiecit; & ad infernas sedes, id quod homini debitum videtur esse, penetravit. Id. in Psalm. 53.

f Leges inferni moriendo subiit, sed resurgendo dissolvit: & ita perpetuitatem mortis incidit, ut eam de æternâ faceret temporalem. Leo de passion. sermo. 8. g Nunc autem tribus diebus conversatus est ubi erant mortui. Irenæus, lib. 5. cap. ult.

therein



therein he <sup>h</sup> observed the law of the dead, that hee might be made the first begotten from the dead; staying untill the third day in the lower parts of the earth, and afterward rising in his flesh. Then he draweth from thence this generall conclusion. <sup>i</sup> Seeing our Lord went in the midst of the shadow of death, where the soules of the dead were, then afterward rose againe corporally, and after his resurrection was assumed: it is manifest that the soules of his disciples also, for whose sake the Lord wrought these things, shall goe to an invisible place appointed unto them by God, and there shall abide untill the resurrection, waiting for the resurrection; and afterwards receaving their bodies, and rising againe perfectly, that is to say corporally, even as our Lord did rise againe, they shall so come unto the presence of God. For there is no disciple above his master: but every one shall be perfect, if he be as his master. The like collection doth Tertullian make in his booke of the Soule. <sup>k</sup> If Christ being God, because he was also man, dying according to the Scriptures, and being buried according to the same, did heere also satisfie the law, by performing the course of an humane death in Hell; neyther did ascend into the higher parts of the heavens, before he descended into the lower parts of the earth, that he might there make the Patriarches and Prophets partakers of himselfe: thou hast, both to beleerve that there is a region of Hell under the earth, and to push them with the elbowe, who proudly enough doe not thinke the soules of the faithfull to be fit for Hell; servants above their Lord, and disciples above their Master, scorning perhaps to take the comfort of expecting

<sup>h</sup> Dominus legem mortuorum servavit, ut fieret primogenitus a mortuis, et commoratus usque ad tertiam diem in inferioribus terrarum, post deinde surgens in carne, ut etiam figuras clavorum ostenderet discipulis, sic ascendit ad patrem. *Ibid.*  
<sup>i</sup> Cum enim Dominus in medio umbrarum mortis abierit, ubi animarum mortuorum erant, post deinde corporaliter resurrexit, & post resurrectionem assumptus est: manifestum est quia & discipulorum eius, propter quos & hæc operatus est Dominus, animarum abibunt in invisibilem locum, definitur eis a Deo, & ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur, sustinentes resurrectionem; post recipientes corpora & perfecte resurgentes, hoc est corporaliter, quemadmodum & Dominus resurrexit, sic venient ad conspectum Dei. Nemo enim est discipulus super magistrum: perfectus autem omnis erit, sicut magister eius. *Ibid.*  
<sup>k</sup> Tertullian. de Anima, cap. 55. vid. supr. pag. 270. ad liter. b.

the

1 Quid est il-  
lud quod ad  
inferna trans-  
fertur post di-  
vortium corpo-  
ris, quod deti-  
netur illic,  
quod in diem  
judicii reser-  
vatur, ad quod &  
Christus mori-  
endo descen-  
dit, puto ad a-  
nimas Patriar-  
charum. *Ibid.*

cap. 7.

m *Ibid.* cap.

38.

n Quæ infra  
terram jacent,  
neque ipsa  
sunt digestis &  
ordinatis po-  
testatibus va-  
cua. Locus e-  
nim est, quod  
piorum animæ  
impiorumque  
ducuntur, fu-  
turi judicii  
præjudicia  
sentientes. *No-  
vatus, de Tri-  
nitat, cap. 1.*

o *Lactant. In-  
stitut. lib. 4. cap.*

19.

p *11. lib. 7. cap.*

24. vid. & cap.

22.

q Α' πάλιν αὖτε, καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀνακαταστάσονται οἱ δίκαιοι, τὸ ἐκείναι καὶ οἱ ἀσεβεῖς τὸ ἐκείναι βίαν-  
δρ. 7. ταῦτα δ' ἄδω Cyrill. Glaphyr. in Genes. lib. 6. pag. 154. r Τὰ δὲ ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀνακαταστάσονται οἱ δὲ  
εἰς τὰς ἐκείναις καὶ τὸ ἐκείναις. *Ibid.* pag. 155. f Τὸ ἐκείναις καὶ τὸ ἐκείναις ἀδὲ πάλιν  
καὶ τὸ ἐκείναις, *Niceph. Gregor. histor. Roman. lib. 10.*

the resurrection in Abrahams bosome. And in the same booke, speaking of the soule: *What is that, saith he, which is translated unto the infernall parts (or Hell) after the separation of the body? which is detayned there, which is reserved unto the day of judgement, unto which Christ by dying did descend, to the soules of the Patriarches, I thinke.* Where he maketh the Hell unto which our Saviour did descend, to be the common receptacle not of the soules of the Patriarches alone, but also of the soules that are now still separated from their bodies: as being the place *quod universa humanitas trahitur* (as he speaketh m elsewhere in that booke) *unto which all man-kinde is drawne.*

So Novatianus after him, affirmeth that the very places *n* which lye under the earth be not voyde of distinguished and ordered powers. For that is the place (saith he) *whither the soules both of the godly and ungodly are led, receiving the fore-judgements of their future d. om. e.* Lactantius saith that our Saviour *o* rose againe *ab inferis*, from Hell: but so he saith also that the dead Saints shall be raised up *ab inferis* at the time of the Resurrection. S. Cyrill of Alexandria saith that the Iewes *q* killed Christ, and cast him into the deepe and darke dungeon of death, that is, into Hades: adding afterward, that *r* Hades may rightly be esteemed to be the house and mansion of such as are deprived of life. Nicephorus Gregoras in his funerall Oration upon Theodorus Metochites, putteth in this for one strayne of his lamentation. *Who hath brought downe that heavenly man unto the*

bottom



bottom of Hades? and Andrew archbishop of Crete, touching the descent both of Christ and all Christians after him even unto the darke and comfortlesse Hades writeth in this maner. If hee, who was the Lord and master of all, and the light of them that are in darknesse, and the life of all men, would taste death, and undergoe the descent into Hell, that he might be made like unto us in all things, sinne excepted; and for three dayes went thorough the sad, obscure and darke region of Hell: what strange thing is it, that wee who are sinners, and dead in trespasses ( according to the great Apostle ) who are subject to generation and corruption; should meete with death, and goe with our soule into the darke chambers of Hell, where we cannot see light, nor behold the life of mortall men? For are wee above our Master, or better then the Saints, who underwent these things of ours after the like maner that we must doe?

*Iuvencus* intimateth, that our Saviour giving up the ghost sent his soule unto heaven, in those verses of his:

*¶ Tunc clamor Domini magno conamine missus,  
Aethereis animam comitem commiscuit auris.*

*Eusebius Emesenus* collecteth so much from the last words which our Lord uttered at the same time; *Father, into thine hands I commend my spirit.* τὸ πνεῦμα ἔγω, saith<sup>x</sup> he, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ σταυρῷ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. *His spirit was above, and his body remayned upon the crosse for us.* In the Greeke exposition of the Canticles, collected out of *Eusebius, Philo Carpathius* and others, that sentence in the beginning of the sixth chapter, *My belo-*

[illegible]

*resolytican serm. in vitam humanam, & in Defunctos.*

x Euseb. Emesen. á Theodoro citatus in A'vab. dialog. 3.

u *Juven. Hist. Evangel. lib. 4.*

γ κατὰ τὴν αἰχμήν.  
 τὸν αὐτὸν. ὁδὸς  
 τὰς ἐν αἰσῶν  
 οὐρανῶν. Εὐ-  
 σεβ. in Cantic.  
 pag. 68.

z Per descen-  
 sum Spon-  
 quem patrue-  
 lem appellat,  
 Domini nostri  
 Iesu Christi  
 descensum ad  
 inferos possumus  
 intelligere, ut arbitror:  
 nam & hæc se-  
 quentia pro-  
 bant, cum di-  
 xit; Ad aro-  
 matum phia-  
 las sive areolas.  
 Prisci enim illi  
 sanctissimi viri,  
 per phialas a-  
 romatum non  
 ineptè signifi-  
 cantur; quales

fuere, Noë, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Moses, Iob, David, Samuel, Elifæus, Daniel, alijque  
 quamplurimi ante Legem & in Lege: qui quidem omnes, veluti aromatum phialæ sive a-  
 reolæ, sanctissimæ justitiæ odores ac fructus suavissimè oluerunt. Tunc enim Paradisum  
 triumphator ingressus est, cum ad inferos penetravit. Adest nobis ipse Deus hæc in re testis,  
 cum in Cruce Latroni (sefe illi ipsi religiosissime commendanti) clementissimè respondit;  
 Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso. *Philo Carpath in Cantic. 6.* a Digna sanè inquisitu res est,  
 ubinā sub Sole iusti vitā sancti collocentur. Constat autem quòd in Paradiso: cum dixerit  
 Christus Latroni; Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso. Sciendumq; est, quòd literalis Traditio  
 Paradisum docet esse in terrā. Nonnulli verò dixerunt, quòd Paradisus etiam est in inter-  
 no, id est, subterraneo loco: ad quam suam opinionem illud accommodant Euangelium.  
 Dives Lazarum vidit, ipse tamen in inferiore demersus, cum Lazarus eminentiore esset in  
 loco, ubi esset Abraham. Verum quomodocumque se habeant; illud proculdubio con-  
 stat, tum ex præsentī Ecclesiastæ nostri loco, tum ex omni sacra scripturā, futuros pios in  
 prosperitate ac pace, iniustos verò in supplicijs ac tormentis. Alijs autem placuit Paradi-  
 sum esse in cœlis: bonus autem ac ingenuus Ecclesiastes historiæ sensum potius consecrabi-  
 tur. *Olympiodor. in Ecclesiast. cap. 3.*

ved is gone down into his garden, is interpreted of Christs  
 y going to the soules of the Saints in Hades. which in the  
 Latin collections that beare the name of Philo Carpa-  
 thius is thus more largely expressed. z By this descending  
 of the Bridegrome, we may understand the descending of  
 our Lord Iesus Christ into Hell as I suppose: for that which  
 followeth proveth this, when he sayeth; To the beds of spi-  
 ces. For those ancient holy men are not unfitly signified by  
 the beds of spices; such as were, Noë, Abraham, Isaac,  
 Iacob, Moses, Iob, David, Samuel, Elifæus, Daniel, and  
 very many others before the Law & in the Law: who all of  
 them, like unto beds of spices, gave a most sweete smell of  
 the odours and fruits of holy righteousness. For then as  
 a triumpher did he enter into PARADISE, when he pier-  
 ced into Hell. God himselfe is present with us for a wit-  
 nesse in this matter, when he answered most graciously to  
 the Thiefe upon the Crosse, commending himselfe unto him  
 most religiously; To day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.  
 Lastly touching this Paradise, the various opinions of  
 the ancient are thus layd downe by Olympiodorus; to  
 seeke no farther. a It is a thing worthy of enquirie, in



what place under the Sunne the righteous are placed which have left this life. Certaine it is, that in Paradise: forasmuch as Christ said unto the Thiefe; This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. And it is to be knowne, that the literall Tradition teacheth Paradise to be in earth. But some have said that Paradise also is in Hell, that is, in a place under the earth: unto which opinion of theirs they apply that of the Gospell; where the rich man saw Lazarus, being yet himselfe sunke downe in a lower place, when Lazarus was in a place more eminent, where Abraham was. But howsoever the matter goeth; this without doubt is manifest, as well out of Ecclesiastes as out of all the sacred Scripture, that the godly shall be in prosperity and peace, and the ungodly in punishments and torments. And others are of the minde, that Paradise is in the Heavens, &c. Huerto Olympiodorus.

That Christs soule went into Paradise,<sup>b</sup> Doctor Bishop saith, being well understood, is true. For his soule in hell, had the joyes of Paradise: but to make that an exposition of Christs descending into hell, is to expound a thing by the flat contrary of it. Yet this ridiculous exposition, he affirmeth to be received of most Protestants. Which is even as true, as that which he avoucheth in the same place; that this article of the descent into Hell is to be found <sup>c</sup> in the old Roman Creed expounded by Ruffinus: where Ruffinus (as we have heard) expounding that article, delivereth the flat contrarie, that it is not found added in the Creed of the Church of Rome. It is true indeed, that more than most Protestants do interpret the words of Christ uttered unto the Thiefe upon the Crosse, Luk. 23. 43. of the going of his soule into Paradise: where our Saviour meaning simply and plainly, that hee would be that day in <sup>d</sup> Heaven; M. Bishop

<sup>b</sup> Bishop answer to Perkins advertisement, pag. 9.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. pag. 8.

<sup>d</sup> Suarez. tom.

2 in 3. part.

Thom. quest. 46.

art. 11. & quest.

52. art. 8. disp.

43. sect. 4. Bel-

lavin de San-

ctor. Beasind.

lib 1. cap. 3. re-

stim. 4. See be-

fore, pag. 254.

e Tom. 2. Oper.  
Athanas pag.  
39. edit. Græco-  
lat.

would have him so to be understood, as if he had meant that that day he would be in *Hell*. And must it be now held more *ridiculous* in Protestants, to take *Hell* for *Paradise*; then in M. Bishop, to take *Paradise* for *Hell*? κατελθόντες εἰς τὴν ᾠδην, be the wordes of the Apostles Creed in the Greeke: and, κατελθόντες εἰς τὸν ᾠδην, in the Symbol of e *Athanasius*. Some learned Protestants do observe, that in these words there is no determinate mention made, eyther of *ascending* or *descending*, either of *Heaven* or *Hell* (taking *Hell* according to the vulgar acception) but of the *generall* only, under which these contraries are indifferently comprehended: and that the words literally interpreted, import no more but this; HEE WENT UNTO THE OTHER WORLD. Which is not to expound a thing by the flat contrary of it, as M. Bishop faucieth: who may quickly make himselfe *ridiculous*, in taking upon him thus to censure the interpretations of our learned linguistes; unlesse his owne skill in the languages were greater, then as yet he hath given proote of.

f Bishop. Preface to the second part of his Reformat. of Perkins Catholick pag. 19.

g Brought. in his epistle to the Nobilitie of Engl. edit. an. 1597. pag. 38.

h Id. in alio Opusculo, edit. an. 1604.

Master Broughton (with whose authoritie hee elsewhere presseth us, as of a man esteemed to be singularly seene in the Hebrew and Greeke tongue) hath beene but too forward in maintayning that exposition, which by D. Bishop is accounted so *ridiculous*. In one place, touching the terme *Hell*, as it doth answer the Hebrew *Sheol* and the Greeke *Hades*, he writeth thus. g He that thinketh it ever used for *Tartaro* or *Gehenna*, otherwise then the terme *Death* may by *Synecdoche* import so: hath not skill in Ebrew or that Greeke, which breathing and live *Gracia* spake, if God hath lent me any judgement that way. In h another place he alledgeth out of *Portus* his Dictionary, that the *Macedonians* call Ἄδης *Heaven*.

And



And one of his acquaintance beyond the Sea, reporteth that he should deliver, that in *many most ancient Manuscript copies* the Lords prayer is found with this beginning : *πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν ᾧ δὴ, Our Father which art in Hades.* which I for my part will then beleeve to be true, when I shall see one of those old copies with mine owne eyes. But in the meane time for *Hades*, it hath beene sufficiently declared before out of good authors, that it signifieth the *place of soules departed* in generall ; and so is of extent large enough to comprehend under it, as well *τὸ ἐν ἑρᾶν ᾧ δὴ* ( as *Damascius* speaketh ) that part of *Hades* ( or the *unseene world* ) which is in *heaven*, as that which by *k Iosephus* is called *ᾧ δὴς σκοτώτερος* the *darker Hades*, and in the *Gospel* *τὸ σκοτὸς τὸ ἐξ ὅτερον* *outer darknesse*. And as for *κατελθόντες* the other word, in the *Acts* of the *Apostles* it is used ten times : and in none of all those places signifieth anie descending from a higher place unto a lower, but a removing simply from one place unto another. Whereupon the *Vulgar Latin edition* ( which none of the *Romanists* <sup>m</sup> upon any pretense may presume to reject ) doth render it there by the generall termes of *nabeo*, *venio*, *p devenio*, *q supervenio*. and where it retayneth the word *descendo*, it intendeth nothing lesse, then to signifie thereby the lower situation of the place unto which the removeall is noted to be made. If *descending* therefore in the *Acts* of the *Apostles* imply no such kind of thing : what necessitie is there, that thus of force it must be interpreted in the *Creed* of the *Apostles* ? *Menelaus* declared unto us, *ἐλθεῖν κατελθόντας* *ἐλθεῖν γινεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἰδιώταις* : saith King *Antiochus*, in his epistle unto the *Iewes*, *2. Maccab. 11. 29.* *Velle vos descendere ad vestros*, it is in the *Latin edition* : where-

*i Inveniri in-*  
*super assertis in*  
*multis vetustis*  
*simis exempla-*  
*ribus MSS. o-*  
*rationem Do-*  
*minicam in*  
*hunc modum ;*  
*Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν*  
*ᾧ δὴ Pater no-*  
*ster qui es in*  
*inferno etc. Ve-*  
*teres quoque*  
*Macedones ali-*  
*ter orationem*  
*Dominicam*  
*nunquam pre-*  
*catos fuisse. l. 2.*  
*Rodolph. Lava-*  
*ter. de descensu*  
*ad inferos, lib. 1.*  
*part. 1. cap. 8.*  
*k Ioseph. de*  
*Bello Judaic. lib.*  
*3. cap. 25. pag.*  
*785.*  
*l Math 8. 12.*  
*o 22. 13. o 25.*  
*30.*  
*m Nemo illam*  
*rejicere quovis*  
*prætextu au-*  
*deat, vel præ-*  
*sumat. Concil.*  
*Tridentin. sess. 4.*  
*n Act. 15. 4.*  
*o 18. 5. et 27. 5.*  
*p 9. 32.*  
*q 11. 27. o*  
*21. 10.*  
*r 8. 5. o 12. 19.*  
*o 15. 1. o 18.*  
*22.*

by what else is meant, but that they had a desire to goe unto their owne ?

I omit the phrases of *descending in pralium, in forum, in campum, in amicitiam, in caussam, &c.* which are so usuall in good Latin authors : yea and of *descending into heaven* it selfe ; if that be not a jeast which the Poet breaketh upon *Claudius*.

¶ *Juvenal Satyr. 6.*

*Ille senis tremulumq; caput descendere jussit  
In cælum.*

Others adde unto this, that the phrase of *descending ad inferos*, is a popular kinde of speech, which sprung from the opinion that was vulgarly conceived of the situation of the receptacle of the soules under the earth : and that according to the rule of *Aristotle* in his *Topicks*, we must speake as the vulgar, but thinke as wise men doe. Even as wee use to say commonly, that the Sunne is under a cloude, because it is a vulgar forme of speech : and yet it is farre enough from our meaning for all that, to imagine the cloude to bee indeede higher then the Sunne. So *Cicero*, they say, where ever hee hath occasion to mention any thing that concerneth the dead, speaketh still of *Inferi* according to the vulgar phrase : although hee misliked the vulgar opinion, which bred that maner of speaking ; and professed it to bee his judgement, that the soules when they depart out of the body are carried up on high, & not downward unto any habitations under the earth. So *Chrysostom* and *Theophylact* thinke that the Apostle termed the Death and Hell unto which our Saviour did descend, the lower parts of the earth, *Ephes. 4. 9.* *ὑπο τῆς τῆς ἀνθρώπων ὑπονοίας*,<sup>x</sup> from the common opinion of men. So in the translation of the holy Scripture,

¶ *Animos cum  
ē corpore ex-  
cesserint, in  
sublime ferri.  
Cic lib. 1. Tuscu-  
lan. quest.*

¶ *Chrysost. in E-  
phes. homil. 11.  
x Theophylact.  
in Ephes. cap. 4.*



ture, S. Hierome sheweth that wee use the names of *Arcturus* and *Orion*, not approving thereby the ridiculous and monstrous figments of the Poets in this matter, but expelling the Hebrew names of these constellations by the words of heathenish fables; because y we cannot understand that which is sayd, but by those words, which we have learned by use, and drunken in by error.

And just so standeth the case with this word *Hades*: which with the Greeke Poets is the name of *Pluto*, whom they fayned to be the God of the dead under the earth, & gave a denomination unto ἀπότῃς πλῆτῃς, from riches; & because that all things comming to their dissolution, there is nothing which is not at last brought unto him, and made his possession. Thus *Homer* and *Hesiod*, with a *Plato* and others after them, say that *Rhea* brought forth three sonnes, to *Saturne*; *Iupiter*, *Nep-*  
tune,

β Γ' φθιμόν τ' αἰδῶ, ὅς ὑπὸ χθονὶ δάματ' ἀναιδῶ,  
νηλεὲς ἥτορ ἔχωρ.

Qui non possumus intelligere quod dicitur, nisi per ea vocabula, quæ usu didicimus, & errore combibimus. Hieronymus, lib. 2. in Amos cap. 5. & Phurnutius de natura Deor. in Plutone. a Plato, in Gorgia.

b Hesiod. in Theogonia.

and mightie *Hades*, who inhabiteth the houses under the earth, having a mercilesse heart: for that attribute doth *Hesiod* give unto him, because Death spareth no man. So *Homer*:

——— τρεῖς αὖ αἰδῶς ἐνέροισιν ἀνέσσωρ:

c Homer. Iliad. 15.

which is also the description that *Hesiod* maketh of him in that verse:

δ τρέσ' αἰδῶς δ' ἐνέροισι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνέσσωρ.

d Hesiod. Theogon.

*Hades* was afraid, who raigneth over them that lye dead in the earth. Now that κατελθεῖν εἰς ᾅδης in the Creed

is

is a phrase taken from the heathen, and applied to expresse a Christian truth; the very Grammaticall construction may seeme to intimate: where the nowne is not put in the accusative case (as otherwise it should) but after the maner of the Greekes in the genitive case, implying the defect of another word necessarily to be understood; as if it had beene said, *He went unto the place or house of Hades*. as the Poets use to expresse it, sometimes defectively *eis aidao*, and sometimes more fully *eis aidao domon* or *domas*; *into the house or chambers of Hades*. Thus then, they that take *Hades* for the common receptacle of soules, doe interpret the context of the Creed, as Cardinall Cajetan before did the narration of *Moses* touching *Abrahams* giving up the ghost, being gathered to his people, and being buried, Genes. 25.8,9. that the article of the *death* is to be referred to the whole manhood, and the dissolution of the parts thereof; that of the *buriall*, to the body separated from the soule, and this of the *descending into Hades*, to the soule separated from the body as if he had said. *He suffered death truly, by a reall separation of his soule from his bodie: and after this dissolution, the same did befall him that useth to betide all other dead men; his livelesse bodie was sent unto the place which is appointed to receive dead bodies, and his immortall soule went unto the other world, as the soules of other men use to doe.*

εἰς αἶδαν δό-  
μων καὶ Κά. Pin-  
dar, Pyth. od. 3.  
ἢ Νῆω δ' οὐ πῶ,  
αἶδαν δόμων καὶ  
καὶ δόμων γαίης  
Ἐρμῆς, Homer.  
Iliad. χ.

Having now declared, how the Greeke *Hades* (and so the Latin *Inferi*, and our English *Hell*) is taken for the place of the *bodies* and of the *soules* of dead men, severally: it followeth that we shew, how the common state of the dead is signified thereby, and the place in generall which is answerable unto the parts of the whole





k Plutarch. de  
consolat ad A-  
pollon.

The sonne of Cleonicus wisheth that with such manners he may meet and receive Hades (that is, death) and hoare old age. So another Poet, cyted by<sup>k</sup> Plutarch:

Ω' θάνατε παῖδι ἰατρὸς μέλει.  
Λιμὴν γὰρ ὕπνος αἰδᾷς αἶν' ἄσπασιν.

O Death, the soveraigne physician, come: for Hades is in very truth the haven of the earth. So the saying, that the best thing were, never to have been born, and the next to that, to dye quickly; is thus expressed by Theognis, in his elegies:

Γάστριν μὲν φῶτα ὀππότεροισιν ἄριστον,  
μηδ' εἰσεῖν αἰγὰς ὕψι' ἡλίου.  
Φύτα δ', ὅπως αἰετὶ πύλας αἰδᾷο περιᾶται,  
καὶ κείσται πονέω γῆν ἱπταμένοισιν.

Sophocles in the beginning of his *Trachiniae*, bringeth in *Deianira* affirming that, howsoever it were an old saying among men, that none could know whether a mans life were happy or unhappy before he were dead; yet she knew her own to be heavie and unfortunate before she went to Hades.

Ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν ἑμὸν, καὶ πρὶν εἰς ἄδ' εὐμολεῖν,  
Ἐξοῖδ' ἔχουσι διζυγῇ τε καὶ βαρυῖ.

where πρὶν εἰς ἄδ' εὐμολεῖν, is the same with πρὸ θανάτου before death: as both the ancient *Scholiast* and the matter it selfe doth shew. So in his *Ajax*:

Κρείσσων γὰρ ἄδ' αὖ κεύθευ, ἢ νοσῶν μοῖται.

He is better that is hidden in Hades (that is to say, he that is dead, ὁ τεθνηκώς, as the *Scholiast* rightly expoundeth it) then he that is sick past recoverie. and in his *Antigone*:

Μητὴρ δ' ἐν ἄδ' καὶ πατὴρ κλειθρόντι,  
Οὐκ ἔσ' ἀδελφὸς ὅστις αὖ βλαστῇ ποτὶ.

My father and mother being layd in Hades, it is not possible that any brother should spring forth afterward. Where with <sup>l</sup> Clemens Alexandrinus doth fitly compare that speech of the wife of *Intaphernes* in <sup>m</sup> Herodotus: Πα-

<sup>l</sup> Clem. Strom.  
lib. 6.  
<sup>m</sup> Herodot. his-  
tor. lib 3.



Τὸς δὲ καὶ μητρὸς οὐκ ἔτι μεθ' ἡμῶν ζώντων, ἀδελφεὸς ἂν ἄλλος  
 οὐδὲν τρόπον γένοιτο. *My father and mother being now no  
 longer living, another brother by no manner of means can  
 be had. So that ἐν ᾧ αἰὼν κεκαθότων or τελευχότων, being in  
 Hades, with the one, is the same with οὐκ ἔτι ζώντων,  
 not now living, in the other; or as it is alledged by Cle-  
 mens, οὐκ ἔτι ὄντων, not now being: which is the Scripture  
 phrase of them that have left this world, Genes. 5. 24.  
 and 42. 36. Psal. 39. 13. Jerem. 31. 15. and 49. 10. used al-  
 so by Homer, Iliad. β.*

οὐ γὰρ ἔτι οἶναι τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἔστι  
 οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἔτι αὐτὸς ἴστω.

Touching the use of the word *Hell* in the Scrip-  
 tures, thus writeth *Iansenius*, expounding those words,  
 Proverb. 15. 11. *Hell and destruction are before the Lord:*  
*how much more then, the hearts of the children of men?*  
 It is to be known, that by *Hell and destruction* (which  
 two in the Scriptures are often joyned together) the state of  
 the dead is signified; and not of the damned only, as wee  
 commonly doe conceive when we heare these words, but the  
 state of the deceased in generall. So<sup>o</sup> *Sanctius* the Iesuite,  
 with *Sa* his fellow, acknowledgeth, that *Hell* in the  
 Scripture is frequently taken for *Death*. Therefore are  
 these two joyned together, Revel. 1. 18. *I have the keyes*  
*of Hell and of Death*, or (as other Greek copies read; a-  
 greeably to the old Latin and Aethiopian translation)  
*of Death and of Hell*. and Esai. 28. 15. *We have made a*  
*covenant with Death, and with Hell we are at agreement.*  
 where the *Septuagint*, to shew that the same thing is  
 meant by both the words, do place the one in the room  
 of the other, after this maner: *We have made a covenant*  
*with Hell, and with Death an agreement.* The same  
 things likewise are indifferently attributed unto them

n Sciendum  
 quod per In-  
 fernum (pro  
 quo dictio He-  
 braica proprie  
 significat se-  
 pulchrum) &  
 perditionem,  
 quæ duo in  
 scripturis sæpè  
 conjunguntur,  
 significatur  
 status mortuo-  
 rum; & non  
 solum damna-  
 torum, ut nos  
 ferè ex his vo-  
 cibus auditis  
 concipimus,  
 sed in genere  
 status defun-  
 ctorum. *Cornel-  
 Iansen, in Pro-  
 verb 15.  
 o Gasp. Sanct.  
 in Act. 2. sect. 36.*

p. Κατά: sic  
 πύλας ἁδου, καὶ αἰεί  
 215. Sapiens. 16.  
 13.  
 q. Deducis ad  
 portas mortis,  
 & reducis. Lat.  
 ibid.

1. Epiphani in  
 Anacephalaosi,  
 pag. 531. edit.  
 Græc.  
 f. Id. in Ancho-  
 rato, pag. 484.  
 Vid. etiam eund.  
 contra Arioma-  
 nist. hares. 69.  
 pag. 337.  
 t. Athanas. O-  
 per. Græcolat.  
 tom. 1. pag. 801.  
 u. Ibid. pag. 805.  
 x. Solutos per  
 Dominū dicit  
 dolores inferni,  
 sive mortis. Bed.  
 Restrict. in Ast.  
 cap. 2.

both : as that they are unsatiable, and never full ; spo-  
 ken of *Hell*, Proverb. 27. 20. and of *Death*, Haback. 2. 5.  
 So the gates of *Hell*, Esai. 38. 10. are the gates of *Death*,  
 Psalm. 9. 13. and 107. 18. and therefore where we read  
 in the book of Wisedome ; ¶ *Thou leadeſt to the gates*  
*of Hell, and bringeſt backe againe* : the Vulgar Latin  
 translateth it; ¶ *Thou leadeſt to the gates of Death, and*  
*bringeſt back againe*. So the sorrowes of *Death*, Psal.  
 18. 4. are in the verse following termed, the sorrowes  
 of *Hell* : and therefore the *LXX.* (as hath beene shewed)  
 translating the selfe same words of *David*, doe in the  
 Psalme render them *the sorrowes of Hell*, and in the hi-  
 storie 2. Sam. 22. 6. ( where the same Psalme is repea-  
 red) *the sorrowes of Death*. Whence also that difference  
 of reading came, Act. 2. 24. aswell in the copies of the  
 text as in the citations of the ancient Fathers : which  
 was the lesse regarded, because that varietie in the  
 words bredd little or no difference at all in the sense.  
 Therefore *Epiphanius* in one place, having respect to  
 the beginning of the verse, saith that *Christ* loosed ὡς  
 λύσας θανάτου *the sorrowes of Death* : and yet in ano-  
 ther, citing the later end of the verse, because it was not  
 possible he should be holden by it, addeth this explication  
 thereunto, ὡς ἐξῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁδου, that is to say, by *Hell*.  
 And the author of the Sermon upon *Christs* passion, a-  
 mong the workes of *Athanasius*, onewhere saith that  
 he loosed the sorrowes of *Hell*, and otherwhere that  
 he loosed the sorrowes of *Death*. unto whom wee  
 may adjoyne *Bede*, x who is in like maner indifferent  
 for eyther reading.

In the Proverbs, where it is said; *There is a way which*  
*seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the waies*  
*of Death* : Proverb. 14. 12. and 16. 25. the *LXX.* in both  
 places



places for Death put πυθμένα "αδς the bottome of Hell. and on the other side, where it is said; Thou shalt beate him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soule from Hell: Proverb. 23. 14. they reade, τλω' ψυχῶ αὐτῆς ἐκ θανάτου ῥύσῃ, Thou shalt deliver his soule from Death. So in Hose. 13. 14. where the Hebrew and Greeke both reade; I will deliver them from the hand of Hell: the Vulgar Latin hath; De manu mortis liberabo eos, I will deliver them from the hand of Death. which S. Cyrill of Alexandria sheweth to be the same in effect. for y he hath redeemed us (saith he) from the hand of Hell, that is to say, from the power of Death. So out of the text, Matth. 16. 18. Eusebius noteth, that the Church doth <sup>z</sup> not give place to the gates of DEATH, for that one saying which Christ did utter: Vpon the rocke I will build my Church, and the gates of HELL shall not prevaile against it. S. Ambrose also from the same text collecteth thus, that <sup>a</sup> faith is the foundation of the Church. For it was not said of the flesh of Peter, but of the faith, that the gates of DEATH should not prevaile against it: but the confession (of the faith) overcame HELL. So Theodoret noteth, that the <sup>b</sup> name of Hell is given unto Death, in that place, Cantic. 8. 6. Love is strong as death, jealousy is hard or cruell as Hell. which in the writings of the Fathers is a thing very usuall. Take the Poems of Theodorus Prodromus for an instance: where delivering an historie out of the life of S. Chrysostom, of a woman that had lost foure of her sonnes; he saith that they foure were gone unto Hades,

—— πέντ' ἔτεκες, ἀλλ' Ἀΐδός δε

οἱ πέντε μετέβαν, καὶ ὁ πέμπτος ἀγχοδιπότμῃ.

<sup>b</sup> Infernum autem ex opinione, quæ invaluit, usurpavit; hoc etiam morti nomen imponens, Theodoret. in Cantic. 8.

γ Ἀποστολῆς 3  
ἡμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς  
θανάτου, καὶ τῆς  
ἐξουσίας τοῦ θανάτου.  
Cyrill.  
in Hoseam, pag.  
371.  
z ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος  
οὐ δώσει πύλιν  
ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ οὐ  
μία ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν  
αὐτῆς ἀποθήσεται  
ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐπὶ  
τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομηθείσῃ.  
μὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ  
καρτίᾳ, καὶ πύλη  
αὐτῆς οὐ καταρτίσεται.  
Euseb. lib. 1. Praeparat.  
Evangelic.  
pag. 7.  
a Fides ergo  
est Ecclesiae  
fundamentum.  
Non enim de  
carne Petri, sed  
de fide dictum  
est, quia portæ  
mortis ei non  
prævalerunt;  
sed confessio  
vicit infernum.  
Ambros. de In-  
carnat. sacra-  
ment. cap. 5.

and relating how S. Basil had freed the countrey of Cappadocia from famine, thus he expresseth it :

Αἴγε σε κατωαλόκη πείνης θρόνος ἀμφὶ ὃ χεῖλος  
βάψε λυγρὸ θανάτοιο. χέρες δ' ἀγναὶ βασιλείᾳ  
ἄρπασαν ἐκ σ' Αἴδαο.

and shewing how Gregory Nazianzen, when he was a childe, was recovered from death by being brought to the communion Table; he saith he was brought unto the *Sunne* from *Hades* :

καὶ τάχ' ἀνέξ Αἴδαο μεδίζεται ἡελίον δε.

Gregory himselfe likewise in his Poems, setting out the dangers of a sea-faring life, saith that <sup>c</sup> the greater part of them that saile the seas is in Hades. Basil of Se-  
leucia, speaking of the translation of Enoch and Elias, saith in one place, that <sup>d</sup> Enoch remayned out of Deaths nett, Elias obeyed not the lawes of nature; and in another, that <sup>e</sup> Elias remayned superior to death, Enoch by translation declined Hades: making Death and Hades to be one and the same thing. So he maketh Elias to pray thus, at the rayfing of the widowes sonne. <sup>f</sup> Shew, o Lord, that Death is made gentle towards men, let it learne the evidences of thy humanity; let the documents of thy goodnesse come even to Hades. And as he there noteth that <sup>g</sup> Death received an overthrow from Elias: so in another place he noteth that <sup>h</sup> Hades received a like overthrow, by Christs rayfing of the dead. whereupon he bringeth in S. Peter, using this speech unto our Sa-

<sup>c</sup> Ποιπότερον τὸ πλεον ἐν Αἴδῃ.  
Nazianz. Carm.  
15. de Vita iu-  
nensib. tom. 2.  
edit. Græcolat.  
pag. 91.

<sup>d</sup> Ἐνὶ χερσὶν  
ἰδοὺ τὸν θάνατον  
στυγνόν, Ἡλίας  
πῶς τὸ φῶς τοῦ  
αἵματος σου  
μὴν. Basil, Se-  
leucia in Ionam  
orat. 2. pag. 114.

<sup>e</sup> Ἡλίας ἀντί-  
στοιχὸν μὲν  
μαρτυροῦν, Ἐνὶ χερσὶν  
ἰδοὺ τὸν θάνατον  
στυγνόν. Id. in illud:  
Ecce ascendimus  
Hierosolym.  
pag. 264.

<sup>f</sup> Δείξον ὡς εὐσπλαγχνὸς καὶ θάλατταν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἡμετέρους, μαρτυρῶν τὰς τοῦ  
σοῦ οὐλοῦ θρασύτητας, φθάνω ἢ ἀρχὴς αὐτῆς τὰς τοῦ ἀγαθότητος δόξας. Id. in Elias.  
pag. 97. <sup>g</sup> ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀκμήτος θάνατος, τὸν ἦσαν διὰ τὸν Ἡλίας ἐμψύχων. Ibid. <sup>h</sup> οὐ  
πρὸς ἰσχυροῦς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἦσαν. Id. in illud: Ecce ascendimus Hierosolym. pag. 265.

viour :



viour: i Shall Death make any youthfull attempt against thee, whose voyce Hades could not endure? The other day thou didst call the widowes sonne that was dead; and Death fled, not being able to accompany him unto the grave whom he had overcome: how shall Death therefore lay hold on him, whom it feareth? and our Saviour himselfe speaking thus unto his Disciples. k I will arise out of the grave, renewing the Resurrection: I will teach Hades that it must expect the Resurrection to succeed it. For in me both Death ceaseth, and immortalitie is planted. So saith S. Cyrill of Alexandria: l Christ was raised up for us. for he could not be detayned by the gates of Hades, nor taken at all by the bonds of Death. And therefore Cyrill of Hierusalem having sayd that our Saviour did m descend into Hades, doth presently adde as an explication thereof. n He descended into Death as a man: saith Athanasius. o The diuine nature (saith Ruffinus, meaning the diuine person) by his flesh descended into Death; not that according to the law of mortall men he should be detayned of death, but that rising againe by himselfe he might open the gates of death. p When thou didst descend into Death, o immortal Life, (say the Grecians in their Liturgie) thou didst then mortifie Hades or Hell with the brightnesse of thy diuinitie.

And thus, if my memory do not faile me, (for at this present I have not the booke lying by me) is the article expressed in the Hebrew Creed, which is printed with Potkens & Æthiopian Syllabarie. He descended

eis tē thanatōn. Athanas. de Incarnat. Verbi, contra Gentes, pag. 77. o Divina natura in mortem per carnem descendit; non ut lege mortalium detineretur a morte, sed ut per se resurrecturus januas mortis aperiret. Ruffin. in exposit. Symbol. p. On the death of Christ, in the Liturgie of the Greeks. Anastas. Grec. & Liturg. Chrysost. Latin. & Cone Thuf. o edit. q Syllabar. Æthiopic. ad calcem Psalterij, edit. Hebraic. Grec. Latin. & Æthiopic. in fol.

into

Athanas. orat.  
 4. contra Arian.  
 tom. 1. edit. Gre-  
 colat. pag. 291.  
 serm. in passion.  
 & Cruc. Dom.  
 ibid. pag. 801.  
 quest. ad Anti-  
 o. h. tom. 2. pag.  
 321. Euseb. lib. 5.  
 Demonstrat.  
 Evangelic. pag.  
 155. & lib. 10.  
 pag. 313. edit.  
 Græc. Caesaris.  
 Dialog. 3. pag.  
 1132. edit. Basil.  
 See before, pag.  
 282.  
 ἡ τῶν θανάτων  
 οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ  
 πρὸς τὸν ἀναστά-  
 σιν. Euseb. De-  
 monstrat. Evan-  
 gelic. lib. 10. pag.  
 307.

Lactant. Insti-  
 tut. lib. 4. cap. 18.

Prosper de  
 prom. & pra-  
 dict. part. 3. cap.  
 20.

Lactant. insti-  
 tut. cap. 19.

into the shadow of death. where the Hebrew Interpreter  
 doth render *Hades* by the shadow of death : as the  
 Greeke Interpreters, in that text ( which by the Fa-  
 thers is applied to our Saviours descent into Hell) Job.  
 38. 17. doe render the shadow of death by *Hades*. for  
 where the Hebrew hath *שְׁעֵי צֶלְשָׁוִת* the gates of the shadow  
 of death, they reade; *φυλακῶν ἁδιδιαιδῶν* *οἱ σὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἁδῆς*, the  
 keepers of the gates of Hades seeing thee, shranke for  
 feare. & The resurrection from the dead therefore being  
 the end of our Saviours suffering (as Eusebius notes) and  
 so the beginning of his glorifying : the first degree of  
 his exaltation would thus very aptly answer unto the  
 last degree of his humiliation that as his Resurrection  
 is an arising from the dead, so his descending unto Ha-  
 des or *ad inferos* should be no other thing but a going to  
 the dead. For further confirmation whereof, let it be  
 considered, that S. Hierome in the vulgar Latin transla-  
 tion of the Bible, hath *ad inferos deducuntur*, Ecclesiasticus  
 9. 3. where the Hebrew and Greeke reade, *to the dead* :  
 and in like manner, Proverb 2. 18. he hath *ad inferos*  
 againe, where *מַיְמֹת* is in the Hebrew ; which being a  
 word that sometimes signifieth the dead, and sometimes  
 Gyants, the Lxx. doe joine both together and reade,  
*παρὰ τῶν ἁδῆ μετὰ τῶν γιγνένων*, in Hades with the Gi-  
 ants. So in the Sibylline verses cyted by Lactantius,

ἵνα φθινομένοισι λαλήσῃ,

that he may speake unto the dead ; is in Prosper transla-  
 ted, *Vt inferis loquatur* : and those other verses touch-  
 ing our Saviours Resurrection

\* καὶ τότε ἀπὸ φθιμένων ἀναύτας εἰς φάος ἦξα  
 πρώτος ἀναστάσεως κλητοῖς ἀρχῶν ὑποδείξας.

Then coming forth from the Dead, &c. are thus turned  
 into



into Latin in Prosper. *¶ Tunc ab inferis regressus, ad lucem veniet primus resurrectionis principio revocatus ostensio.* Then returning from Hell, he shall come unto the light first shewing the beginning of the Resurrection unto those who he shall call back from thence. for <sup>2</sup> Christ returning backe a conqueror from Hades unto life (as Basil of Seleucia writeth) the dead were taught the reviving againe unto life. His <sup>a</sup> rising from the Dead, was the loosing of us from Hades: saith Gregory Nazianzen. <sup>b</sup> He was ray-sed from Hades or from the dead; and ray-sed me being dead with him: saith Nectarius, his successor in the See of Constantinople. Therefore is he called <sup>c</sup> the first begotten of the dead, because he was the first that rose from Hades; as we also shall rise at his second coming: saith the author of the Treatise of Definitions, among the workes of Athanasius.

Tolay downe all the places of the Fathers, wherein our Lords rising againe from the Dead, is termed his rising againe from Hades, Inferi or Hell, would be a needlesse labour: for this we need go no further then to the Canon of the Masse it selfe; where in the prayer that followeth next after the Consecration, there being a Commemoration made of Christs passion, resurrection, and ascension, the second is set out by the title *ab inferis resurrectionis*, of the resurrection from Hell. For as the <sup>d</sup> Liturgies of the Easterne Churches doe here make mention *ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως* of the resurrection from the dead: so those of the West retayne that other title of the resurrection *ab inferis*, that is, *ἐκ τῆς ᾗδης ἐγέρσεως* (as it is in the Liturgie that goeth under the name

y Prosp. ut sup. cap. 29.

z. dñc (σπρωγὸς) ἐκ νεκρῶν πρῶτος ἐστὶν ἀναστὰς ἰδὼς ἅπαντας, δι' οὗ ἡμεῖς ἀναστήσομεθα. Basil. Seleuc. in Ionam, erat. 2.

a. ἡ γ' (leg. δ' ἐκ) νεκρῶν ἡ γὰρ πρῶτος, ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἡμεῶν. Gregor. Nazianz. in Definitionib. Jamblic. 13. tom. 2. edit. Græcolat pag. 201.

b. Excitatus est ab inferis, meq; mortuum simul excitavit. Nectar. erat. in Theodor. marty. a Perionio convers.

c. Πρωτότερος τῶν νεκρῶν. διὸ καὶ ἀνίστηται πρῶτος ἐκ τῆς ᾗδης, καὶ ἡμεῖς μετὰ μὲντοι αὐτοῦ ἀνίσταμεθα. Tract. de Definitionib. tom. 2.

Oper. Athanas. Græcolat. pag. 59.

d. Liturg. Iacobi, Marci, Clementis, Basilij, & Gregorij Theologi. c. Ambros. de Sacramentis. lib. 4. cap. 6. Offic. Ambrosian. tom. 1. Liturgic. Pamelij, pag. 302. Sacramentar. Gregorian. tom. 2. pag. 181.

of S. Peter) or τὸ ἐν τῷ ᾧ ἀναστρέφεται, as it is in the Gre-  
gorian Office translated into Greek by Codinus. If then  
the resurrection frō the dead be the same with the resur-  
rection from Hades, Inferi or Hell: why may not the go-  
ing unto Hades, Inferi or Hell, be interpreted, by the same  
reason, to be the going unto the dead? whereby no more  
is understood, than what is intimated in that phrase  
whē the Latins use of one that hath left this world; *Abijt*  
*ad plures*: or in that of the Hebrewes, so frequent in  
the word of God; He *went or was gathered unto his*  
*people*, he *went or was gathered unto his fathers*. which  
being applied unto a whole generation, Iudg. 2. 10. as  
well as in other places unto particular persons; must of  
necessitie denote the common condition of men de-  
parted out of this life.

Now, although *Death* and *Hades*, *dying* and *going to the dead*, be of neere affinitie one with the other: yet be they not the same thing properly, but the one a consequent of the other; as it appeareth plainly by the vision, Revelat. 6. 8. where *Hades* is directly brought in as a follower of *Death*: & *Death* it selfe, as wise men doe define it, is nothing else but the separation of the soule from the body; which is done in an instant: but *Hades* is the continuation of the body and soule in this state of separation, which lasteth all that space of time which is betwixt the day of death and the day of the resurrection. For as the state of <sup>h</sup> life is comprehended betwixt two extreames, to wit, the beginning thereof and the ending; and there be <sup>i</sup> two motions in nature answerable thereunto, the one whereby the soule concurrerth to the body, (which we <sup>k</sup> call *Generation*) the other where-

f Genes. 25. 8.  
compared with  
15. 15. Numb.  
20. 24. and 27.  
13. &c.

g Mortem ni-  
hil aliud esse  
definiunt sapi-  
entes, nisi sepa-  
rationem ani-  
mæ á corpore.  
*Origen. tractas.*  
*35. in Matth.*  
*cap. 27. Vid. Ter-  
tullian. de Ani-  
mâ, cap. 27. &  
31. & August.*  
*de Civit. Dei.*  
*lib. 13. cap. 6.*  
h Τας ζωῆς ἀπο-  
δοτιέσθαι διὰ τὴν  
μῆνιν, τὸ ἔν τῃ  
ἀρχῇ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ τὴν  
τίλ. *Gregor.*  
τῇ τ' φύσιν ἀπο-  
cap. 16. k ἡ

by



by the body is severed from the soule ( which we call *Death* : ) so the state of *death* in like manner is contained betwixt two bounds, the *beginning*, which is the very same with the ending of the other ; and the last *end*, the motion whereunto is called the *Resurrection*, whereby the body and soule formerly separated are joyned together againe. Thus there be three termes here, as it were in a kinde of *a continued proportion*, the middlemost whereof hath relation to cyther of the extremes : and by the motion to the first a man may be said to be *natus*, to the second *denatus*, to the third *renatus*. The first & the third have a like oppositiō unto the middle; and therefore are like betwixt themselves : the one being a *generation*, the other a *regeneration*. For that our Lord doth call the last *Resurrection* the *Regeneration*, Matth. 19. 28. 1 S. *Augustine* suppoeth that no man doubteth. Neyther would our Lord himselfe have beene styled  $\mu\omicron\ \pi\epsilon\omega\tau\acute{o}\tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \nu\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon$  the first borne from the dead ; unlesse the *Resurrection* were accounted to be a kinde of a new nativitie : whereof he himselfe was in the first place to be made partaker, that among all or in all things he might have the preeminence; the rest of the sonnes of God being to be children of the *Resurrection* also, but in their due time, and in the order of *Post-nati*.

The middle distance betwixt the first and second terme, that is to say, the space of *life* which we lead in this world betwixt the time of our birth and the time of our death ; is opposite to the distance that is betwixt the second and third terme, that is to say, the state of *death* under which man lyeth from the time of his departure out of this life unto the time of his resurrection : and see what difference there is betwixt our

Regenerati-  
onem quippe  
hoc loco, ambi-  
gente nullo,  
novissimam re-  
surrectionem  
vocat. *August.*  
contra duas epist.  
*Pelagian. lib. 3.*  
cap. 3.  
in Revel. 1. 5.  
in  $\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\iota\ \alpha\lambda\phi\iota$ ,  
 $\omega\epsilon\psi\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\chi\ \theta\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha$   
 $\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\iota\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \iota\gamma\alpha$   
 $\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\ \pi\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$   
 $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \omega\epsilon\psi\tau\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma$ .  
*Coloss. 1. 18.*  
o *Luc. 20. 36.*

p Quando  
moriens more-  
retur; cum jam  
in morte esset,  
an tum etiam  
cum in vita fo-  
ret. Taur.

q Plato neq;  
vitæ id tem-  
pus, neq; morti  
dedit (vidit  
quippe utru-  
que esse pug-  
nans) sed tem-  
poris in confi-  
nio. A. Gell.  
Noct. Attic. lib.  
6. cap. 13.

r Τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ὧν  
τοῖς τοῖς τοῖς  
συνέστη, οὐκ ἐξ  
ἐκείνου μεταβα-  
λόντες ἴππον. (al.  
ἐκείνου.) Plato,  
in Parmenide,  
pag. 67.

s I. Corinth. 15.  
54, 55.

t Hæc justè dicentur tunc, quando mortalis hæc & corruptibilis caro (circa quam & mors est, quæ & quodam dominio mortis pressa est) in vitam conscendens, inducit incorruptelam & immortalitatē. Tunc enim verè erit victa mors, quando ea quæ continetur ab eâ caro, exierit de dominio ejus. Irene. lib. 5. cap. 13.

birth, and the life which we spend here after wee are borne; the same difference is there betwixt *Death* and *Hades*, in that other state of our dissolution. That which properly we call *Death* (which is the parting a sunder of the soule and the body) standeth as a middle terme betwixt the *state of life* and the *state of death*, being nothing else but the ending of the one, and the beginning of the other: and as it were a common meare between lands, or a *communis terminus* in a Geometrical magnitude, dividing part from part, but being it selfe a part of neyther, and yet belonging equally unto eyther. Which gave occasion to the question moved by *Taurus* the philosopher: p *When a dying man might be said to die; when he was now dead, or while hee was yet living?* whereunto *Gellius* returneth an answer out of *Plato*: q that his dying was to be attributed neyther to the time of his life nor of his death (because repugnances would arise eyther of those wayes) but to the time which was in the *confine* betwixt both; which *Plato* calleth τὸ ἐξ αὐφώνης, a *moment* or an *instant*, and denieth to be properly any part of time at all. Therefore *Death* doth his part in an instant (as hath beene said) but *Hades* continueth that worke of his, and holdeth the dead as it were under conquest, untill the time of the resurrection; i wherein shall be brought to passe the saying that is written. *O Death, where is thy sting? O Hades, where is thy victorie?* For these things shall rightly be spoken then (saith *Irenæus*) when this mortall and corruptible flesh (about which *Death* is, and which is holden downe by a certaine dominion of

*Death*)



Death) rising up unto life shall put on incorruption and immortalitie. for then shall death be truly overcome, when the flesh that is holden by it, shall come forth out of the Dominion thereof. Death then, as it importeth the separation of the soule from the body (which is the proper acception of it) is a thing distinguishable from *Hades*, as an antecedent from his consequent: but as it is taken for the whole state of death, and the domination which it hath over the dead (*τὸν νεκρῶν δεσποτείαν* *Basilius Se- leuciensis* calleth it, in his oration upon *Elias*) it is the selfe same thing that *Hades* is; and in that respect (as we have seene) the words are sometimes indifferently put, the one for the other.

As therefore our Saviour (that we may apply this now unto him) after he was fastned and lifted up on the Crosse, if he had come downe from thence (as the standers by in mocking wise did wish him to doe) u *Matth. 27.* might be truly said to have beene crucified, but not to 40, 41, 42. have dyed: so when he gave up the ghost, and layde downe his life, if he had presently taken it up againe, he might truly be said to have dyed, but not to have gone to the dead, or to have beene in *Hades*. His remayning under the power of Death untill the third day, made this good. Whom God did rayse up, loosing the sorrowes of death, x forasmuch as it was not possible that he should be holden of it: saith S. Peter. and Christ being raysed from the dead, dyeth now no more, y Death hath no more dominion over him: saith S. Paul. implying thereby, that during the space of time that passed betwixt his death and his resurrection, he was holden by death, and death had some kinde of domination over him. And therefore *Athanasius* (or who ever else was author of that writing to *Liberius* the Roman Bishop) having re-

x καὶ οὕτως ἐκ τῆς  
ἀνάστασις καὶ οὐκ ἔστι  
ἐν τῇ θανάτῳ  
ἀπὸ. *Act. 2. 24.*  
y θάνατος οὐκ ἔστι  
ἐν τῇ ἀνάστασι.  
*Rom. 6. 9.*

z Eπελεγε εν τω  
το ταφην, αρεση-  
νην τω πατρι,  
εν οδω θανατου  
εν ελπιει της αν-  
τη. Athanas. Re-  
script, ad Liberi-  
um, tomo 1. pag.  
397.

a Tit. 2. 3. εν  
πιστει ο θανατος,  
το πο ειναι εναν-  
τιον της ζωης,  
οτι αποστη εν-  
ειδον. Origen.  
Dialog. 3.

b Act. 3. 15.

c Act. 8. 33.

d Ioh. 10. 18.

e Ibid.

f 1. Cor. 15. 20.

g Cyprian testi-  
mon. ad vers. lu-  
das, lib. 2. sect.  
24. Lactant. In-stitut. lib. 4. cap.

19. Ruffin. in ex-  
posit. Symbol.

ference unto the former text; affirmeth that <sup>z</sup> he rayed up that buried body of his, and presented it to his Father, having freed it from Death, of which it was holden. and Maximus (or he that collected the Dialogues against the Marcionites, under the name of Origen, out of him) expounding the other text; <sup>a</sup> Over whom then had Death dominion? saith he. For the saying that it hath no more dominion, sheweth that before it had dominion over him. Not that Death could have any dominion over <sup>b</sup> the Lord of Life, further than he himselfe was pleased to give way unto it: but as, when Death did at the first sease upon him, <sup>c</sup> his life indeed vvas taken from the earth, yet <sup>d</sup> none could take it from him, but he layd it downe of himselfe; so his continuing to be Deaths prisoner for a time, was a voluntarie commitment only, unto which he freely yeelded himselfe for our sakes, not anie yoake of miserable necessitie that Death was able to impose upon him. For <sup>e</sup> he had power to lay downe his life, and he had power to take it again: yet would he not take it againe, before he had first not layd himselfe downe only upon Deaths bed, but slept also upon it; that arising afterward from thence, he might become <sup>f</sup> the first fruits of them that slept. In which respect, the <sup>g</sup> Fathers apply unto him that text of the Psalm; I layd me down and slept, I awaked, for the Lord sustained mee. (Psalm. 3. 5.) and Lactantius that verse of Sibyll,

Και θανάτου μοῖραν τελέσει τρίτον ἡμᾶς ὑπνώσας,

The tearme of death he shall finish,

when he hath slept unto the third day.

His dying, or his burying at the farthest, is that which here is answerable unto his lying downe: but his ταφὴ

<sup>h</sup> Dionys Eccle-  
siast. Hierarch,  
cap. 2.

Τειμήμερος or Τειμήμερόνυκτος (as <sup>h</sup> Dionysius calleth it) his three



his three-dayes buriall, and his continuing for that time in the state of death, is that which answereth unto his sleeping or being in *Hades*. And therefore the Fathers of the fourth Councell of *Toledo*, declaring how in Baptisme the death and resurrection of Christ is signified, do both affirme, that the dipping in the water is as it were a descension into Hell, and the rising out of the water againe, a resurrection; and adde likewise out of Gregory (with whom many other<sup>k</sup> Doctors doe herein agree) that<sup>l</sup> the three-fold dipping is used to signifie the three-dayes buriall. which differeth as much from the simple buriall or putting into the earth, as μετακισμὸς doth from μεταμίσξις, the transportation or leading into captivitye from the detayning in bondage, the committing of one to prison from the holding of him there, and the sowing of the seed from the remayning of it in ground.

And thus have I unfolded at large the generall acceptations of the word *Hades* and *Inferi*, and to the Ecclesiasticall use of the word *Hell* answering thereunto: which being severally applyed to the point of our Saviours descent, make up these three propositions that by the universall consent of Christians are acknowledged to be of undoubted verity. His dead body, though free from corruption, yet did descend into the place of corruption, as other bodies doe. His soule, being separated from his body, departed hence into the other world, as all other mens soules in that case use to doe. He went unto the dead, and remayned for a time in the state of death, as other dead men doe. There remayneth now

i Et ne forte cuiquam sit dubium huius simpli mysteriū sacramenti; videat in comortem & resurrectionem Christi significari. Nam in aquis immersio, quasi in infernum descensio est; & rursus ab aquis emerſio, resurrectio est. Concil. Toletan. IIII. cap. 5. (al. 6.)

k Dionysius sup. Cyrill. vel Iohan. Hierosolymitan. Cateches. 2. Mystagogic. Petrus Chrysologus, serm. 113. Leo I. epist. 4. cap. 3. Paschasius de Spiritu S. lib. 2. cap. 5. Io. Damascen. Orthodox. fd. lib. 4. cap. 10. Germanus in rev. Ecclesiast. Theoria. Walafrid, Strab. de reb. Ecclesiastic.

cap. 26. Theophylact in Iohan. cap. 3. I Nos autem quòd tertio mergimus, triduanæ sepulturæ sacramenta signamus: ut dum tertio infans ab aquis educitur, resurrectio triduanæ temporis exprimat, Concil. Toletan. ex Gregorio, lib. 1. Regisiri, epist. 41.

the

m Descendere  
dicitur, cum a-  
liquid facit in  
terrâ, quod  
præter usitatâ  
naturæ cursum  
mirabiliter fa-  
ctum præsentiam  
quodam  
modo ejus o-  
stendat. *August.  
de Civit. Dei,  
lib. 16. cap. 5.*  
n Descendere  
dicitur Deus;  
quando curam  
humanæ fragi-  
litis habere  
dignatur. *Aug.  
serm. 70. de  
Tempore.*

o Erat caro e-  
jus in monu-  
mento; sed vir-  
tus ejus opera-  
batur è cælo.  
*Ambros. de In-  
carnat. cap. 5.*

p *Supr. pag. 322*  
q *Supr. pag. 317*  
r Ego dormio,  
in Cruce scili-  
cet, & cor meū

vigilat: cum divinitas Tartara spoliavit, & opima spolia retulit de triumpho superatæ mor-  
tis æternæ, atque dejectæ diabolicæ potestatis. *Philo Carpath. in Cantic. 5.* f Quem in  
corpore constitutum tinerunt, dicentes; Quid nobis & tibi, Iesu fili Dei excelsi? venisti  
ante tempus torquere nos? quomodo nudam ipsam divinitatem contra se descendantem  
poterunt sustinere? Ecce post tres dies mortis suæ revertetur ab inferis, quasi victor de bel-  
lo. *Op. imperfect. in Matih. homil. 35. 1022. 2. Chrysostem.*

the vulgar acception of the word *Hell*, whereby it is ta-  
ken for the place of torment prepared for the Divell  
and his Angells: and touching this also, all Christians  
do agree thus farre, that *Christ* did descend thither at  
leastwise in a virtuall maner; as *God* is said to descend,  
when he doth any thing upon earth, which being wonder-  
fully done beyond the usuall course of nature may in some  
sort shew his presence, or when he otherwise<sup>n</sup> vouchsa-  
feth to have care of humane frailtie. Thus when *Christs*  
of flesh was in the tombe, his power did worke from Heaven:  
saith S. *Ambrose*. which agreeth with that which was  
before cyted out of the *Armenians* Confession: p Ac-  
cording to his body which was dead, he descended into the  
grave; but according to his *DIVINITIE*, which did live,  
he overcame *Hell* in the meane time. and with that which  
was cyted out of *Philo Carpathius*, upon *Cantic. 5. 2. I*  
*sleepe, but my heart waketh: q in the grave spoyling Hell.*  
for which, in the *Latin Collections* that goe under his  
name, we reade thus. *I sleepe, to wit on the Crosse, and*  
*my heart waketh: when my DIVINITIE spoyled Hell,*  
*and brought rich spoyles from the triumph of everlasting*  
*death overcome, and the Divells power overthrowne.* The  
author of the imperfect worke upon *Matthew*, attribu-  
teth this to the *Divinitie*, not cloathed with any part  
of the *Humanitie*, but *naked*, as he speaketh. Seeing  
the *Divels* feared him, (saith he) while he was in the bo-  
dy, saying; *What have we to doe with thee, Iesus the sonne*  
*of the high God? art thou come to torment us before our*

time?



time? how shall they be able to endure his **NAKED DIVINITY** descending against them? Behold after three dayes of his death he shall returne from Hell, as a conqueror from the warre.

This conquest others do attribute to his Crosse, others to his Death, others to his Buriall, others to the reall descent of his soule into the place of the damned, others to his Resurrection: and extend the effect thereof not only to the deliverie of the Fathers of the old Testament, but also to the freeing of our soules from Hell. from whence how men may be said to have been delivered, who never were there, *S. Augustin* declareth by these similitudes. *Thou sayest rightly to the physician, Thou hast freed me from this sicknesse; not in which thou wast, but in which thou wast like to be. Some bodie else having a troublesome businesse, was to be cast into prison: there cometh another, and defendeth him. what saith he, when he giveth thanks? Thou hast delivered me from prison. A debtor was in danger to be hanged: the debt is payd for him; he is said to be freed from hanging. In all these things they were not: but because such were their deserts, that unlesse they had beene holpen, there they would have beene; they say rightly that they were freed thence, whither by those that freed them they were not suffered to be brought. That Christ destroyed the power of Hell,<sup>a</sup> spoyled principalities and powers, and made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them: is acknowledged by all Christians. Neyther is there anie who will refuse to subscribe unto that which *Proclus* delivered in his Sermon before *Nestorius* then Bishop of *Constantinople* (inserted into the Acts of the Councell*

*et Recte dicitur medico, Liberasti me ab ægritudine; non in quâ jam eras, sed in quâ futurus eras. Nescio quis habens causâ molestant, mittendus erat in carcerem: venit alius, defendit eum. gratias agens, quid dicit? Eruisti animam meam de carcere. Suspendendus erat debitor: solutum est pro eo; liberatus dicitur de suspendio. In his omnibus non erant: sed quia talibus meritis agebantur, ut, nisi subventum esset, ibi essent; inde se recte dicunt liberari, quò per liberatores suos non sunt permissi per-*

*Augustin. in Psalm. 85. a Ephes. 2. 15.*

of Ephesus.) <sup>x</sup> He was shut up in the grave, who stretched out the heavens like a skinne: he was reckoned among the dead, and spoyled Hell. and that which S. Cyrill and the Synod of Alexandria, wrote unto the same Nestorius, concerning the Confession of their faith: (approved not only by the y third generall Councell held at Ephesus, but also by the <sup>z</sup> fourth at Chalcedon, and the <sup>a</sup> fifth at Constantinople.) <sup>b</sup> To the end that by his unspeakable power treading down death in his own as the first and principall flesh, he might become the first borne from the dead and the first fruits of those that slept; and that he might make a way to mans nature for the turning back againe unto incorruption: by the grace of God he tasted death for all men; and revived the third day, spoyling Hell. All, I say, do agree, that Christ spoyled or (as they were wont to speake) harrowed Hell: whether you take Hell for that which keepeth the soule separated from the body, or that which separateth soule and body bothe from the blessed presence of him who is our true life; the one whereof our Saviour hath conquered by bringing in the Resurrection of the body, the other he hath abolished by procuring for us Life everlasting.

Touching the *maner* and the *meanes*, whereby *Hell* was thus *spoyled*, is all the disagreement. The *maner*: whether our Lord did deliver his people from *Hell* by way of *prevention*, in saving them from coming thither; or by way of *subvention*, in helping those out whom at the time of his death he found there. The *meanes*: whether this were done by his Divinity or his Humanitie or both, whether by the vertue of his sufferings, death, buriall and resurrection, or by the reall descending of his soule into the place wherein mens soules were kept imprisoned. That hee descended not  
into



into the Hell of the damned by the essence of his soule or locally, but *virtually* onely by extending the effect of his power thither: is the common doctrine of *Thomas Aquinas* and the rest of the Schoole. Cardinall *Bellarmino* at first held it to be probable, that *Christs* soule did descend thither, not only by his effects, but by his reall presence also: but afterwards *having considered better of the matter, he resolved that the opinion of Thomas and the other Schoolemen was to be followed.* The same is the judgement of *Suarez*: who concerning this whole article of *Christs* descent into Hell, doth thus deliver his minde. *g* If by an Article of faith we understand a truth, which all the faithfull are bound explicitly to know and beleerve: so I doe not thinke it necessarie to reckon this among the Articles of faith. Because it is not a matter altogether so necessary for all men: and because that for this reason peradventure it is omitted in the Nicene Creed, the knowledge of which Creed seemeth to be sufficient for fulfilling the precept of faith. Lastly for this cause peradventure *Augustin* and other of the Fathers expounding the Creed, doe not unfold this mysterie unto the people. And to speake the truth, it is a matter above the reach of the common people to enter into the discussion of the full meaning of this point of the descension into Hell: the determination whereof dependeth upon the knowledge of the learned tongues and other sciences that come not within the compasse of their understanding. Some experiment whereof they may finde in this; that whereas in the other questions here handled, they might finde themselves able in some

*c* Thom. in Sum. part. 3. q. 51. art. 2.  
*d* Bellarm. lib. 4. de Christo, cap. 16.  
*e* Remelius considerata, sequendam esse existimo sententia S. Thomae, quae est aliorum Scholasticorum in 3. Sent. dist. 22. 1d. in Recognitione Operum.  
*f* Suarez tom. 2. in 2. part. Thom. disput. 43. sect. 4.  
*g* Si nomine articuli intelligamus veritatem, quam omnes fideles explicitè scire ac credere teneantur: sic non existimo necessarium hunc computare inter articulos fidei. Quia non est res admodum necessaria singulis hominibus: & quia

ob hanc fortasse causam in symbolo Niceno omittitur, cujus symboli cognitio videtur esse sufficiens ad præceptum fidei implendum. Denique propterea fortè Aug. & alij Patres in principio citati exponentes symbolum, non explicant populo hoc mysterium. *Id. ibid. sect. 2.*

reasonable sorte to follow me ; here they leave me, I doubt, and let me walke without their company.

It having here likewise beene further manifested, what different opinions have beene entertayned by the ancient Doctors of the Church concerning the determinate place wherein our Saviours soule did remaine during the time of the separation of it from his body: I leave it to be considered by the learned, whether any such controverted matter may fitly be brought in to expound the <sup>h</sup> *Rule of faith* by, which being *common both to the great and the small ones in the Church*, must contayn such verities only as are generally agreed upon by the common consent of all true Christians. and if the words of the article of *Christs* going to *Hades* or *Hell*, may well beare such a generall meaning as this; that he went to the dead, and continued in the state of death untill the time of his Resurrection: it would be thought upon, whether such a truth as this, which findeth universall acceptance among all Christians may not safely passe for an article of our Creed; and the particular limitation of the place unto which our Saviours soule went (whither to the place of blisse, or to the place of torment, or to both) be left, as a number of other Theologicall points are, unto further disputation. In the articles of our faith common agreement must bee required: which wee are sure is more likely to be found in the generall, than in the particular. And this is the onely reason which moved me to enlarge my selfe so much in the declaration of the generall acceptions of the word *Hades*, and the application of them to our Saviours descent spoken of in the Creed. wherein if the zeale which I beare to the peace of the Church, and the settlement of unitie among

*h* Regulam fidei pusillis magnisque communem in Ecclesia perseveranter tenent.  
*August. epist. 9. 57. ad Dardanus.*



among brethren hath carried me too farre, ( as it hath made me indeede quite to forget my intended brevity ) I intreat the Reader to pardon me ; and ceasing to be further troublesome unto him in the prosecution of this intricate argument , I passe to the next question

## OF PRAYER TO

### S A I N T S.

**T**Hat one question of S. Paul, Rom. 10. 14. *How shall they call upon him, in whom they have not beleaved?* among such as lust not to be contentious, will quickly put an end unto this question. For if none can be *invoked* but such as must be *beleaved in*; and none must be beleaved in but God alone: everie one may easily discern, what conclusion will follow thereupon. Againe, all Christians have beene taught, that no part of divine worship is to be communicated unto any creature. for <sup>a</sup> it is written: *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him onely shalt thou serve.* But prayer is such a principall part of this service, that it is usually put for the whole: and the publick place of Gods worship, hath from hence given it the denomination of *the house of prayer*. Furthermore, hee that heareth our prayers, must be able to search the secrets of our hearts; and discern the inward disposition of our soules. For the pouring out of good words, and the offering up of externall sighes and teares, are but the carkase only of a true prayer: the life thereof consisteth in the <sup>d</sup> pouring out of the very soule it selfe, and the sending up of those secret groanes of the spirit which cannot be uttered. But <sup>f</sup> he that searcheth the

<sup>a</sup> *Matth. 4. 10.*  
<sup>b</sup> *Jerem. 10. 25.*  
<sup>c</sup> *Isai. 56. 7.*  
<sup>d</sup> *Psalm. 62. 8.*  
<sup>e</sup> *Rom. 8. 26.*  
<sup>f</sup> *Rom. 8. 27.*

Ccc 3

hearts,

g 1. Kings. 8. hearts, and onely he, knoweth what is the minde of the  
 39 2. Chron. 6. spirit: he heareth in heaven his dwelling place, and gi-  
 30. veth to every man according to his wayes, whose heart he  
 knoweth. for he even he ONELY knoweth the hearts of all  
 the children of men: as Salomon teacheth us in the praier  
 which he made at the dedication of the Temple. wher-  
 unto we may add that golden sentence of his father  
 h Psalm. 65. 2. David for a conclusion: h O thou that hearest prayer,  
 unto thee shall all flesh come.

i Nam idcirco  
 ante Christi  
 adventum non  
 ita colebantur,  
 neq; invoca-  
 bantur spiritus  
 Patriarcharū  
 et Prophetarū,  
 quemadmodū  
 nunc Aposto-  
 los & Marty-  
 res colimus &  
 invocamus:  
 quod illi ad-  
 huc inferni  
 carceribus  
 clausi detine-  
 bantur. B. Bar-  
 win. fin. Prefat.  
 in Controvers. de  
 Ecclesiā triump-  
 phante, in Ord.  
 disputat.

k Quia Scrip-  
 turas conditas  
 & publicatas  
 in primitivā  
 Ecclesiā oport-  
 rebat Christū  
 fundare, & ex-  
 phicare, qui per tacitam suggestionem Spiritus Sanctos secum adducebat: & durum esset id  
 Iudeis præcipere; & occasio daretur Gentibus putandi sibi exhibitos multos Deos pro  
 multitudine Deorum quos relinquebant. Alphons. Salmer. in 1. Timoth. 2. disput. 8.

If it be further here objected by us; that we finde  
 neyther precept nor example of any of the Fathers of  
 the old Testament, whereby this kinde of praying to  
 the soules of the Saints departed may be warranted:  
 Cardinall Bellarmine will give us a reason for it. i for  
 therefore (saith he) the spirits of the Patriarches and the  
 Prophets before the comming of Christ were neyther so  
 worshipped nor invocated, as we doe now worship and invo-  
 cate the Apostles and Martyrs: because that they were de-  
 tained as yet shut up in the prisons of Hell. But if this  
 reason of his be grounded upon a false foundation (as  
 we have already shewed it to be) and the contrary sup-  
 position be most true; that the spirits of the Patriarchs  
 and Prophets were not thus shut up in the prisons of  
 Hell: then have we foure thousand yeares prescription  
 left unto us, to oppose against this innovation. We  
 go further yet, and urge against them, that in the New  
 Testament it selfe we can descry no footsteps of this  
 new kinde of Invocation, more then we did in the  
 Scriptures of the old Testament. For this, Salmeron  
 doth tell us, that k the Scriptures which were made and

published



published in the primitive Church ought to sound and explaine Christ, who by the tacite suggestion of the Spirit did bring the Saints with him: and that it would have beene a hard matter to enioyne this to the Iewes; and to the Gentiles an occasion would be given thereby to thinke, that many Gods were put upon them in steed of the multitude of the Gods whom they had forsaken. So this new worship, you see, fetcheth his originall neyther from the Scriptures of the Old nor of the New Testament: but from I know not what *tacite suggestion*, which smelt so strongly of Idolatry, that at first it was not safe to acquaint eyther the Iewes or the Gentiles therewith. But if any such sweet tradition as this were at first delivered unto the Church by *Christ* and his *Apostles*: we demand further, how it should come to passe, that for the space of 360. yeares together after the birth of our Saviour, we can finde mention no where of any such thing? For howsoever our Challenger giveth it out, that prayer to Saints was of great account, amongst the Fathers of the primitive Church, for the first 400. yeares after *Christ*: yet for nine parts of that time, I dare be bold to say, that he is not able to produce as much as one true testimonie out of any Father, whereby it may appeare, that any account at all was made of it; and for the *tithe* too, he shall finde perhaps before we have done, that he is not like to carry it away so cleerly as he weeneth.

Whether those blessed spirits pray for us, is not the question here: but whether we are to pray unto them. That God onely is to be prayed unto, is the doctrine that was once delivered unto the Saints, for which we so earnestly contend: the Saints praying for us doth no way crosse this (for to whom should the Saints pray, but





the shadow thereof doth follow it ; so in like maner, having God favourable unto us who is over all, it followeth that we shall have all his friends, both Angels and soules and spirits, loving unto us. For they have a fellow-feeling with them that are thought worthy to finde favour from God. Neither are they only favourable unto such as be thus worthy, but they worke with them also that are willing to doe service unto him who is God over all, & are friendly to them, and pray with them, and intreate with them. So as wee may be bold to say, that when men which with resolution propose unto themselves the best things doe pray unto God, many thousands of the sacred powers pray together with them UNSPOKEN to.

Celsus had said of the Angels : *P* that they belong to God, and in that respect we are to put our trust in them, and make oblations to them according to the lawes, and pray unto them, that they may be favourable to us. To this Origen answereth in this maner. *A*way with Celsus his counsell, saying that we must pray to Angels : and let us not so much as afford any little audience to it. For we must pray to him alone who is God over all : and we must pray to the Word of God his onely begotten and the first borne of all creatures ; and we must intreat him, that he as high Priest would present our prayer (when it is come to him) unto his God, and our God, & unto his Father and the father of them that frame their life according to the word of God. And whereas Celsus had further sayd that we must offer first fruits unto Angels, and prayers, as long as we live ; that we may finde them propitious unto us : answer is returned by Origen in the name of the

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to call upon Angels, we not comprehending the knowledge of them which is above the reach of man, is not agreeable to reason. And if by supposition it were granted, that the knowledge of them (which is wonderfull, and secret) might be comprehended: this very knowledge, declaring their nature unto us and the charge over which every one of them is set, would not permit us to presume to pray unto any other but unto God the Lord over all, who is abundantly sufficient for all, by our Saviour the Sonne of God.

Tertullian and Cyprian in the bookes which they purposely wrote concerning Prayer, deliver no other doctrine: but teach us to regulate all our prayers according unto that perfect patterne prescribed by our great Master; wherein we are required to direct our petitions unto Our Father which is in heaven. (Matth. 6. 9. Luk. 11. 2.) *These things* (saith Tertullian in his Apologie for the Christians of his time) *I may not pray for from any other, but from him of whom I know I shall obtayne them: because both it is he who is alone able to give, and I am he unto whom it appertayneth to obtayne that which is requested, being his servant who observe him alone, who for his religion am killed, who offer unto him a rich and great sacrifice, which he himselfe hath commanded, Prayer proceeding from a chaste body, from an innocent soule, from a holy spirit. where he accounteth Prayer to be the chiete sacrifice, wherewith God is worshipped: agreeably to that which Clemens Alexandrinus wrote at the same time. \*We doe not without cause honour God by prayer; and with righteousnesse send up this*

u Hæc ab alio orare non possum, quàm a quo me scio consecuturum: quoniam & ipse est qui solus præstat, & ego sum cui impetrare debetur; famulus ejus qui eum solum observo, qui propter disciplinam ejus occidit, qui ei offero optimam & majorem hostiam, quam ipse mandavit, orationem de carne pudicâ,

de animâ innocenti, de spiritu sancto profectam. Tertullian. Apologetic. cap. 30. x Oὐκ ἀνεκτότως ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τιμωμένοι & δοῦναι, καὶ ταῦτα τὰς θυσίας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡγίου πνεύματος καὶ ἀκατάστατον καὶ ἀκαθάρτον, Clem. Alexandr. lib. 7. Stromat.

Dei, ut adesse omni loco possit? Si homo tantummodò Christus; cur homo in orationibus mediator invocatur, cum invocatio hominis ad præstandam salutem inefficax judicetur? Si homo tantummodò Christus; cur spes in illum ponitur, cum spes in homine maledicta referatur? *Novatian, de Trinitat, cap. 14.* b Sed & in principio epistolæ quam ad Corinthios scribit, ubi dicit; Cum omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini Iesu Christi in omni loco, ipsorum & nostro: eum, cuius nomen invocatur, Deum, Iesum Christum esse pronuntiat. Si ergo & Enos & Moyses & Aaron & Samuel invocabant Dominum, & ipse exaudiebat eos, sine dubio Christum Iesum Dominum invocabant: & si invocare Domini nomen, & adorare Deum, unum atque idem est, sicut invocatur Christus & adorandus est Christus: & sicut offerimus Deo Patri primò omniū orationes, ita & Domino Iesu Christo: & sicut offerimus postulationes Patri, ita offerimus postulationes & Filio: & sicut offerimus gratiarum actiones Deo, ita gratias offerimus Salvatori. *Origen, lib. 8, in epist. ad Roman, cap. 10.*

Neyther is it to be passed over, that one of the speciall arguments whereby the writers of this time do prove our Saviour *Christ* to bee truly God, is taken from our praying unto him and his accepting of our petitions. <sup>a</sup> *If Christ be onely man*, (saith *Novatianus*) *how is he present being called upon every where; seeing this is not the nature of man, but of God, that he can be present at every place? If Christ be onely man: why is a man called upon in our prayers as a mediator; seeing the invocation of a man is judged of no force to yeeld salvation? If Christ be onely man: why is there hope reposed in him; seeing hope in man is sayd to be cursed?* So is it noted by *Origen*, that *S. Paul* <sup>b</sup> in the beginning of the former epistle to the *Corinthians*, where he saith, *With*

all



*D d d 3*

the

*the Father and prayed unto. and for further confirmation hereof he alledgeth ( among other things ) that neyther <sup>f</sup> Jacob , nor David did pray unto any other but God himfelfe , for their deliverance.*

ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὅτι  
 αἱμοὶ ἢ τὸ θῖον  
 παρεγγίλει εἰς.  
 ἐν ὁ δακτὺς ἐν αἰ-  
 λῶν ἢ αὐτοὺς τὸν  
 θῖον παρεγγίλει πε-  
 ρὶ τὸ φανερῶν εἰ. Id.  
 ibid.

The place wherein we first finde the spirits of the deceased to be called unto, rather then called upon; is that in the beginning of the former of the Invectives which *Gregory Nazianzen* wrote against the Emperour *Julian*, about the cccclxiv. year of our Lord. ἄκουε καὶ ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου κωνσταντίνου ψυχὴ (εἰ ἔτι αἰσθῆσις) ὅσαι τε πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων φιλόχριστοι. Heare o thou soule of great *Constantius* (if thou hast any understanding of these things) and as many soules of the Kings before him as loved Christ. where the Greek Scholiast upon that paren-

g Schol. Græc. in  
priorum Nazi-  
anzenii Invekti-  
vam, pag. 2. edit.  
Kionens.

[illegible]

thesis putteth this note. ἰσοκρατικὸν, ἀντὶ τῆς, ἐ' αὐτῆς αἰσθη-  
σεως ἐν τῶν τῆς αἰσθησεως. He speaketh according to the ma-  
ner of Isocrates; meaning, If thou hast any power to heare  
the things that are here. and therein he sayeth rightly.  
for Isocrates useth the same forme of speech, both in  
his *Euagoras* and in his *Aegineticus*. Εὐταξίᾳ οἱ αἰσθη-  
τοῖς τε θνεῶσι ( or τετελευτηκῶσι ) περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε. If they  
which be dead have any sense of the things that are done  
here. The like limitation is used by the same Nazianzen  
toward the end of the funerall oration which he made  
upon his sister *Gorgonia*; where he speaketh thus unto  
her. ἢ If thou hast any care of the things done by us, and  
holy soules receive this honour from God, that they have  
any feeling of such things as these; receive this Oration  
of ours, in stead of many and before many funerall obse-  
quies. So doubtfull the beginnings were of that, which  
our Challenger is pleased to reckon among the chiefe  
articles not of his owne religion onely but also of the  
Saints and Fathers of the primitive Church, who ( if  
his



his word may be taken for the matter) did generally hold the same touching this point that the Church of Rome doth now. But if he had cyther himselfe read the writings of those Saints and Fathers with whose mindes he beareth us in hand he is so well acquainted; or but taken so much information in this case, as the bookes of his owne new Masters were able to afford him: he would not so peremptorily have avouched, that prayer to Saints was generally embraced by the Doctors of the primitive Church as one of the chiefe articles of their Religion.

His owne *Bellarmino* (he might remember) in handling this very question of the Invocation of Saints, had wished him to <sup>i</sup>note, that because the Saints which died before the coming of Christ did not enter into heaven, neyther did see God, nor could ordinarily take knowledge of the prayers of such as should petition unto them; therefore it was not the use in the old Testament to say, Saint Abraham pray for me, &c. For at that time, saith *Suarez*, <sup>k</sup>we reade no where, that any man did directly pray unto the Saints departed, that they should helpe him, or pray for him; for this maner of praying is proper to the law of Grace, wherein the Saints beholding God, are able also to see in him the prayers that are powred out unto them. So doth *Salmeron* also teach, <sup>l</sup>that therefore it was not the maner in the old Testament to resort unto the Saints as intercessors; because they were not as yet blessed and glorified, as now they be: and therefore so great an ho-

*i* Notandum est quia ante Christi adventum Sancti, qui moriebantur, non intrabant in cœlum, nec Deum videbāt, nec cognoscere poterant ordinariē preces supplicantiū: ideo non fuisse consuetum in Testamento veteri, ut diceretur; Sancte Abraham, ora pro me, &c. *Bellarmin de Sanct. Beatis lib. 1. cap. 19.*

<sup>k</sup> Quod autē aliquis directē oraverit Sanctos defunctos, ut se adjuvarent, vel pro se orarent, nusquam legitur. Hic enim modus orandi est proprius legis gratiæ, in quo Sancti videntes Deum, possunt etiam in eo videre orationes, quæ ad ipsos funduntur. *Fr Suarez, in 3. part. Thom. tom. 2. disput. 42. sect. 1.* <sup>l</sup> Dicendum est, ideo non fuisse morem in Veteri Testamento ad eundem Sanctos intercessores, quia nondum erant beati & glorificati, ut modò sunt: ideo non debebatur eis tantus honos, quantus est iste. *Alphonf. Salmer in 1. Timoth. 2. disput. 8.*

m Antea fru-  
stra fuissent  
implorata ip-  
sorū suffra-  
gia, utpote  
nondum con-  
junctorum cum  
Deo in gloriā,  
sed ad reconci-  
liationem usq;  
& regni aper-  
tionem per  
sanguinem re-  
demptoris  
Christi, loco  
quodam ordi-  
nato a Deo ad-  
huc expectan-  
tium: & pro-  
pterea non per-  
cipientium o-  
rationes & vo-  
ta viventium,  
ut quæ, non  
propriā ratio-  
nis ad nos usq;  
pertingentis  
efficaciā, sed in  
verbi divini  
speculo (quod  
intueri ipsis  
nondum datū  
erat) beati in-  
tuentur & au-  
diunt. At post  
persolutum re-  
demptionis no-  
stræ pretium,  
sancti jam reg-  
nantes cum  
Christo in cœ-  
lesti gloriā, etiā

nostras preces vota que exaudiunt: ut quæ universa, in verbo, clarissime intuentur, velut  
quodam speculo. *Alberti. l. 9. c. 13.* n See above, from pag 215. to 225. item pag.  
259. 260. 265. 266. 270. 343. 344. &c. • *Augustin. in Psalm. 36. vers. 1.*

nour as this is, was not due unto them. And <sup>m</sup> in vaine, saith Pighius, should their suffrages have beene implored, as being not yet joyned with God in glory, but untill the reconciliation and the opening of the kingdome by the blood of Christ the redeemer, wayting as yet in a certaine place appointed by God; and therefore not understand-  
ding the prayers and desires of the living. which the blessed doe behold and heare, not by the efficacie of any proper reason reaching from them unto us, but in the glasse of the divine Word; which it was not as yet granted unto them to behold. But after the price of our redemption was payd, the Saints now raigning with Christ in heavenly glory, do heare our prayers and desires: forasmuch as they behold them all most clearely in the Word, as in a certaine glasse.

Now, that diverse of the chiefe Doctors of the Church were of opinion, that the Saints in the New Testament are in the same place & state that the Saints of the Old Testament were in, and that before the day of the last judgement they are not admitted into Heaven and the cleare sight of God (wherein this metaphisicall speculation of the Saints seeing of our praiers is founded:) hath beene before declared out of their owne writings. where that speech of S. *Augustin*; • *Nondum ibi eris: quis nescit?* (Thou shalt not as yet be there: who knoweth it not?) sheweth that the opinion was somewhat generall, and apprehended generally too as more then an opinion. By the Romanists own grounds then, the more generally this point was held by the ancient Fathers, and the more resolvedly: the



lesse generally of force, and the more doubtfully must the Popish doctrine of praying to Saints have beene intertayned by them. And if our Challenger desire to be informed of this doubt that was among the ancient Divines (touching the estate of the Saints now in the time of the New Testament) by the report of the Doctors of his owne religion, rather than by our allegations: let him heare from *Franciscus Pegna*, what they have found herein. ¶ *It was a matter in controversy* (saith he) *of old, whether the soules of the Saints before the day of judgement did see God, and enjoy the divine vision: seeing many worthy men and famous both for learning and holinesse did seeme to hold, that they doe not see nor enjoy it before the day of judgement, untill receiving their bodies together with them they should enjoy divine blessednesse.* For *Irenæus*, *Iustin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Romanus*, *Origen*, *Ambrose*, *Chrysostom*, *Augustin*, *Lactantius*, *Victorinus*, *Prudentius*, *Theodoret*, *Aretas*, *Oecumenius*, *Theophylact*, and *Euthymius* are said to have beene of this opinion: as *Castrus* and *Medina* and *Sotus* do relate. To whom we may adjoyne one more of no lesse credit among our Romanists then any of the others: even *Thomas Stapleton* himselfe, who taketh it for granted, that *these so many famous ancient Fathers*, *Tertullian*, *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Chrysostom*, *Theodoret*, *Oecumenius*, *Theophylact*, *Ambrose*, *Clemens Romanus*, *Origenes*, *Ambrosius*, *Chrysostomus*, *Augustinus*, *Lactantius*, *Victorinus*, *Prudentius*, *Theodoretus*, *Aretas*, *Oecumenius*, *Theophylactus*, & *Euthymius* hujus referuntur fuisse sententiæ: ut commemorant, *Castrus*, & *Medina*, & *Sotus*. *¶ Pegna, in part. 2. Director. Inquisitor comment. 21.* q. Tot illi & tam celebres antiqui patres, *Tertullianus*, *Irenæus*, *Origenes*, *Chrysostomus*, *Theodoretus*, *Oecumenius*, *Theophylactus*, *Ambrosius*, *Clemens Romanus*, *D. Bernardus*, huic sententiæ (quæ nunc in Concilio Florentino magnâ demùm conquiriti-  
one factâ ut dogma fidei definita est) quod iustorum animæ ante diem judicii Dei visione fruuntur, non sunt assensi; sed sententiam contrariam tradiderunt. *Stapleton. Defens. Ecclesiæ auctoris, contra Whistaker, lib. 1, cap. 2.*

and Bernard, did not assent unto this sentence (which now, saith he, in the Councell of Florence was at length after much disputing defined as a doctrine of faith) that the soules of the righteous enjoy the sight of God before the day of judgement; but did deliver the contrary sentence thereunto.

We would intreat our Challenger then, to spell these things and put them together: and afterward to tell us, whether such a conclusion as this may not be deduced from thence.

Such as held that the Saints were not yet admitted to the sight of God; could not well hold that men should pray unto them, in such maner as the Romanists use now to do. because the Saints not enjoying the sight of God, are not able ordinarily to take notice of the prayers that are put up unto them.

But manie and verie famous Doctors too among the ancient, did hold, that the Saints are not yet admitted to the sight of God.

Therefore manie and verie famous Doctors among the ancient, could not well hold, that men should pray unto the Saints in such maner as the Romanists use now to doe.

The first proposition is given unto us by Bellarmine and his fellow Iesuites; the second by Stapleton and other Doctors of the Romish Church: yet all of them with equall boldnesse agree in denying the Conclusion.

It is the certaine and manifest definition of the Councells (saith a Iesuite) confirmed by perpetuall use from the times of the Apostles, and by the authoritie of A L L the Greeke and Latin Fathers; that Saints are to be prayed unto and invocated. A L L the Fathers Greek and Latin teach

this.

r Certa est & manifesta Conciliorum definitio, perpetuo ab Apostolorum temporibus usu, & omnium Graecorum & Latinorum patrum autoritate firmata; Sanctos esse orandos et invocandos. Jo. Azor.

Instituti. Moral. tom. 1. lib. 9. cap. 10.

f Omnes Patres Graeci & Latini docent, Sanctos esse invocandos. Bellarmine. de Eccles. triumph. lib. 1. cap. 6.



this : saith Bellarmine. <sup>t</sup> A L L the Fathers, as well Greeke as Latin, perpetually have called upon the Saints : saith Salmeron. and <sup>u</sup> this is cleere by A L L the writers of the first sixe hundred yeares : quoth Stapleton. for these kinde of men have so enured their tongues to talke of all fathers and all writers ; that they can hardly use any other forme of speech : having told such tales as these so often over , that at last they perswade themselves that they be very true indeed.

<sup>t</sup> Patres universi, tam Graeci quam Latini, perpetuo Sanctos interpellarunt. *Alphonf Salmeron* in 1. *Timoth.* 2. *disput.* 7. <sup>u</sup> Stapleton, *Formesf. part.* 1. *chap.* 9.

The memorie of the Martyrs indeed was from the very beginning had in great reverence : and at their *Memorialls* and *Martyria* , that is to say, at the places wherein their bodies were layd (which were the Churches whereunto the Christians did in those times usually resort ) prayers were ordinarily offered up unto that God for whose cause they layd down their lives. Where, the Lord being pleased to give a gracious answer to such prayers, and to doe many wonderfull things for the honouring of that Christian profession which those worthy champions maintayned unto the death men began afterwards to conceive, that it was at their suite and mediation that these things were granted and effected. Which was the rather beleevd, by reason that the Martyrs themselves were thought to have appeared unto diverse that were thus releevd, both at the places of their memorialls and otherwhere. Notwithstanding, in what sort these things were brought about, S. *Augustin* professeth that it did passe the strength of his understanding to define. <sup>x</sup> whether the Martyrs themselves were in their owne persons present at one time in such diverse places, so farre distant one from another : or whether they remaining in a certaine place removed from all commerce with the affayres of men

<sup>x</sup> Vtrum ipsi per seipfos assint uno tempore tam diversis locis, & tanta inter se longinquitate discretis, etc. *Augustin.* de *Cura pro mortuis*, cap. 16.





f Eius in act  
 λητ τοῦ κριτοῦ α-  
 μι, ὁπρηνεσθαι,  
 οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλῑ ε-  
 σιν Α Γ γλῶσσας ἱστο  
 ἀποστα Canon.  
 Synodica Mi-  
 chaële Syncello  
 citat. in Ignatiū  
 Patriarch. C.P.  
 Encenio.

[illegible]

in shape compleat men, and oftentimes appeare upon horses armed? And if thou thinkest that thou mayest contradict these things: tell me, how can Paul or Peter, or any other Apostle or Martyr, being but one, appeare oftentimes at the same houre in many places? For neyther is an Angel able to be at the same instant in diverse places; but God onely who is uncircumscribable. Whereunto we may further adde those judicious observations of S. Augustine touching this matter.

i Si ergo me potest aliquis in somnis videre, sibi aliquid quod factum est indicantem, vel etiam quod futurum est pronunciantem; cum id ego prorsus ignore, & omnino non curem, non solum quid ille somniat, sed utrum dormiente me vigilet, an vigilante me dormiat, an uno eodemque tempore vigilemus ambo sive dormiamus, quando ille somnium

videt & in quo me videt: quid mirum si nescientes mortui, nec ista sentientes, tamen a viventibus videntur in somniis, & aliquid dicunt, quod erigilantes verum esse cognoscant? *August. de cura pro mortuis, cap. 10.* k Sic autem infirmitas humana sese habet, ut cum mortuum in somnis quisque viderit, ipsius animam se videre arbitretur; cum autem vivum similiter somniaverit, non ejus animam, neque corpus, sed hominis similitudinem sibi apparuisse non dubitet: quasi non possint & mortuorum hominum, eodem modo nescientium, non animæ sed similitudines apparere dormientibus, *ibid. cap. 11.*



in Carthage, who lighting upon a certaine obscure place in Ciceroes Rhetorickes which he was the next day to reade unto his schollers, was so troubled therewith that at night he could scarce sleepe. <sup>l</sup> *In which night* (saith S. Augustin) *I expounded unto him while he was in a dreame, that which he did not understand: nay not I, but my image, I not knowing, and so farre beyond the sea eyther doing or dreaming some other thing, and nothing at all caring for his cares. The like he doth also note to happen unto those that are in raptures and extasies. <sup>m</sup> For unto these also doe appeare images as well of the living as of the dead: but after they have beene restored unto their senses, as many of the dead as they say that they have seen, with them they are truely beleaved to have beene: neyther doe they marke who heare these things, that the images of some living men, that were absent and ignorant of these things, were in like maner seene by them. And for the confession of the Divels in parties possessed, he bringeth in a memorable instance, of that which fell out in Millaine, at the place of the memoriall of the martyrs Protasius and Gervasius. where the Divels did not onely make mention of the Martyrs that were dead, but also of Ambrose the Bishop then living; and besought him that he would spare them: he being otherwise employed, and being utterly ignorant of the thing when it was a doing*

But as S. Augustin doth put us in minde in that discourse, that <sup>o</sup> *men are sometimes ledd into great errors*

*I Quâ nocte somnianti, ego illi quod non intelligebat exposui: immò non ego, sed imago mea nesciente me, & tam longe trans mare aliquid aliud, sive agente, sive somniante, & nihil de illius curis omnino curante. Ibid. m Et his enim apparent imagines vivorum atq; mortuorum: sed cum fuerint sensibus redditi, quoscunque mortuos vidisse se dixerint, verè cum eis fuisse creduntur: nec attendant qui hæc audiunt, similiter ab eis absentium atque nescientium quorundam etiam imagines visas esse vivorum. Ibid. cap. 12.*

<sup>n</sup> Nam Mediolani apud sanctos Protasium & Gervasium martyres, expresso nomine, sicut defunctorum quos eodem modo commemorabant, adhuc vivum dæmones Episcopum confitebantur Ambrosium, atque ut sibi parceret obsecrabant; illo aliud agente, atque hoc cum ageretur omnino nesciente. Ibid. cap. 17. <sup>o</sup> Aliquando autem fallacibus somnijs (al. visis) hi homines in magnos mittuntur errores: quos talia perpeti iustum est. Ibid. cap. 10.

[illegible]

διαμένων ἐκείν. ὁ δὲ λέγει ἰσχυρῶς πολλῶν ἀπατίμων ἐς τὸν βίον οἰσίνοντα. διὰ τοῦτο ἀπέκλεισται τὸς θυμὸς ὁ  
 Θεὸς, καὶ ἐκ ἀφίσει τινὰ τῶν ἀπελθόντων ἐκπελθεῖται· ἐκείνη μὲν λαλῶν ἀπορρίπτει ἐκείνην, ἐκείνη  
 τὰς παρ' ἐκείνης πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπορρίπτει. Id. de Lazan. conc. 4. ibid. pag. 256. Ἦ 2ου αὖ παρ' ἐκείν καὶ ἐκείνη καὶ  
 ἰσχυρῶς, πολλῶν ἀπατίμων ἐκείνης, καὶ αὐτὴ ἐκπελθεῖται ἀπορρίπτει. Synes. epist. 54.

his



his narration of the miracles of *S. Thecla* ( for exam-  
ple) must eyther reject the worke as strangely corrup-  
ted, or easily be drawne to yeeld unto that which I  
have said. For who can digest such relations and ob-  
servations as these? that <sup>f</sup> they who watch the night  
that goeth before her festivitie, doe at that time yearly  
see her driving a fiery chariot in the ayre, and remo-  
ving from *Seleucia* unto *Dalifandus*, as a place which  
she did principally affect, in regard of the commoditie  
and pleasantnesse of the situation. that both shee and  
other of the Saints deceased doe *rejoyce much in solitary*  
*places, and doe ordinarily dwell in them.* that after her  
death she should <sup>u</sup> affect *Oratory and Pœtry, and be conti-*  
*nually delighted with such as did more accurately set forth*  
*her prayes*: (even as *Homer* bringeth in *Apollo*,<sup>x</sup> tickled  
at the heart with hearing the songs that were made un-  
to him in the campe of the Grecians: ) of which he  
produceth two specia'l instances: the one of *Alypius*  
the Grammarian, unto whom being forsaken of the  
physicians *Thecla* ( he saith ) did appeare in the night,  
and demanded of him, what he ayled, and what he  
would. He, to shew his art, and to win the Virgins fa-  
vour with the aptnesse of the verse; returneth for an  
answer unto her that verse, wherewith *Homer* maketh  
*Achilles* to answer his mother *Thetis*, in the first of  
the *Iliads*:

Οἶδ' αὖ. τίη τοι ταῦτ' εἰδούμην πάντ' ἀγορεύω;

*Thou knowest why should I tell it thee that knowest all?*

Whereat *y the Martyr smiling, and being delighted part-*  
*ly with the man partly with the verse, and wondring that*  
*he had answered so aptly*; conveyed a certaine round  
stone unto him, with the touch whereof he was pre-

Fff

sently

f *Basil. Seleuc. de*  
*miraculis S. The-*  
*cle, lib. 2. cap. 10.*

t Καὶ γὰρ οὕτω  
μαρτυροῦντες τῇ ἀρχῇ  
ἵσταντο τὸ ἄρμα  
τὸ χαίρειν, καὶ τὸ  
ταχὺ αἶετα πολλὰ  
ἐκκαλίζοντες. *Ibid.*  
*cap. 21.*

u φιλόλογος γὰρ  
καὶ φιλόποιος, καὶ  
αἰετὸν καὶ ταχὺ  
λογικῶς τε καὶ ὁρμη-  
τικῶς αὐτῶν. *Ib.*  
*cap. 24.*

x Μάλιστα ἔχον-  
τες, ὁ δὲ θεὸς  
τίρσεν αὐτοὺς.  
*Hom. Iliad. α.*

y Ἐπιμεινίσματα  
γὰρ αὐτῶν, καὶ  
ἡδίστα ὅτι τι τὸ  
ἐνδεῖ, ὅτι τι τὸ  
ἵπτα, θαυμάσια  
δὲ καὶ αἰετὰ καὶ ὁρ-  
μητικῶς ἐπικρίνα-  
το. *Basil. Seleuc.*  
*ut supr. cap. 24.*





worthy to be pondered. *b Whom should I finde, that might reconcile me unto thee? Should I have gone unto the Angels? With what prayer? with what sacraments? Many endeavouring to returne unto thee, and not being able to doe it by themselves, as I heare, have tryed these things; and have fallen into the desire of curious visions, and were accounted worthy of illusions.* Whether they that had recourse unto the mediation of Martyrs, in such sort as these had unto the mediation of Angels, deserved to be punished with the like delusions; I leave to the judgement of others: the thing which I observed was this; that such dreames and visions as these, joined with the miraculous cures that were wrought at the monuments of the Martyrs, bred first an opinion in mens mindes of the Martyrs abilitie to helpe them; and so afterward ledd them to the recommending of themselves unto their prayers and protection. where at first they expected onely by their intercession to obtaine temporall b'lessings (such as those cures were that were wrought at their tombes, and other like externall benefites) but proceeded afterward to crave their mediation for the procuring of the remission of their sinns and the furthering of their everlasting salvation. *c As often, dear brethren, as we do celebrate the solemnities of the holy Martyrs; let us so expect by their intercession to obtaine from the Lord TEMPORALL benefits, that by imitating the Martyrs themselves we may deserve to receive eternall: saith the author of the sermon of the Martyrs; which is found among the homilies of S. Augustin and Leo, and in the \* Romane Breviary is ap-*

*b Quem invenire, qui me reconciliaret tibi? An eundem mihi fuit ad Angelos? Quâ prece? quibus sacramentis? Multi conantes ad te redire, neq; per seip'sos valentes, sicut audio, tentaverunt hæc; & inciderunt in desiderium curiosum visionū, & digni habitus illusionibus. Augustin. Confess. lib. 10. cap. 42.*

*c Quotiescumque, Fratres charissimi, sanctorum Martyrum solennia celebramus; ita ipsis intercedentibus expectemus a Domino consequi tempora-*

*ralia beneficia, ut ipsos Martyres imitando accipere mereamur æterna. Serm. de Martyrib. ad calcem sermonum Leonis 1. & tom. 1. Oper. Augustin. Serm. 47. de Sanctis. \* Breviar. Roman. in Communi plurimorum Martyrum extra tempus Paschale, lect. 4.*

f 2. Cor. 1. 11.

tarre



farre the recommending of mens selves unto the pray-  
 ers of the Saints, which began to be used in the latter  
 end of the *fourth* age after *Christ*, came short of that  
 Invocation of Saints, which is at this day practised in  
 the Church of *Rome*: these speciall differences may be  
 observed betwixt the one and the other. *First* in those  
 elder times, he that prayed silently was thought to ho-  
 nour God in a singular maner; as one that *g brought*  
*faith with him, and confessed that God was the searcher*  
*of the heart and reynes, and heard his prayer before it was*  
*powred out of his mouth*: the understanding of the pre-  
 sent secrets of the heart, by the generall judgement of  
 the Fathers, <sup>h</sup> being no more communicated by him  
 unto the creatures, then the knowledge of things to  
 come. for before the day when the secrets of the heart  
 shall be manifested, <sup>i</sup> *almightie God alone doth behold*  
*the hidden things*: saith *S. Hierome*, alledging for prooffe  
 of this the text, *Matth. 6. 4. Thy Father that seeth in*  
*secret. Psalm. 7 9. God searcheth the hearts and reynes.*  
*and 1. King 8. 39. Thou onely knowest the hearts of all*  
*the children of men.* But now in the Church of *Rome*  
 mentall prayers are presented to the Saints, as well as  
 vocall: and they are beleaved to receive both the one  
 and the other.

*Secondly*, in the former times *k it was a great question,*  
*whether at all, or how farre, or after what maner the spirits*

loco: Scrutans corda & renes Deus. Et in Regum volumine. Tu solus nosti corda cuncto-  
 rum filiorum hominum. Hieronymus. lib. 5. in Ezech. ca. 16. Et id. eund. lib. 4. in Ezech. ca. 14. li. 4. in Ierem.  
 cap. 20. & lib. 1. in Matth. cap. 9. (supra. pa. 112.) Io. Chrysost. in Matth. homil. 29. edit. Græc. vel 30.  
 Latin. Gennadius de Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus. cap. 81. Jo. Cassian. Collat. 7. cap. 13. Sedulius in Rom.  
 2. Paschasius de Spiritu Sancto, lib. 2. cap. 1. & alios possum. k Respondeo magnam quidem esse  
 questionem, nec in presentia differendam, quod sit operis prolixioris; utrum, vel quatenus,  
 vel quomodo ea quæ circa nos aguntur noverint spiritus mortuorum. Augustinus, in Psal. 108.  
 Mattias. 1.

g Qui in si-  
 lentio orat, si-  
 dem defert, &  
 confitetur  
 quod Deus  
 scrutator cordis  
 & renis sit, &  
 orationem tuam  
 ante ille audi-  
 at, quam tuo  
 ore fundatur.  
 Ambros. de Sa-  
 cramentis. lib. 6.  
 cap. 4.  
 h ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ὁ  
 καρδίας ὁ  
 μόνος ὁ  
 ὁρῶν τὰ  
 κρυπτά τῆς  
 καρδίας  
 αὐτοῦ οἱ ἰσχυροί  
 τὰ ἐκ καρδίας, ὁ  
 μόνος ὁ ὁρῶν τὰ  
 κρυπτά. Quæst. 99.  
 ad Ambrach.  
 iorn. 2. Oper. A-  
 thanasij, pag.  
 303. edit. Græ-  
 colat.

i Et prius qui-  
 dem solus om-  
 nipotens Deus  
 cernit occulta,  
 dicente sermo-  
 ne Evangelico;  
 Et pater qui vi-  
 det in abscon-  
 dito. Et in alio

l Vid. eund. de  
Curâ pro mortu-  
is, cap. 16 supra  
citatum, initio  
pag. 392. Sanctos  
in genere solli-  
citos esse pro  
Ecclesiâ, & o-  
rare posse, atq;  
etiam reipsâ o-  
rare; fatentur  
Philippus in  
Apologiâ Con-  
fessionis Augu-  
stianæ, articulo  
de invocatione  
Sanctorum,  
Brentius in  
Confessione  
Wirtember-  
genfi, capite de  
invocatione  
Sanctorum,  
Kemnitius in  
tertiâ parte  
Examinis Con-  
cilij Tridectini:  
Calvinus quo-  
que libro tertio  
Institut. cap.  
20. sect. 21. &  
24. non repug-  
nat huic sen-  
tentix. Bellar-

min. de Missa, lib. 2. cap. 8.

m Augustinus dicit: Quia mortui nesciunt, etiâ sancti, quid  
agant vivi, etiâ eorû filij Gloss. interlineat in Esai 63. n Si tanti Patriarchæ quid erga po-  
pulum ex his procreatû ageretur, ignoraverunt, quibus Deo credentibus populus ipse de il-  
lorû stirpe promissus est: quomodo mortui vivorum rebus atq; actibus cognoscendis adju-  
vandi q; miscentur? Augustin. de Curâ pro mortuis, cap. 13. o Lib. de Spiritu & Animâ, tom.  
3. operum August. quid est cû libro 2. de Animâ, inter opera Hugonis Victorini. p Ibi sunt  
spiritus defunctorum, ubi non vident quæcunque aguntur, aut eveniunt in istâ vitâ homi-  
nibus. Augustin. de Curâ pro mortuis, cap. 13. q Ita illi (Dioti) fuit cura de vivis, quan-  
vis quid agerent, omnino nesciret: quemadmodum est nobis cura de mortuis, quanvis quid  
agant, omnino utiq; nesciamus. Ibid. cap. 14.

though

of the dead did know the things that concerned us here:  
and consequently, whether they pray for us onely <sup>l</sup> in  
generall, and for the particulars God answereth us ac-  
cording to our severall necessities, where, when, and  
after what maner he pleaseth. Anselmus Landunensis  
in his interlineall Glosse upon that text; Abraham is  
ignorant of us, and Israel knoweth us not: (Esai. 63. 16)  
noteth, that <sup>m</sup> Augustine sayeth, that the dead, even the  
Saints doe not know what the living doe, no not their  
owne sonnes. And indeed S. Augustine in his booke of  
the Care for the dead, maketh this inference upon that  
place of Scripture. <sup>n</sup> If such great Patriarches as these  
were ignorant, what was done toward the people that des-  
cended from them, unto whom (beleeving God) the people  
it selfe was promised to come from their stocke: how doe the  
dead interpose themselves in knowing and furthering the  
things and actes of the living? and afterward draweth  
these conclusions from thence, which <sup>o</sup> Hugo de Sancto  
Victore borrowing from him, hath inserted into his  
booke De Spiritu & animâ, cap. 29. <sup>p</sup> The spirits of the  
dead be there, where they doe neyther see nor heare the  
things that are done or fall out unto men in this life. <sup>q</sup> Yet  
have they such a care of the living, although they know  
not at all what they doe, as we have care of the dead, al-



though we know not what they doe. <sup>r</sup> The dead indeed doe not know what is done here, while it is here in doing: but afterward they may heare it by such as die and goe unto them from hence; yet not altogether, but as much as is permitted to the one to tell and is fit for the other to heare. They may know it also by the Angels which be here present with us, and carry our soules unto them. They may know also by the revelation of Gods spirit such of the things done here as is necessary for them to know. Hitherto Hugo out of S. Augustin: who is herein also followed by Gratian, in the second part of the Decrees, caus. 13. quæst. 2. cap. 29. where the Glosse layeth downe his resolution thus. <sup>f</sup> Gratian moveth a certaine incident question; whether the dead know the things that are done in this world by the living? and he answereth, that they doe not: and this he proveth by the authority of Esai. (vz. Esai. 63. 16.)

The like question is moved by the Master of the Sentences; <sup>t</sup> Whether the Saints doe heare the prayers of suppliants, and the desire of petitioners doe come unto their notice? and this answer is returned thereunto: It is NOT INCREDIBLE, that the soules of the Saints, which in the secret of Gods presence are joyed with the illustration of the true light, doe in the contemplation thereof understand the things that are done abroad,

quæ hîc aguntur, quæ necessarium est eos nosse, & quæ necessarium non est eos non nosse, non solum præterita vel præsentia, verum etiam futura spiritu Dei revelante cognoscere. *Ibid. cap. 15.* <sup>f</sup> Facit Grat. quandam incidentem quæstionem; utrum defuncti sciunt quæ in mundo geruntur à vivis? & responder, quòd non: & hoc probat auctoritate Esaiæ. *Gloss. in 13. q. 2. De mortuis.* <sup>t</sup> Sed fortè quæris; Nunquid preces supplicantium Sancti audiunt, & vota postulantium in eorum notitiam perveniunt? Non est incredibile, animas Sanctorum, quæ in abscondito faciei Dei veri luminis illustratione latantur, in ipsius contemplatione ea quæ foris aguntur intelligere, quantum vel illis ad gaudium, vel nobis ad auxiliū pertinet. Sicut enim Angelis, ita & Sanctis qui Deo assistunt, petitiones nostræ innotescunt in Verbo Dei quod contemplantur. *Petr. Lombard. Sentent. lib. 4. diffin. 45.*

as much as appertayneth eyther to them for joy, or to us for helpe. For as to the Angels, so to the Saints likewise which stand before God, our petitions are made knowne in the Word of God which they contemplate. Upon which place of the Master, Scotus disputing, groweth to this conclusion. <sup>u</sup> I say, that it is not necessary in respect of the beatitude, that one in blisse should see our prayers: neyther regularly or universally in the Word, because it is not such a thing as is a necessarie sequele of beatitude; nor yet that they be revealed, because that neyther such a revelation doth necessarily follow upon beatitude. Notwithstanding (for a reason which we shall heare of after ward) hee saith, it is PROBABLE; that God doth specially reveale unto him that is in blisse such of our prayers as are offered unto him, or unto God in his name. The same conclusion doth Gabriel Biel make in his lectures upon the Canon of the Masse. for having shewed, first, that <sup>x</sup> the Saints in heaven, by their naturall knowledge, which is the knowledge of things in their proper kinde, know no prayers of ours that are here upon earth, neyther mentall nor vocall, by reason of the immoderate distance that is betwixt us and them. secondly, that <sup>y</sup> it is no part of their essentiall beatitude, that they should see our prayers or our other actions in the Word; and thirdly, that <sup>z</sup> it is not altogether certayne, whether it doe appertaine to their accidental beatitude, to see our prayers: he thus at length

<sup>u</sup> Dico, quod non est necesse ex ratione beatitudinis, quod beatus videat orationes nostras: neque regulariter sive universaliter in Verbo, quia non est aliquid quasi necessaria sequele beatitudinis; neque quod revelentur, quia neque talis revelatio necessario sequitur beatitudinem, etc. Tamen probabile est, quod Deus beatis revelat de orationibus sibi, vel Deo in nomine ejus oblati. *Id. Scotus, in 4. dist. 45. quest. 4.*

<sup>x</sup> Dicendum, quod Sancti in patria qui de facto in celis sunt, naturali cognitione puta vespertina, quae est cognitio rerum in proprio genere, nullas orationes nostrum in terra consistentium, neque mentales neque vocales cognoscunt propter immoderatam distantiam inter nos & ipsos. *Gabr. Biel, in Canon. miss. lect. 31.* <sup>y</sup> Non est de ratione beatitudinis essentialis; ut nostras orationes, aut alia facta nostra, matutina cognitione videant in verbo. *Ibid.* <sup>z</sup> Vtrum autem videre nostras orationes pertineat ad eorum beatitudinem accidentalem; non per omnia certum est. *Ibid.*

conclu-



concludeth. <sup>a</sup> It is therefore sayd PROBABLY, that although it do not follow necessarily upon the Saints beatitude, that they should heare our prayers of congruities: yet that God doth reveale all things which are offered unto them by men; whether in magnifying and praying them, or in praying unto them and imploring their helpe. Cardinall Bellarmine supposeth, that <sup>b</sup> if the Saints should have neede thus of a new revelation, the Church would not so boldly say unto all the Saints; Pray for us: but would sometimes intreat of God, that he would reveale our prayers unto them. Yet because <sup>c</sup> it seemeth unto him superfluous, to desire ordinarily of them that they should pray for us, which cannot ordinarily understand what wee doe in particular, but know onely in generall that we are exposed to many dangers: he resolveth, that <sup>d</sup> although there may be some doubt, in what maner the Saints may know things that be absent, and which are sometime delivered by the affection of the heart alone; yet it is certain that they doe know them. And you must <sup>e</sup> note, saith another Iesuite, that this is to be held for a point of faith, that the Saints doe know the prayers which we poure unto them. So that to make good the Popish maner of praying unto Saints, that which at the first was but probable and problematicall, must now be held to be *de fide*, and an undoubted axiome of Divinitie.

Thirdly, in the Popish Invocation, formall and absolute prayers are tendred to the Saints: but the compellations of them used at first, were commonly ey-

narié petere, ut pro nobis orent: quia non possunt ordinarié cognoscere quid agamus in particulari, sed solum in genere sciunt nos in multis periculis versari *Id de Purgator. lib. 2. cap. 15.* <sup>d</sup> Et si dubitatio esse possit, quemadmodum cognoscant absentia, & quæ solo cordis affectu interdum proferuntur; tamen certum est eos cognoscere *Id de Eccles. triumph. lib. cap. 20.* <sup>e</sup> Notandum est, quod est de fide, beatos cognoscere orationes quas ad eos fundimus. *Pesant. in 1. part. Thom. quest. 1. c.*

<sup>a</sup> Unde probabiliter dicitur, quod licet non necessario sequitur ad sanctorum beatitudinem, ut orationes nostras audiant de co. gruo. tamē Deus eis revelat omnia quæ ipsis ab hominibus offeruntur, sive ipsos magnificando & laudando, sive eos orando & auxilia implorando *Ibid.* <sup>b</sup> Si indigerent Sancti nova revelatione, Ecclesia non diceret ita audacter omnibus Sanctis; *Orate pro nobis:* sed peteret aliquando à Deo, ut & revelaret preces nostras. *Bellarmin. de Eccles. triumph. lib. 1. cap. 20.* <sup>c</sup> Superfluum videtur ab eis (qui sunt in Purgatorio) ordi-

f Est enim o-  
ratio actus qui-  
dam rationis,  
quo unus alteri  
supplicat, in-  
ferior videlicet  
superiori. *Bel-  
la. in. de bonis  
operib. in parti-  
culari, lib. 1.  
cap. 7.*

g Si Prophetæ  
licuit appellare  
Angelos, & u-  
niversum cœ-  
lestem exerci-  
tum, eosque  
hortari ut Deū  
laudent, quod  
tamen nullo e-  
tiam monente  
assidue faci-  
unt; quo sanè  
nihil aliud  
quàm abun-  
dantia quæ-  
dam studij di-  
vinæ gloriæ  
amplificandæ

declaratur: cur etiam non liceat beatos illos spiritus ejusdem corporis societate no-  
biscum conjunctos, ex quâdam pij desiderij redundantia compellare, atque exhortari,  
uti id faciant, quod eos ultro facere credimus? ut perinde valeat; Omnes Sancti orate  
Deum pro me: ac si dicatur. Utinam omnes Sancti Deum orent pro me! quàm velim  
ut omnes Sancti Deum orent pro me! *Georg. Cassand. Schol. in Hymn. Ecclesiastic. Operum  
pag. 242.*

ther wishes onely, or requests of the same nature with  
those which are in this kinde usually made unto the  
living; where the requester is oftentimes superior to  
him whose prayers he desireth (which standeth not  
well with the condition of *f* Prayer properly so called)  
and they that are requested, be evermore accounted in  
the number of those that *pray for us*, but not of those  
that are *prayed unto by us*. Of this you may heare, if  
you please, what one of the more moderate Romanists  
writeth. *g* If it were lawfull for the Prophet to call to  
the Angels and the whole hoaste of heaven, and to ex-  
hort them that they would prayse God, which notwith-  
standing they doe continually without any one admonish-  
ing them, whereby nothing else but a certaine abundance  
of desire of the amplifying of Gods glory is declared: why  
may it not be lawfull also, out of a certaine abundance of  
godly desire to call upon those blessed spirits which by the  
societie of the same body are conjoynd with us; and to ex-  
hort them, that they should doe that, which we beleerve they  
otherwise doe of themselves? That to say; All ye Saints,  
*pray unto God for me: should import as much, as if it were  
said; Would to God, that all the Saints did pray unto God  
for me! I wish earnestly, that all the Saints should pray to  
God for me! Thus writeth Cassander, in his notes upon  
the ancient Ecclesiasticall Hymnes, published by him  
in the yeare 1556. who being challenged for this by  
some others of that side, added this further to give them*

better



better satisfaction. <sup>h</sup> When I did see that it was not necessary, that we should hold that the Saints doe understand our prayers; I thought it was sufficient to put backe the calumnies of some, if we should say that these interpellations might be expounded by way of wishing or desiring: which hath lesse absurditie in it, and is agreeable to the examples of the holy Scriptures. But if any man would have such compellations as these to be taken also for an intimation of the desire, and a direct speaking unto them; I doe not gaine say it. Notwithstanding I would thinke that a tacite condition ought to be understood in such an intimation: such as Gregory Nazianzen doth expresse in the funerall oration of his sister Gorgonia, when he saith. If thou hast any care at all of our speeches, and holy soules receive this honour from God that they have notice of such things as these; doe thou accept this Oration of ours.

Yea in the very darkeſt times of the Papacie there wanted not some, who for certaine reasons (recited by *Guilielmus Altissiodorensis* and *Gabriel Biel*) resolved that neyther the Saints doe pray for us, neyther are we to pray unto them. <sup>i</sup> With these and such like reasons, saith *Biel*, were the heretickes deceived: and some Christians in our time are now deceived. <sup>k</sup> For these and the like reasons, saith *Altissiodorensis*, MANY doe say, that neyther we pray unto the Saints, nor they pray for us, but improperly: in respect we pray unto God, that the

<sup>h</sup> Cum videretur non necessarium, ut statueremus Sanctos intelligere nostras preces; credebam ad calumnias nonnullorum repellendas satis esse si dicamus per modum desiderij eas interpellationes explicari posse: quod minus habet absurditatis, & divinarum literarum exemplis congruit. Si quis autem huiusmodi compellationes pro intimatione quoque desiderij, & directa (ut ita loquamur) alloquutione haberi velit; non repugno. Crediderim tamen huiusmodi intimationi tacitam conditionem subesse

debere; qualem *Gregorius Nazianzenus* in oratione funebri sororis *Gorgoniæ* exprimit, cum ait. Proinde si nostri sermones vel parumper tibi curæ sint, honorque talis sanctis à Deo debetur animabus, ut talia resciscant; suscipe & tu sermonem nostrum. *Id. epist. 19 ad lo. Molineum pag. 1109.* <sup>i</sup> His & similibus rationibus decepti sunt dicti hæretici. Decipiuntur & nunc nonnulli nostro tempore Christiani. *Gabr. Biel, in Canon. Miss. lect. 30.* <sup>k</sup> Propter istas rationes & consimiles dicunt multi, quod nec nos oramus Sanctos, nec ipsi orant pro nobis, nisi improprie: ideo sc. quia oramus Deum ut Sanctorum merita nos juvent unde: *Adjuvent nos eorum merita. etc. Guillelm. Altissiodor. in Summ. pars. 4 lib. 3. tract. 7. cap. de Orat. quest. 6.*

merits of the Saints may helpe us. according to that :  
*Adjuvent nos eorum merita*, &c. where if any poylon  
 doe remayne hidden under the name of *merits*, (of  
 which we are to consider in his proper place :) the Bre-  
 viarie of the *Præmonstratensian* Order ministrerh unto  
 us this antidote against it.

1 Breviar Pra-  
 mo. stratens. in  
 Omnium Sancto-  
 rum officio. Vid.  
 Poemata De  
 corruptio Ecclesiæ  
 statim, edit. Basil.  
 an. 1556 pag.  
 28. 29. & C. a-  
 talog. test. veri-  
 tat. edit. ibid. an.  
 1562. pag. 390.

1 *Adjuvent nos eorum merita,*  
*Quos propria impediunt scelera?*  
*Excuset eorum intercessio,*  
*Quos propria accusat actio?*  
*At tu qui eis tribuisti*  
*Cælestis palmam triumphi,*  
*Nobis veniam non deneges peccati.*

Can't their merits helpe us, whom their owne sinnes hinder?  
 Can their intercession excuse us, whose owne action doth  
 accuse themselves? But thou, who hast bestowed upon them  
 the palme of the heavenly triumph, deny not unto us the  
 pardon of our sinne. And this may serve to make a .

Fourth difference betwixt the Popish prayers and  
 the Interpellations used in the ancient time. for by the  
 doctrine and practise of the Church of Rome, the  
 Saints in heaven are not only made joint petitioners  
 with us (as the Saints are upon earth) but also our At-  
 turneyes and Advocates: who carry the suit for us,  
 not by the pleading of *Christs* merits alone, but by  
 bringing in their owne merits likewise, upon the con-  
 sideration of the dignitie or condignitie whereof it is  
 beleev'd, that God yeeldeth to the motions they make  
 unto him in our behalfe. <sup>m</sup> *Wee pray unto the Saints*  
 (saith the Master of the Sentences) *that they may inter-*

m Oramus  
 Sanctos, ut in-  
 tercedant pro  
 nobis, id est, ut

merita eorum nobis suffragentur, & ut ipsi velint bonum nostrum: quia eis volentibus  
 Deus vult, & ita fiet. Petr. Lombard, Sentent. lib. 4. distinct. 45. & Iacobus de Viterbi, in  
 Litaniâ maiori.



cede for us, that is to say, that their merits may helpe us, and that they may will our good: for they willing it God doth will it, and so it will be effected. <sup>n</sup> We ought to intreat the Apostles and all the Saints (saith Hugo Praten- sis) in all our necessities; because they are our advocates, and the meanes betwixt us and God, by whom God hath ordayned to bestow all things upon us. <sup>o</sup> Because it is a thing fitting (saith Scotus) that he that is in blisse should be a coadjutor of God in procuring the salvation of the elect, according to such maner as this may agree unto him; and to this it is requisite, that our prayers which are offered unto him should specially be revealed unto him, because they leane specially upon the merits of him as of a mediator bringing us to the salvation which is sought for: therefore it is probable that God doth specially reveale unto him that is in blisse such of our prayers as are offered unto him, or unto God in his name. But this is an open derogation to the high prerogative of our Saviours meritorious Intercession, and a manifest incroachment upon the great office of Mediation, which the most religious and learned among those Fathers, who desired to be recommended unto the prayers of the Saints, were so carefull to preserve entire unto him. <sup>p</sup> For what is so proper to Christ, saith S. Ambrose, as to stand by God the Father for an advocate of the people? <sup>q</sup> He is the Priest, saith S. Augustin, who being now entred within the wayle, **A L O N E** there of them that have beene partakers of flesh, doth make intercession for us. In figure of which thing, in that first

<sup>n</sup> Rogare debemus Apostolos & omnes Sanctos in omni necessitate nostra: quia ipsi sunt advocati nostri, & medij inter nos & Deum, per quos Deus ordinavit nobis omnia largiri. Hug. Pratenf. sermon 35.

<sup>o</sup> Quia congruum est beatum esse coadjutorem Dei in procurando salutem electi, eo modo quo hoc sibi potest competere; & ad illud requiritur sibi revelari orationes nostras specialiter, quæ sibi offeruntur, quia illæ specialiter iunguntur meritis ejus tanquam mediatoris perducantis ad salutem, quæ pe-

titur: ideo probabile est, quod Deus beatis revelat de orationibus sibi, vel Deo in nomine ejus oblati. <sup>lo</sup> Scot. in 4. Sent. d. 45. quest. 4. <sup>p</sup> Quid enim tam proprium Christi, quam advocatum apud Deum patrem ad stare populorum? Ambros. in Psalm. 39. <sup>q</sup> Ipse Sacerdos est, qui nunc ingressus in interiora veli, solus ibi ex his qui carnem gestaverunt interpellat pro nobis. In cujus rei figurâ in illo primo populo, & in illo primo templo unus sacerdos intrabat in sancta sanctorum, populus orans foras stabat. August. in Psalm. 64.

r Nondixit,  
habetis, nec me  
habetis dixit,  
nec ip'um  
Christū habe-  
tis, dixit: sed &  
Christum po-  
suit, non se, &  
habemus dixit,  
non habetis.  
Maluit se po-  
nere in numero  
peccatorum, ut  
haberet advo-  
catum Chri-  
stum: quā  
ponere se pro  
Christo advo-  
catum, & inve-  
niri inter dam-  
nandos super-  
bos. *Augustin.*  
*tractat. 1. in 1.*  
*epist. Iohann. cap.*  
*2.*  
f Si ita dice-  
ret; Hoc scrip-  
si vobis ut non  
peccetis, & si  
quis peccave-  
rit, mediatorē  
me habetis a-  
pud Patrem, e-  
go exoro pro  
peccatis ve-  
stris: (sicut  
Parmenianus  
quodam loco

mediatorem posuit Episcopum inter populum & Deum: ) quis eum ferret bonorum atq;  
fidelium Christianorum? Quis sicut Apostolum Christū, & non sicut Antichristum intue-  
retur? *Id. lib. 2. contr. epist. Parmenian. cap. 3.*

people and in that first Temple the Priest onely did enter into the Holy of holies, and all the people stood without. And therefore where S. Iohn saith; These things write I unto you, that yee sinne not: and if any man sinne, vvee have an Advocate with the Father Iesus Christ the righteous. ( 1. Iohn. 2. 1. ) S. Augustin in his exposition upon that place maketh this observation thereupon: that S. Iohn being so great a man as he was, did not say, YEE have, nor Yee have MEE, nor YEE have Christ himselfe: but did both put in Christ, not himselfe; and also sayd, WEE have, not YEE have. because he had rather put himselfe in the number of sinners, that he might have Christ to be his advocate: than put him- selfe for an advocate in steed of Christ, and be found among the proud that should be damned and from thence draweth this conclusion against Parmenian the Dona- tist. f If he had sayd thus; I have written this unto you, that you sinne not, and if any man sinne, you have me a mediator with the Father, I make intercession for your sinnes: ( as Parmenian in one place doth make the Bishop a mediator betwixt the people and God: ) what good and faithfull Christian would endure him? who would looke upon him as the Apostle of Christ, and not as Antichrist rather? The doctrine therefore and practise of the Church of Rome in this point, by this learned Fa- thers judgement, must needs be held to bee ungodly and Antichristian.

Fiftly, the recommendation of mens selves unto the prayers of the Saints deceased, which was at first ad- mitted in the ancient Church, did no way impeach



the confidence and boldnesse which we have gotten in *Christ*, to make our immediate approach unto the throne of grace : which by the Invocation of Saints now taught in the Church of Rome, is very much im- payred. For to induce men to the practise of this, the great Majestie of God and the severity of his Iu- stice is propounded unto poore sinners on the one hand, and the consideration of their owne basenesse and unworthinesse on the other. whereupon it is in- ferred, that aswell for the manifesting of their reve- rence to Gods Majestie, as the testifying of their sub- missenesse and Humilitie, they should seeke to God by the mediation of his Saints ; like as men doe seeke to the King by the mediation of his servants. which mo- tives can have no more force to encourage men to the Invocation of Saints, then they have to discourage them from the immediate Invocation of God and his *Christ*. So among the causes alledged by *Alexander of Hales*, why we ought to pray unto the Saints : one is, *in respect of our want in contemplating ; that we who are not able to behold the highest light in it selfe, may contemplate it in his Saints*. another, *in respect of our want in loving : because we miserable men ( miserable men indeed that doe so ) or some of us at least are more affected sometimes unto some Saint, than unto our Lord himselfe : and therefore God having compassion on our misery, is pleased that we should pray unto his Saints*. and a third, *in respect of the reverence of God : that a sinner who hath offended God, because he dareth not to come un- to him in his owne person, may have recourse unto the*

t Vltcrius pro-  
pter nostram  
inopiam in  
contemplado :  
ut qui non pos-  
sumus summā  
lucem in se a-  
spicere, eam in  
suis Sanctis  
contemplemur.  
Tertio, propter  
inopiam in a-  
mando : quia  
nos miserabi-  
les homines, vel  
plerique no-  
strum magis  
afficimur circa  
Sanctum ali-  
quem aliquan-  
do, quam etiā  
circa Dominū ;  
& ideo Domi-  
nus compassus  
nostræ miserix,  
vult quod ore-  
mus Sanctos  
suos, *Alexand.*

*de Hales. Summa. part. 4. quæst. 26. memb. 3. artic. 5.* u Propter Dei reverentiam : ut pecca-  
tor, qui Deum offendit, quia non audet in propriâ personâ adire, recurat ad Sanctos, eorum  
patrocinia implorando, *id. ibid.*

*Saints,*

x Peccatoribus singularis est consolatio; qui ad Sanctorum interpellationem quandoque magis animantur quam Iudicis: quorum etiam sanctitatis defectum supplere potest probitas aliena. *Gabr. Biel in Canon. M. s. lect. 30.*  
 y Propter Dei reverentiam: ut sc. peccator qui Deum offendit, quasi non audens in personam propriam, propter peccati scoria, coram maiestate altissimam pariter & tremendam apparere, recurreret ad Sanctos purissimos & Deo gratos; qui peccatoris preces altissimo presentarent, easque suis adiunctis meritis & precibus

magis redderent exaudibiles, placidas, atque gratas. *Ibid. lect. 31.* z Tertiò, quia Ecclesia quæ Christi Spiritum habet, frequentissimè per Sanctos recurrit ad Deum, rarius per se ad Deum accedit. Quarto, precatio Dei per invocationem Sanctorum arguit maiorem humilitatem; sicut videre est in Centurione. *Alph. Salmeron 1. Timoth. 2. disput. 7. sect. 11.* a *Psal. 102. 17.* b *Judith 9. 16.*

Saints, by imploring their patronage. The like we read in Gabriel Biel, handling the same argument. x *This is a singular consolation (saith he) to sinners, who have oftentimes more minde to the interpellation of the Saints then of the Iudge: whose defect of holinesse also other mens goodnesse is able to supply. and it maketh y for the reverence of God: that a sinner who hath offended God, as it were not daring for the drosse of his sinne to appeare in his proper person, before the most high and dreadfull majesty. should have recourse unto the Saints who are most pure and gratefull to God: who may present the sinners prayers unto the most High, and by adjoyning their merits and prayers thereunto, might make the same more fit for audience, more pleasing and more gratefull.* Therefore Salmeron the Iesuite sticketh not to deliver his opinion plainly; that the praying unto God by the Saints seemeth to be better then the praying unto him immediately, as for other reasons, z *so because the Church, which hath the Spirit of Christ, (though S. Augustin surely would have judged such a Church to be led by the spirit of Antichrist rather then of Christ) most frequently hath recourse unto God by the Saints, but cometh more rarely unto God by it selfe: and also, because the praying of God by the invocations of Saints doth argue greater humilitie; as may be seene in the Centurion, Luc. 7. 6, 7. whereunto he applieth also the saying of David, a He hath had respect to the prayer of the humble, and did not despise their prayers. and of Iudith: b The prayer of the humble and meeke hath alway pleased thee.*

Thus





i Agè, nun-  
quid tam de-  
mens est ali-  
quis, aut salutis  
suae immemor,  
ut honorificen-  
tiam Regis vin-  
dicet comiti;  
cùm de hac re  
si qui etiam  
tractare fuerint  
inventi, jure ut  
rei damnentur  
majestatis? Et  
isti se non pu-  
tant reos, qui  
honorem no-  
minis Dei de-  
ferunt creatu-  
ræ, & relicto  
Domino con-  
servos adorant;  
quasi sit ali-  
quid plus quod  
fervetur Deo.  
Nam & ideo  
ad Regem per  
tribunos aut  
comites itur,  
quia homo uti-  
que est Rex, &  
nescit quibus  
debeat Répub-  
licam credere.

Ad Deum autē

(quem utiq; nihil latet, omnium enim merita novit) promerendum suffragatore non opus est, sed mente devotā. Vbiq; enim talis locutus fuerit ei, respondebit illi. *Ibid.* k *Λ'.*  
*Ἐρωτων μὲν γὰρ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων χάριτας, καὶ κολαρίας δακρυοποιῶν, καὶ καλῶς περὶ τοῦ καὶ θεοῦ  
 ματαίας· ἔγὼ δὲ βουθέας αὐτοῖς τις κυρίως δοῦναι τὴν χάριν ἐν τῇ διακρίσει πολλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν  
 ῥον διακρίσεις καὶ διορίσεις αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμοῦ, καὶ χάριτας καὶ ῥήματα καὶ πνεύματι θεοῦ ὁμοῦ ῥήματα καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα  
 ἐκείνου δωρηθῶναι τὴν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν. Ἐπὶ τῇ τῷ Θεῷ ἐκ τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ. ἔγὼ δὲ τῶν μισθῶν ὅτι τῷ Θεῷ ἀξίονται, ἔστι  
 ἂν τῷ Θεῷ παραχρῆμα, ὅς τις διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν δαμνῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ τῇ χάριτι. Chrysost. in Matih. citat. a  
 Theodoro Daphnopat. in Eclogis (rom. 7. edit. Savii pag. 768.) Maximo, in loc. commun. ferm. 14. &  
 Io Damasceno in Parallel. lib. 2. cap. 13. ubi ab editore Pontificio ad marginem appositum est hoc  
 pharmacum: Ἡ ἀνθρωπίνως dicuntur non διὰ ματικῶς.*

borrowed from them to cover their superstition with, that the nakedness thereof might not appeare. But S. Ambrose (or who ever else was author of those commentaries upon S. Pauls epistles that are found among his workes) hath mett well with them, and sufficiently discovered the vanitie of these grosse and carnall imaginations. i Go too, (saith he) is there any man so mad, or so unmindfull of his salvation, as to give the Kings honour to an officer: whereas if any shall be found but to treat of such a matter, they are justly condemned as guiltie of high treason? And yet these men thinke themselves not guiltie, who give the honour of Gods name to a creature, and leaving the Lord adore their fellow servants; as though there were any thing more, that could be reserved to God. For therefore doe men goe to the King by Tribunes or officers, because the King is but a man, and knoweth not to whom he may commit the state of the commonwealth. But to procure the favour of God, from whom nothing is hid (for he knoweth the merits or workes of all men) we need no spokes-man, but a devoute minde. For wheresoever such a one shall speake unto him, he will answer him.

But of all others S. Chrysostom is most plentiful in setting out the difference of the accessse which we may have to God & to the great ones in this world. k When



we have suit unto men (saith he in one place) we have need of cost and money, and servile adulation, and much going up and downe and great adoe. For it falleth out oftentimes that we cannot go straight unto the Lords themselves and present our gift unto them and speake vwith them; but it is necessary for us first to procure the favour of their ministers and stewards and officers, both with paying and praying and using all other meanes unto them, and then by their mediation to obtaine our request. But with God it is not thus. For there is no need of intercessors for the petitioners: neyther is he so ready to give a gracious answer being intreated by others, as by our own selves praying unto him. <sup>l</sup> When thou hast need to sue unto men, (saith he in another place) thou art forced first to deale with doore-keepers, and to intreat parasites and flatterers, and to goe a long way. But with God there is no such matter: without an intercessor he is intreated, without money without cost he yeeldeth unto thy prayer. It sufficeth only that thou cry in thine heart, and bring teares with thee; and entring in straightway thou mayest draw him unto thee. <sup>m</sup> Amongst men (saith he in a third place) it behoveth him that commeth unto one, to be a man of speech, and it is required that he should flatter all those that are about the Prince, and to thinke upon many other things, that he may finde acceptance. But here there is need of nothing, save of a watchfull minde onely: and there is nothing that hindereth us from being neare to God. So in his sermon upon the woman of Canaan, which hee made in his latter dayes, after his returne from his first

l ἁνθρώποις μὲν γὰρ οὕτως εἰς τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ παρακαλεσθῆναι καὶ τὸν λαόν· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ προσέτι, καὶ παρασίτους καὶ κολακασίας καὶ παρακαλεσθῆναι καὶ ὁδὸν πολλὰν ἀπελθεῖν, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πιστὸν ἐστὶν ὁμῶς καὶ εὐεχέστερον παρακαλεῖται, καὶ εἰς χάριν αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐεχέστερον ὁμιλεῖ τῷ Θεῷ, ἀρκεῖ μόνον βύσσι τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ δακρυὰ προσενέγκαι, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιστάντων αὐτῶν ὁπισθοποῖται. Chrysost. in serm. 7. de Pænitent. 1. 1. 6. edit. Savil. pag. 802. qui in

alys editionib. est serm. 4. de Pænitent. m Ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡ προσέτις τῶν καὶ ἡ τορμή, καὶ κολακασία καὶ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀρχὴ πάντας ἱκανῶς, καὶ πολλὰ ἐπεὶ ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ἀπαρξάμενος, οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ προσέτις, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιστάντων αὐτῶν ὁπισθοποῖται. Id. in Psalm. 4.

Hhh 2

banish-





God then doeth most, when we doe not use the intreatie of others. For as a kinde friend, (saith he) then blameth he us most, as not daring to trust his love, when we intreate others to pray unto him for us. Thus use we to doe with those that seeke to us : then we gratifie them most, when they come unto us by themselves, and not by others. But, thou wilt say, what if I have offended him ? Cease offending, and shedd teares, and so come ; and thou shalt quickly make him appeased for the things that are past. Say onely ; I have offended : say it from thy soule and a sincere mind ; and all is loosed. Thou dost not so much desire thy sinnes to be forgiven thee, as he doth desire to forgive thy sinnes unto thee. Thus doth S. Chrysostom write upon the 16. of the Acts : and upon the fourth Psalm, to the same effect. <sup>r</sup> Thou mayest alwayes and continually sollicite him, and thou shalt meet with no difficultie. For thou shalt have no need of any doore-keepers to bring thee in, nor stewards, nor procurators, nor keepers, nor friends : but when thou thy selfe comest by thy selfe, then will he most of all heare thee, even then, when thou intreatest no man. We do not therefore so pacifie him when we intreat him by others, as when we doe it by our own selves. For by reason he loveth our friendship, and doth all things that we may put our confidence in him : when he beholdeth us to do this by our selves, then doth he most yeeld unto our suites. Thus did he deale with the woman of Canaan : when Peter and James came for her, he did not yeeld ; but when she her selfe

η οὐτ' ἔτι γὰρ  
 τότι μέλιστα  
 ποιεῖς, ὅταν μὴ ἐτί-  
 ρων διηδοῦμεν, κα-  
 ῶν περ εἰλήθη  
 γνώσει, τότι  
 μέλιστα ἡμῖν ἰγ-  
 καλεῖ, ὡς κ' ἑσπε-  
 ρύσιν αὐτὴ τῇ  
 φιλίᾳ, ὅταν ἐτίρουν  
 ἄρως αὐτὴν διη-  
 δοῦμεν τῇ ἀξιούν-  
 ται. ἔγωγε καὶ ἡμεῖς  
 ποιοῦμεν ὅπῃ τῇ  
 ἡμᾶς τῇ ἀξιούν-  
 ται. τότι μέλιστα  
 αὐτοῖς χαλεζόμε-  
 θα, ὅταν δὲ ἰακύνθῃ  
 ἡμῖν, καὶ κ' δὲ ἐτί-  
 ρων πορσεύσῃ. Τί  
 ἔτι, ὅρασι, ὃ πορσε-  
 κειρακὸς αἶ; παύ-  
 σαι πορσεύειν  
 καὶ οὐκ ἔρυσαι, καὶ ἔ-  
 γω πορσεύειν, καὶ  
 ταχέως ὅπῃ πῖς  
 πορσεύει αὐτὸν  
 ἴλιον ποιήσῃ. εἰπέ  
 ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ γνη-  
 σίας διανοίας, καὶ  
 παύει λίλυται. ὡς  
 ὅπῃ θυμεῖς εἰς πορ-  
 σεύειν αὐτὸν  
 αἰμαρτίας σε καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ὅπῃ θυμεῖ  
 ἀφείναι σε καὶ  
 αἰμαρτίματα. Id,  
 ibid.

καὶ λέει καὶ διανοητῶς ὅτι, συχαίην δύναιμι, καὶ δυσκολία ἐδεμία πρίσσειν. ἔτι γὰρ χρεία τῶν φροσωνόντων  
 συρροῶν, διχατόμων, ὀπιβόρων, φυλάκων, ἡρίων. ὅν, ὅταν αὐτοὶ δι' ἑαυτὴν φροσίλθῃς, τότε μέλιστα  
 κείνεται σε, τότε, ὅταν μηδὲν δειδῇς. καὶ οὕτως οὖν αὐτοὶ δυσωπεύμενοι δι' ἑτέρων ἀξιοῦντες, αἷς  
 δὲ ἐμὲν αἰσῶν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐρῆ φιλίας, καὶ πάντα ποιεῖ, ὥστε ἡμᾶς αὐτὰν θαρρῆν. ὅταν  
 ἴδῃ δὲ ἑαυτῶν, ὅτι ποιῶντες, τότε μέλιστα ὀπιβόροι. οὕτως καὶ ὅτι τῆς χαρᾶς ἐπίσταται. καὶ  
 Πέτρος μὲν καὶ Ἰωάννης φροσινῶν, καὶ ἐπιδόσιν. ὀπιβόρος δὲ ταύτης, τὸ αἰτηθῆν ταχέως ἰδοῦν. ἰδ.  
 ἐκ Ρ[ομ. 4.





obtaine thy request. He useth not to yeeld so soone, being prayed unto by others for us, as when we our selves do pray unto him, although we be replenished vwith a thousand evils. And to prove that <sup>2</sup> praying by our own selves vve prevayle more with God, then praying unto him by others: he bringeth in againe the historic of the woman of Canaan, and wilheth us to observe, a how, when others intreated, he put her back: but when she her selfe cryed out, praying for the gift, he yeelded. and at last concludeth with this exhortation. <sup>b</sup> Seeing then we have learned all these things, although we be in sinne and unworthy to receive, let us not despaire; knowing that by perseverance and constancie of minde we may obtaine our request. although we be solitarie and without any patrones, let us not be discouraged; knowing that this is a great patronage, that thou by thine own selfe mayst come to God with much alacritie.

Seventhly, and principally it is to be considered, that Invocation is attributed to Saints in the Church of Rome as a part of the worship due unto them: yea as *eximium adorationis genus* (for so doth Cardinall c Bellarmin pronounce it to be) an eminent kind of adoration. For <sup>d</sup> we do not honour the Saints (saith Azorius the Iesuite) with that worship onely, wherewith we do men that excell in vertue, wisdom, power, or any other dignitie; but also with DIVINE worship and honour, which is an act of Religion. for that worship which is given to men

z δι' ἑμῶν αὐτῶν  
καὶ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ.  
ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸν  
μὲν ὁ Θεὸς ὁ  
ἰδὲν. Ibid. pag.  
416. ὁ παῦλος  
ῥοῦτ. Βαλεμαθεῖ  
ἡ ὅτι δι' ἑμῶν αὐ-  
τῶν καὶ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ, ὁ δι-  
ιτέροι παρὰ τὸν  
καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ α-  
νθρώπου; pag. 417.  
a Εἶδες πῶς ὅτι  
ἡ οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ τὸν  
αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ.  
ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεός  
μὲν τὸ δαυὶδ ὁ  
ἐκείνου, ὁ πῶς ὅτι  
Ibid. pag. 417.  
b Ταῦτ' ἐν αὐ-  
τῶν καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ ἐν τῇ καρτίᾳ  
συνεχῶς, καὶ τὸ λα-  
βεῖν αὐτὸν, καὶ  
ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῷ,  
εἰδότες ὅτι τῇ  
προσευχῇ τῶν  
ἁγίων διὰ τὸν Θεόν  
καὶ τὴν ἐκτίσιν  
αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ.  
τῶν καὶ τῶν αὐ-  
τῶν, καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ  
οὐκ, εἰδότες ὅτι  
μεγαλὴ προσευχή,

εἰς αὐτὸν δι' αὐτοῦ προσευχόμενοι τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ποταῖς. Ibid. c Bellarmin. Praefat. in contro-  
vers. de Eccl. triumphant. in Ord. ne disputat. d Sanctos non solum honoramus eo cultu,  
quo viros virtute, sapientiâ, potentiâ, aut qualibet aliâ dignitate præstantes; sed etiam Di-  
vino cultu, & honore, qui est religionis actus nam ille cultus, qui viris primarij defertur,  
non est religionis; sed alterius longé inferioris virtutis, quæ observantia vocatur, actus &  
officium. Sed divinos cultus & honores Sanctis non damus propter ipsos; sed propter  
Deum, qui eos Sanctos effecit, lo. Azor. Institut. Moral. tom. 1. lib. 9. cap. 10.

of excellencie, is an act and office, not of Religion, but of another inferiour vertue, which is called Observance. And whereas it is as cleare as the noone day, that the giving of divine honour and worship unto any creature is flat Idolatry: the poore man weeneth that he and his fellowes may be excused from being Idolaters; because they doe not give divine worship and honour unto the Saints for themselves, but for God who hath made them Saints: as if God, who cannot endure that his glory should be given unto another, would be mocked with such toyes as these. Indeed they were wont heretofore to delude men commonly with an idle distinction of *Dulia* and *Latria*: but now <sup>f</sup> it is the opinion of the most and the wisest of them, that it is one and the selfe same vertue of Religion, which containeth both *Latria* and *Dulia*. Whereas it hath beene the constant doctrine of the ancient Church, that all religious worship (whereof Prayer by the iudgement of all men, as well *g* Heathen as Christian, hath beene alwayes esteemed to be an especiall part) is so properly due unto God alone, that without committing of Idolatry it cannot be communicated unto any creature. For *h* in the Catholick Church it is divinely and singularly delivered, that no creature is to be worshipped by the soule, but he onely who is the creator of all things: saith S. Augustin. And therefore the ancient Doctors who thought it not amisse, that men should recommend themselves unto the prayers of the Saints departed; held it a thing intolerable notwithstanding, to impart unto any man or Angell

*e* Esai 42.8. &  
48.11.

*f* Quid si &  
una religionis  
virtus sit, quæ  
latrîam, duli-  
amque conti-  
neat? Certe  
plurimis atq;  
sapientissimis  
ea est opinio.  
*Nicol. Serarius,*  
*in Litaneutico*  
*2. Quest. 27. in*  
*fine*  
*g* *Virgil. Ae-*  
*neid. 3. Iunonis*  
*magnæ pri-*  
*mum prece na-*  
*men adora. O-*  
*vid. Trist. lib. 1.*  
*eleg. 2. Hæc pre-*  
*ce adoravi su-*  
*perosego, plu-*  
*ribus uxor. D-*  
*natus su Iren-*  
*ny thormion.*  
*act. 2. scen. 1. ad*  
*ilind: At ego*

*Deos penatibus hinc salutatum domum Deo vortat Salutatum.] Adoratum primâ post reditum prece. h* Ideoque divine ac singulariter in Ecclesiâ catholicâ traditur, nullam creaturam colendam esse animæ (libentius enim loquor his verbis quibus mihi hæc insinuata sunt) sed ipsum tantummodò rerum quæ sunt omnium creatorem *Augustin. lib. de Quantitate animæ, cap. 34. Vid. eund. de morib. Eccles. Catholice & Manich. lib. 1. cap. 30.*

the



the worship of Invocation. for to request the help of the prayers of our fellow-servants, is one thing, and to worship them with the service of Invocation is another; as may be seen in the case of our brethren upon earth, who may not refuse the former without the violation of charitie, nor accept the latter at our hands without an open breach of pietie.

Now that the Fathers judged no otherwise of Prayer, then as hath beene said, this may be one good argument; that when they define it, they doe it with expresse reference to God, and no other: as may be seen in those five severall definitions thereof which <sup>i</sup> Bellarmine himselfe repeateth out of them. the first whereof is that of Basil: <sup>k</sup> Prayer is a request of some good thing, which is made by pious men unto God. The second, of Gregory Nyssen: <sup>l</sup> Prayer is a conversing or a conference with God. The third, of the same Father: <sup>m</sup> Prayer is a request of good things, which is offered with supplication unto God. The fourth, of Iohn Chrysostom: <sup>n</sup> Prayer is a colloquy or discourse with God. The fifth, of Iohn Damascen: <sup>o</sup> Prayer is an ascension of the minde unto God, or a request of things that are fit from God. Therefore where <sup>p</sup> the names of the Martyrs were solemnly rehearsed in the publick Liturgie of the Church, S. Augustin interpreteth it to be done for an honourable remembrance of them: but utterly denieth, that the Church therein had anie intention to <sup>q</sup> invoke them. So for other particular prayers: <sup>q</sup> Thou

<sup>i</sup> Bellarm. de bonis operib. in particular. lib. 1. cap. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Προσδύχῃ ἐστὶν αἴτησις ἀγαθῶν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Basil. orat. in Iulianum mar-

<sup>l</sup> Προσδύχῃ Θεὸς ἐμύλια Gregor. Nyssen. orat. 1. de Oracione.

<sup>m</sup> Προσδύχῃ, αἴτησις ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ἐκείνου τὸν Θεόν. Id. orat. 2. de O-

<sup>n</sup> Προσδύχῃ, ἐκείνου τὸν Θεόν. Id. orat. 2. de O-

<sup>o</sup> Προσδύχῃ, ἐκείνου τὸν Θεόν. Id. tractat 2. de inscriptionib. Psal-

<sup>n</sup> Ἡ δὲ δὴ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν τὴν αἰνέσιν. Chrysost. in Genes. homil. 30. Vid. eiusd. lib. 1. de Orando Deū, tom. 6 edit. Savil. pag. 754. <sup>o</sup> Προσδύχῃ ἐστὶν αἴτησις ἀγαθῶν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ἢ αἴτησις τῶν ἀγαθῶν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Damascen. de fide Orthodox. lib. 3. cap. 24. <sup>p</sup> Ad quod sacrificium, sicut homines Dei, qui mundum in ejus confessione vicerunt, suo loco & ordine nominantur: non tamen a sacerdote, qui sacrificat, invocantur. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 22. cap. 10. <sup>q</sup> Sed tamē tu solus, Domine, invocādu es; tu rogādu, ut cū in filiis repræsentes. Ambr. de obit. Theodos.

alone art to be invocated O Lord, saith S. Ambrose in his funerall oration upon Theodosius the Emperour; thou art to be requested, to supply the misse of him in his sonnes. and; To whom else should I cry, besides thee? saith S. Augustin. and it is Gods pleasure,

¶ Cui alteri  
præter te cla-  
mabo? August.  
Confess. lib. 1.  
cap. 5.

*Esse nihil prorsus se præter ubique rogandum,*  
that nothing beside himselfe should every where be prayed unto: saith Dracontius in his book of the Creation, re-vised by Eugenius Bishop of Toledo at the command of Chindasuindus King of Spaine. Hereupon S. Chrysostom, upon those words of the Apostle, 1. Corinth. 1. 2. With all that call upon the Name of our Lord Iesus Christ; giveth this exposition. ¶ Not of this man and that man, but upon the name of the Lord. and he else-where telleth us, that it was the D I V E L S doing to draw men unto the calling upon Angels; as envying them the honour of their immediate accessse and admittance unto Gods owne presence. ¶ For this cause (saith he) did the Diavel bring in this of the Angels; en-vying us this honour. These be the enchantments of Di-vels. Though he be an Angel, though an Archangel, though they be Cherubims; endure it not. For neyther will these Powers themselves admit it, but reject it; when they see their Lord dishonoured. I have honoured thee, saith he, and have sayd; Call upon me. and doest thou dis-honour him? And therefore did the Fathers in the Councell of Laodicea directly conclude that this Invo-cation of Angels was a secret kinde of Idolatry, by the practise whereof the communion both of Christ and of his Church was forsaken. ¶ For Christians (say they)

¶ οὐ γὰρ δεῖται  
τὸ θεῖον ὄνομα  
ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι  
τοῦ κυρίου  
ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ  
Χριστοῦ. 1. Corinth. 1. 2.  
2. With all that call upon the Name of our Lord Iesus Christ; giveth this exposition. ¶ Not of this man and that man, but upon the name of the Lord. and he else-where telleth us, that it was the D I V E L S doing to draw men unto the calling upon Angels; as envying them the honour of their immediate accessse and admittance unto Gods owne presence. ¶ For this cause (saith he) did the Diavel bring in this of the Angels; en-vying us this honour. These be the enchantments of Di-vels. Though he be an Angel, though an Archangel, though they be Cherubims; endure it not. For neyther will these Powers themselves admit it, but reject it; when they see their Lord dishonoured. I have honoured thee, saith he, and have sayd; Call upon me. and doest thou dis-honour him? And therefore did the Fathers in the Councell of Laodicea directly conclude that this Invo-cation of Angels was a secret kinde of Idolatry, by the practise whereof the communion both of Christ and of his Church was forsaken. ¶ For Christians (say they)

ought



ought not to forsake the Church of God, and depart aside, and invoke Angels, & make meetings : which are things forbidden. If any man therefore be found to give himselfe to this privy Idolatry ; let him be accursed. Because hee hath forsaken our Lord Iesus Christ, the Sonne of God, and betaken himselfe to Idolatry.

Pope Adrian, in the Epitome of the Canons which he delivered to Charles the great at Rome in the year of our Lord DCCCLXXIII. doth thus abridge this decree : *ut anathema sit, quicumque relictâ Ecclesiâ, Angelos colere, vel congregationes facere præsumpserit.* that whosoever, leaving the Church, did presume to worship Angels, or to make meetings, should be accursed. Where *Henricus Canisius*, who was the first publisher of this Abbridgement in the 6. tome of his *Ancient* reading, fearing be-like that the curse not only of the Fathers of *Laodicea*, but (which was more dreadfull) of Pope *Adrian* also might light upon him and his companions, who acknowledge themselves to be of the number of those that worship Angels : giveth us warning in his margin, that in steed of *angelos* here <sup>x</sup> *peradventure* should be read, *angulos* ; that is to say, corners in steed of *angels*. which although it be a note that evill becometh a man who would be thought to be conversant in *ancient* reading, and such a one especially as professeth himselfe to be a chiefe professor of the Canons : yet in that he leaveth the text untouched, and contenteth himselfe with a *peradventure* too in his marginall annotation, he is more to be excused then his fellowes before him, *Caranza*, *Sagittarius*, and *Ioverius*, who setting forth the Canons of the Councells, without all *peradventure* corrupted the text it selfe, removing the *angels* out of their place, and hiding them in *corners*. Notwithstanding

x Angulos  
fortè legendū.  
pag. 424. tom. 6.  
*Antique lectionis*  
*Henr. Canisij,*  
*SS. Canonum in*  
*Academ Ingol-*  
*stad. professoris*  
*primarij.*

7 *Supr. pag. 12.*

2 *Tom. I. Concil.  
edit. Colon. an.  
1530. & Paris.  
an. 1535.*

2 *Tom. I. Concil.  
edit. Colon. an.  
1538.*

ding this also may be alledged in some part of their excuse too, that they were not the first authors of this corruption of the Canon: that blame must light eyther upon *Isidorus Mercator* (the craftie merchant, with whose dealings I acquainted you y before ) or upon *James Merlin* the Popish Doctor, who first caused his Collection of Decrees to be printed. But Friar *Crabb* deserveth no excuse at all: who having store of good copies to direct him, did not onely content himselfe with the retayning of *angulos* in the text of *Isidorus*, as he found it printed before him; but pluckt out *angelos*, and chopt in a *angulos* into the old translation of *Dionysius Exiguus* also, which affoorded no roome for any such corners as these. For howsoever in that version, or perversion rather of the Canon which is extant in the text of *Isidorus* it might stand with some reason to reade: *Non oportet Christianos derelictâ ecclesia abire, & ad angulos idolatriæ abominandæ congregationes facere.* It is not lawfull for Christians, forsaking the Church, to go and make assemblies of abominable idolatry in corners. yet in the old translation of *Dionysius*, where the Canon was rightly rendred; *Quòd non oporteat ecclesiam Dei relinquere, & abire, atque angelos nominare, & congregationes facere*: it was contrary to all sense to thrust this reading upon us. It is not lawfull for Christians to forsake the Church of God, and goe and nominate or invoke CORNERS (a wise speech no doubt) and make meetings.

But, *veritas non querit angulos*: the truth will admit none of these corners. For the Greek veritie (as well in all the editions of the Canons that have come forth by themselves, as in the Collections of *Harmenopulus*, *Zonaras* and *Balsamon* likewise) expressely readeth *ἀνγέλοι*



285, which in that tongue hath no affinity at all with  
 corners: and the ancient Collectors of the Canons a-  
 mong the Latins, <sup>b</sup> Cresconius and <sup>d</sup> Dionysius and <sup>c</sup> Ful-  
 gentius Ferrandus, have *Angelos*: and Theodoret in his  
 exposition of the epistle to the Colossians, doth twice  
 make mention and declare the meaning of this Canon.  
 once, upon those words of the Apostle in the third  
 chapter: *Whatsoever yee do in word or deed, doe all in the*  
*name of the Lord Iesus, giving thanks to God and the*  
*Father by him.* <sup>d</sup> for because they commanded men to  
 worship Angels, (saith Theodoret) he injoyneth the con-  
 trary; that they should adorne their words and their deeds  
 with the commemoration of our Lord Christ. and send up  
 thanksgiving to God and the Father by him, saith he, and  
 not by the Angels. The Synod of Laodicea also following  
 this rule, and desiring to heale that old disease, made a law  
 that they should not pray unto Angels, nor forsake our  
 Lord Iesus Christ. and againe, upon the second chapter  
 of the same epistle, <sup>e</sup> This vice continued in Phrygia and  
 Pisidia for a long time. for which cause also the Synod as-  
 sembled in Laodicea the chiefe city of Phrygia, forbad  
 them by a Law to pray unto Angels. And even to this day  
 among them and their borderers, there are Oratories of S.  
 Michael to be seene. The like hath Oecumenius after  
 him, upon the same place. <sup>f</sup> This custome continued in  
 Phrygia: insomuch that the Councell of Laodicea did by  
 a Law forbid to come unto Angels and to pray unto them.

ἡμετέραν τὸν κώλον ἡμεῖς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν. *Theodotes, in Coloss. 3.* **c** Ἐμνη ὃ πῶπο τὸ παῖθ' ἐν  
 τῇ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Πισιδίᾳ μέχρι πολλοῦ· καὶ δὴ χάριν καὶ ἡ σωμειδοῦσα σύννοσ' ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῇ Φρυγίας,  
 νόμῳ καλυῦσα τὸ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις προσέχουσα. καὶ μέχρι ὃ πῶ τῶν ἑκτῶν πῶ ἀγία Μιχαὴλ παρ' ἐκεί-  
 νοις καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐκείτων ἴσιν ἰδὲν *Id. in Coloss. 2.* **f** Ἐμνη ὃ πῶπο καὶ Φρυγίαν τὸ ἴθ' ὡς καὶ  
 ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ σύννοσ' ἐν νόμῳ καλυῦσα τὸ προσέχουσα ἀγγέλοις καὶ προσέχουσα. ἀρ' ὃ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς πῶ  
 ἀρχιερατῶν Μιχαὴλ πολλοί. *Oecumen. MS. in Coloss. 2.* **ab** *Hæschelii cisisms in notis ad Origenis li-*  
*brum contra Celsum, pag. 483.*

g Πιεὶ Ἀγγελί-  
ων. Phot. No-  
mocanon. tit. 12.  
cap. 9.

h Angelici, in  
angelorum cul-  
tu inclinati.  
Augustin. de  
heresi. ca. 39.

i Angelici vo-  
cati, quia an-  
gelos colunt.  
Isidor. Origin.  
lib. 8 cap. 5.

k Οὐδὲν γὰρ δια-  
κρίσεις γὰρ νότον  
σεβασμῶν τῶν  
αἰσθητῶν, ὁ θεὸς  
ἐκ κοινῆς φύσεως  
ὡς ἐν πάσι μα-  
κροῦ δὲ ἐν τῇ  
δοξῇ τοῦ χαρῆς  
τὸ τοιοῦτο μα-  
θεῖν. ὁ Μαθῶν,  
ὡς πλάκας, ὁ νό-  
μος, οἱ καθεστῶ-  
τες φῶτες, τὰ  
διαγνώγια, τὰ  
δοκίμια τὰ  
δόγματα πάντων,  
ὅπως ἀπαγορεύ-  
σει τὸ πρὸς τῇ  
κτίσει βλέπειν.

Gregor. Nyssen.  
coner. Eunom.  
orat. 4. tom. 2 e-  
dit. Græcolatin.  
pag. 144.

l Ὡς εἰς μὴ

ταῦτα πᾶσι μαθεῖν καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ πρὸς τῷ ἀνδρὶ δόξαν βλέπειν παρὰ τῆς χάριτος ἐκείνης,  
καὶ τὸ κτιστὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς θείας οὐσίας νοεῖν ἰσχυροῦς, μόνον δὲ τῷ ἁγίῳ εὐσεβεῖ λαβεῖν τὴν καὶ  
σεβασμῶν, ὡς χαρακτὴρ ἐστὶ καὶ γινώσκοντα, τὸ μὴ ἀρχαῖον τὸ εἶναι ποτὶ μὴτε παλαιὸν εἶναι. Id. ibid.  
pag. 146.

from whence it is also, that there be many Churches of Mi-  
chael, the chiefe captaine of Gods hoste, among them. This  
Canon of the Laodicean Fathers, Photius doth note to  
have beene made against the 8 Angelites : or the Ange-  
lickes rather. for so doth S. Augustin name those here-  
tickes that were <sup>h</sup> inclined to the worship of Angels : be-  
ing from thence <sup>i</sup> called Angelici, as Isidorus noteith, be-  
cause they did worship Angels.

To transcribe here at large the severall testimonies  
of the Fathers, which condemne this worshipping of  
Angels or any other creature whatsoever, would be an  
endlesse worke. Gregory Nyssen in the beginning of his  
fourth (or fifth book rather) against Eunomius, layeth  
this downe for an undoubted principle. k That none of  
those things which have their being by creation is to be  
worshipped by men, the word of God hath by law ordayned :  
as almost out of all the holy Scripture we may learne.  
Moses, the Tables, the Law, the Prophets afterward, the  
Gospels, the determinations of all the Apostles, doe equally  
forbid the looking unto the creature. Then having shew-  
ed that the neglect of this was the cause of the bring-  
ing in of a multitude of Gods among the Heathen :  
least the same things should happen unto us, saith he, who  
are instructed by the Scripture to looke unto the true Dei-  
tie ; we are taught to understand that whatsoever is crea-  
ted is a different thing from the divine nature, and that  
we are to worship and adore that nature only which is un-  
created ; whose character and marke is, that it neyther at  
any time beganne to be nor ever shall cease to be. But our

Romanists





q Ambrosii  
Rom. cap. 1. sup.  
pag. 414.

Γ Α Μ' ἔτι ἡμῶν

αὐτῶν προσκυνητῶν,

καὶ περὶ τοῦ ζῶντος

αὐτοῦ, ἔτι ἡμῶν

προσκυνητῶν, etc.

ὅτι ἔτι ἡ Θεία,

ἔτι τῆς τοῦ αἰῶνος

προσκυνητῆς. Οὐ

γὰρ ἀπολαύσας ἡμῶν

ἡ ἀρχαία πλάτη,

καταλιμπνίσκειν

ζῶντα, καὶ προσ-

κυνητῶν τὰ ἑα-

υῖα γιγνόμενα.

ἐλάττωσεν γὰρ καὶ

ἰστέλλετο τὰ

αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸν

αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡμῶν

ἐκείνων. Εἰ γὰρ

ἀγγέλους προσ-

κυνητῶν ἔθελον,

πῶς μὲν οὖν τὴν

ὑπὸ Ἀννῆς γειγ-

νημένην; Epi-

phan. heres. 79.

pag. 448.

Γ Ἡ Μαρία

τιμῇ, καὶ Κυρίῳ

προσκυνητῶν, Id.

ibid pag. 450.

t Non sit nobis

religio cultus

hominum mor-

tuorum : quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur ut tales quærant honores ; sed illum á nobis

coli volunt, quo illuminantē latantur meriti sui nos esse consortes. Honorandi ergo sunt

propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem. Augustin. de vera relig. cap. 55.

u Quare honoramus eos charitate, non servitute. Nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt

enim se sic honorari á nobis ; quia nos ipsos cum boni sumus, templa summi Dei esse nove-

runt. Recte itaq; scribitur, hominem ab angelo prohibitum ne se adoraret, sed unum Deum

sub quo ei esset & ille conservus. Id. ibid.

surpasse others in glory, yet they are all but creatures ; and are in the number, not of those that are to be adored, but of them that adore the Lord. So we have heard S. Ambrose before reprehending those that doe adore their fellow servants. And Epiphanius refuting the heresie of the Collyridians, concludeth, that neither Elias, nor Iohn, nor Thecla, nor any of the Saints is to be worshipped. For that ancient error (saith he) shall not prevayle over us, to forsake the living God, and to worship the things that are made by him. for they served and worshipped the creature above the Creator, and became fooles. For if hee will not have the Angels to be worshipped ; how much more would he not have her that was borne of Anna ? Let Mary then be had in honour : but let the Lord be worshipped. Lastly S. Augustin (to omit all others) in the book which he wrote of true religion, delivereth this for one of the maine grounds thereof ; that the worshipping of men that are dead should be no part of our religion. because (saith he) if they did live piously, they are not held to be such as would seeke that kinde of honour ; but would have him to be worshipped of us, by whose enlightening they doe rejoyce that we are made partners of their merit. They are to be honoured therefore for imitation, not to be adored for religion. The same doth he also there say of Angels : that we doe honour them with love, not with service ; neyther do we build temples unto them. For it is not their desire, that they should be so ho-

noured



noured by us : because they know that we our selves, if wee be good, are the temples of the high God. and therefore it is rightly written, that a man was forbidden by an Angell, that he should not worship him, but God alone under whom he was his fellow servant. (Revel. 22.9.)

But, what saith Cardinall Bellarmine now, thinke you, unto these testimonies of the Fathers? x I say (saith he, not knowing indeed what he saith, nor where of he affirmeth) that they doe speake against the errors of the Gentiles, who of wicked men did make true Gods; and did offer sacrifices unto them. wherein you may discern the just hand of God, confounding the mans wits, that would thus abuse his learning to the upholding of Idolatry. For had he been here his owne man, and not beene strangely overtaken with the spirit of slumber, he could not possibly have fayled so fowly, as to reckon the Angels & the Saints, & the verie mother of God her selfe (of whom these Fathers do expressely speake) in the number of those wicked persons whom the Gentiles did take for their Gods. And here also out of Epiphanius we may further observe, who were the masters, or the mistresses rather (for this was y the womens heresie) from whom our Romanists did first learne their Hyperdulia, or that transcendent kind of service wherewith they worship the Virgin Mary. namely, the Collyridians : z so called from the Collyrides or cakes, which at a certaine time of the yeare they used to offer unto the blessed Virgin. against whom Epiphanius doth thus oppose himselfe. a What Scripture hath delivered any thing concerning this? Which of the

x Dico eos lo-  
qui contra ex-  
tores Gentiliū,  
qui ex homini-  
bus sceleratis  
veros Deos fa-  
ciebant; eisq;  
sacrificia offe-  
rebant. Bellarm.  
de Eccles. trium-  
phant. lib. 1. fine.  
cap. 14. collat.  
cum fine cap. 11.

y ἡ τῆς παρθένου  
ἐπισκοπῆς. Epiphanius.  
heres. 79. pag.  
445. Οὐ τοὶ γὰρ οἱ  
τῶν τοῦ διστάκτου  
τῶν ἐκείνῃ, διὰ τὴν  
παρθένον; ibid.  
pag. 446.

z Id. in Anace-  
phaleosi, pag.  
529. Κολλυρίδια-  
να, (hoc vocabu-  
lum enim ibi ad-  
dendum) οἱ τοῖς ὀ-  
νομαζομένοις

να, (hoc vocabu-  
lum enim ibi ad-  
dendum) οἱ τοῖς ὀ-  
νομαζομένοις  
ἡμῖς τῇ ἱερῇ προ-  
δοτικῇ καὶ  
λυρίδας τῶν  
προφητειῶν ὅτι  
ἡ παρθένος ὀνομα-  
ζομένη παρὰ  
αὐτῆς  
ἐκείνη. Id. ibid.

ἐκείνη. α Ποία δὲ περὶ γὰρ οὐ δύναται πρὸς ταῦτα; τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἡμῖς  
ἐνδεσφύμενοι καὶ ἐκείνη, ἡ μὴ γυνὴ καὶ λίχη. ἰερίστον μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ σκεῦός, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ. Id. heres. 79.  
pag. 448.

Ἐν τιμῇ ἱστῶ  
Μαρία, ὃ ἡ πατρὶς καὶ  
υἱὸς καὶ ἁγίον πνεῦ-  
μα σεβασμῶν ἰδῶ,  
τίμω Μαρία μνη-  
στεύει προσκυνοῦντα.  
Οὐ λέγω γυναικὶ  
ἀλλ' ἐν ἀνδρὶ.  
Θεὸς σεβαστάκτου  
τὸ μυστήριον. Ἐπεὶ  
ἄγγελοι χαρᾶσι  
δοξολογίῃ τιμῶ-  
σιν. Id. ibid.  
pag. 449.

Μὴ φαγίτω τις  
ὑπὸ τῆς πλάτης τῆς  
δια Μαρία τὴν  
ἀγίαν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ  
ἄγγελοι τὸ ξύλον,  
ἀλλ' ἐκ εἰς σεβ-  
μα. καὶ εἰ καλλίστη ἡ  
Μαρία, καὶ ἀγία, καὶ  
τιμιμμένη, ἀλλ'  
ὡς εἰς τὸ σεβ-  
αυεῖται. Id. ibid.

Ναὶ μὴ ἀγιν-  
ῶν τὸ σῶμα τῆς  
Μαρίας, ὃ μὴ  
δοῖ. καὶ ἡ παρ-  
θένη ὡς ἡ παρ-  
θένη καὶ τιμιμ-  
μένη, ἀλλ' ἐκ εἰς  
σεβασμῶν ἰδῶ  
προσκυνοῦσιν τὴν  
ἐν αὐτῇ σαρκαὶ

γυμνασμένην, ὑπὸ ἁγίων ἢ ἐκ κήλων παρὰ τὴν παρὰ τὸν ἁγίον. Id. ibid. pag. 447.

ταύτως εἰρήσεις τὰς ἰδίας ἐκτεμένους. Id. ibid. pag. 446.

Ἐνδοξομένη, γυναικῶν ἢ τέτων τὴν μανίαν διασκαδίσωμεν. Id. ibid.

g De cuius Imperij ad similes effectus a qualitate cum filio, non defunt, qui construant illud ab Angelo ipsi prænunciatur; Ave gratia plena, Dominus tecum, id est, Sicut & ipse, ita & tu eadem dominandi excellentissimâ dignitate perfueris. Emanuel de Valle de Moura, Doct. Theol. ac Inquisitionis Depu- tus Lusitan. Opusc. 1. de Incantationib. seu Ensalmeis, sect. 1. cap. 1. num. 46.

Prophets have permitted a man to be worshipped, that I may not say a woman? For a choyse vessell she is indeed; but yet a woman. <sup>b</sup> Let Mary be in honour; but let the Father and the Sonne and the holy Ghost be worshipped: let no man worship Mary. This mysterie is appointed, I doe not say for a woman, nor yet for a man neyther, but for God: the Angels themselves are not capable of such kinde of glorifying. <sup>c</sup> Let none eate of this error touching holy Mary. for although the tree be beautifull, yet is it not for meate: and although Mary be most excellent, and holy, and to be honoured, yet is she not to be worshipped. <sup>d</sup> The bodie of Mary was holy indeed, but not God: the Virgin indeed was a virgin and honourable; but not given unto us for adoration, but one that did her selfe worship him who was borne of her in the flesh and came from heaven out of the bosome of his Father.

Thus did this learned Father labour to <sup>e</sup> cut the roots of this Idolatrous heresie, when it first began to take hold of the feminine sexe: animating all that were of masculine spirits to the extirpatiō therof, in this maner. <sup>f</sup> Go to then, ye servants of God, let us put on a manlike mind, and beat down the madnes of these women. But when this disease afterwards had gotten a farther spredd, and had once thoroughly seized upō men as wel as women: it is a most wonderfull thing to consider, into what extremitie this frenzie brake out; after the time of Sathans loosing especially. For then <sup>g</sup> there wanted not such as

would



would interprete that speech of the Angel unto the holy Virgin, *Haile full of grace, the Lord is with thee; of the equality of her Empire with her Sonnes.* as if it had beene said. *Even as he, so thou also dost enjoy the same most excellent dignitie of ruling.* <sup>h</sup> *In the redundance and effusion of grace upon the creatures, the Lords power and vwill is so accommodated unto thine, that thou mayest seeme to be the first in that, both diadem, and tribunall. The Lord is with thee: not so much thou with the Lord, as the Lord with thee, in that function.* Then it was taught for good Divinitie, that <sup>i</sup> *from the time wherein the Virgin mother did conceive in her wombe the Word of God, she hath obtained such a kind of jurisdiction (so to speake) or authoritie in all the temporall procession of the holy Ghost; that no creature hath obtained any grace or vertue from God, but according to the dispensation of his holy mother. that,* <sup>k</sup> *because she is the mother of the sonne of God who doth produce the holy Ghost; therefore all the gifts, vertues, and graces of the holy Ghost are by her hands administred, to whom she pleaseth, when she pleaseth, how she pleaseth, and as much as she pleaseth. That* <sup>l</sup> *she hath singularly obtained of God this office from eternitie; as her selfe doth testifie Proverb. 8. 23. I was ordained from everlasting,*

<sup>h</sup> Ad quem sensum facile accommodari possunt præcitata Angeli verba; Dominus tecum, gratia plena. Id est, in gratie plenitudine redundantia, & effusione in creaturas, ita Domini potentia ac voluntas ad tuam accommodatur, ut tu prior in eo, & diademate, & tribunali esse videaris. Dominus tecum: non tam tu cum Domino, quam tecum Dominus in eo

<sup>i</sup> munere. *ibid.* <sup>i</sup> A tempore enim quo Virgo mater concepit in utero Verbum Dei, quandam (ut sic dicam) jurisdictionem seu auctoritatem obtinuit in omni Spiritus sancti processione temporali; ita quod nulla creatura aliquam a Deo obtinuit gratiam vel virtutem, nisi secundum ipsius pie matris dispensationem. *Bernardin. Senens. serm. 61. artic. 1. cap. 8.* <sup>k</sup> Et quia talis est mater filij Dei qui producit Spiritum sanctum; ideo omnia dona, virtutes & gratie ipsius Spiritus sancti quibus vult, quando vult, quomodo vult, & quantum vult, per manus ipsius administrantur. *Id. ibid.* <sup>l</sup> Nulla gratia de celo nisi ea dispensante ad nos descendit. Hoc enim singulariter officium divinitus ab æterno adeptæ est: sicut Proverb. 8. ipsa testatur, dicens. Ab æterno ordinata sum; sc. dispensatrix cœlestium gratiarum. *Id. ibid. artic. 3. cap. 3.*

Kkk a

namely,

m In Christo  
fuit plenitudo  
gratiae, sicut in  
capite in fluente;  
in Mariâ verò  
sicut in collo  
transfundente.  
Vnde Cantic  
7. de Virgine ad  
Christum Sa-  
lomon ait:  
Collum tuum  
sicut turris e-  
burnea. Nam  
sicut per collū  
vitales spiritus  
à capite descen-  
dunt in corpus;  
sic per Virgine  
à capite Chri-  
sto vitales gra-  
tiae in ejus cor-

namely, a dispenser of celeſtiall graces; and that<sup>m</sup> in this respect, Cantic. 7. 4. it is said of her: *Thy neck is as a tower of Ivoire.* because that as by the neck the vitall spirits do descend from the head into the bodie; so by the Virgin the vitall graces are transmitted from Christ the head into his mysticall body: the fulnesse of grace being in him as in the head from whence the influence cometh, & in her as in the necke through which it is transfused unto us. so that<sup>n</sup> take away the patronage of the Virgin, you stop as it were the sinners breath, that he is not able to live any longer.

Then men stuck not to teach, that unto her<sup>o</sup> all power was given in heaven and in earth. So that for heaven, when our Saviour ascended thither, this might be assigned for one reason (among others) why he left his mother behinde him: *least perhaps the court of Heaven might have beene in a doubt, whom they should rather go to meet, their Lord or their Lady.* & for earth, & the

*pus mysticum transfunduntur. Id. ibid. artic. 1. cap. 3. & artic. 2. cap. 10. ex Psend. Hieronymi sermone de assumpt. Mariae. Sicut enim à capite, mediante collo, descendunt omnia nutrimenta corporis: sic à Christo per beatā Virginem in nos veniunt omnia bona, & beneficia, quae Deus nobis confert. Nam ipsa est dispensatrix gratiarū & beneficiorum Dei. Ioan Herolt in Sermon. Discipuli de Tempore. serm. 16. Per Collum, Virginis apud Deum gratia, & intercessio intelligitur: ita ut ejus intercessio sit veluti collū, per quod à Deo omnes gratiae, praesidiaq; in homines transfunduntur. Elaf. Viegas in Apo. alips cap. 12. cōment. 2. sect. 10. num. 1. Collū enim dicitur; quia per Virgine universa in nos à Deo tanquā à capite beneficia derivantur. Id. ibid. num. 2.*

*n Quasi sublato Virginis patrocinio, perinde atq; halitu intercluso, peccator vivere diutius non possit. Viegas ibid. sect. 2. num. 6.*

*o Data est tibi omnis potestas in caelo & in terrā. Petr. Damien serm. 1. de nativitat. B. Mariae. tom. 5. Suij, Septemb. 8.*

*p Fortassis Domine, ne tuae celesti Curiae veniret in dubiū, cui potius occurreret; tibi videlicet Domino suo, regnū tuū in assumptā carne petenti, an ipsi Dominae suae, ipsum regnū jam suū materno jure effectū ascendenti. Arsehn. Cantuar. de excellentiā B. Virginiis, cap. 7. & eum secuti, Bernard. de Buss in Mariali, part. 11. serm. 1. part. 3. & Sebast. Barrad. Jesuit. Concord. Euangel. lib. 6. cap. 11.*

*q O igitur Regina nostra serenissima, profectò tu dicere potēs illud, 1. Esdræ 1. Omnia regna terrae dedit mihi Dominus. Et nos tibi dicere possumus illud Tobī 13 In omnia secula regnū tuū. & Psal 144. Regnū tuū regnū omniū seculorum &c. & Dan. 2. Regnū quod in aeternū non dissipabitur. Veni ergo, & super nos regnum accipe, Iudic. 9. De regno enim tuo dici potest illud, Psal. 103. Et regnum ipsius omnibus dominabitur. & Luc. 1. Et regni ejus non erit finis. Bernardin. de Buss. Mariali. part. 12. serm. 1. part. 1.*

may



may rightly apply unto her selfe that in the first of Ezra; *All the kingdomes of the earth hath the Lord given unto me.* and we may say unto her againe, that in *Tobi 14. Thy kingdome endureth for all ages:* and in the 144. or 145. Psalme; *Thy kingdome is a kingdome of all ages.* That howsoever she was *the noblest person that was or ever should be in the world, and of so great perfection, that although she had not beene the mother of God, she ought neverthelesse to have beene the Lady of the world:* yet according to the lawes whereby the world is governed, by the right of inheritance she did deserve the principality and kingdome of this world. That Christ never made any legacie of this Monarchy: because that could not be done without the prejudice of his mother; and he knew besides, that the mother could make voyde the Testament of the sonne, if it were made unto her prejudice. And therefore that by all this it appeareth most evidently, that Mary the mother of Iesus, by right of inheritance hath the regall dominion over all that be under God. That *as many creatures doe serve the glorious Virgin Mary, as serve the Trinitie. namely all creatures, whatsoever degree they hold among the things created (whether they be spirituell as*

*r* Quamvis autem benedicta Virgo fuerit nobilior persona quæ fuerit vel futura sit in orbe terrarum, tantæque perfectionis, quod etiam si non fuisset mater Dei, nihilominus debuisset esse Domina mundi: tamen secundum leges quibus regitur mundus, jure hæreditario omnem mundi hujus meruit principatum & regnum. Bernardin. Senens. *scilicet 61. artic. 1. cap. 7.*

*f* De monar-

chiâ autem universi nunquam Christus testatus est: eo quod sine matris præjudicio nequaquam fieri poterat. Insuper noverat, quod potest mater filij irritare testamentum, si in sui præjudicium sit confectum. Ex his omnibus apertissimè claret, quod mater Iesu Maria hæreditario jure omnium qui sunt infra Deum habet regale dominium & inclytum obtinet principatum *Id. ibid.* Tot creaturæ servant gloriose Virgini Mariæ, quot servant Trinitati. Omnes nempe creaturæ, quemcunque gradum teneant in creatis, sive spirituales ut Angeli, sive rationales ut homines, sive corporales ut corpora coelestia vel elementa, & omnia quæ sunt in cælo & in terrâ, sive damnati sive beati, quæ omnia sunt divino imperio subjugata, gloriose Virgini sunt subjecta. Ille enim qui Dei filius est & Virginis benedictæ, volens (ut sic dicam) paterno principatui quodammodo principatum æquiparare maternum, ipse qui Deus erat matri famulabatur in terrâ. Vnde Lucæ 2. scriptum est de Virgine & glorioso Ioseph: *Erat subditus illis.* Præterea hæc est vera: Divino imperio omnia famulantur & Virgo. & iterum hæc est vera: Imperio Virginis omnia famulantur & Deus. *Id. ibid. cap. 6.*

u Cum beata  
Virgo sit ma-  
ter Dei, & De-  
us filius ejus;  
& omnis filius  
sit naturaliter  
inferior matre  
& subditus e-  
jus, & mater  
prælata & su-  
perior filio:  
sequitur quòd  
ipsa benedicta  
Virgo sit supe-  
rior Deo, & ip-  
se Deus sit sub-  
ditus ejus rati-  
one humanita-  
tis ab eâ assum-  
ptæ. Bernardin.  
de Bust. Marial.  
part. 9. serm. 2.  
x Ipsa bene-  
dicta Virgo, li-  
cèt sit subiecta  
Deo inquantū  
creatura; supe-  
rior tamen illi  
dicitur & præ-  
lata, inquantū  
est ejus mater.  
Vnde Luc. 2. de  
Christo Deo &  
homine scriptū

est, quòd erat subditus illi. O ineffabilis dignitas Mariæ, quæ imperatori omnium meruit  
imperare. Id. part. 12. serm. 2. y Peccando post Baptismum videntur contemnere & de-  
spicere passionem Christi: & sic nullus peccator meretur quòd Christus amplius intercedat  
pro ipso apud Patrem; sine cujus intercessione nemo potest liberari à pœnâ æternâ, nec  
temporali, nec culpâ quam ipse voluntariè perpetravit. Et ideo fuit necesse ut Christus con-  
stitueret matrem suam prædilectam mediatricem inter nos & ipsum. Iacob. de Valentia episc.  
Christopol. tan. in exposit. Cantic. virg. Mariæ. Magnificat.

Angels, or rationall as men, or corporall as the Heavenly  
bodies or the Elements) and all things that are in Heaven  
and in Earth, whether they be the damned or the blessed:  
all which being brought under the governement of God,  
are subiect likewise unto the glorious Virgin. forasmuch as  
he who is the sonne of God and of the blessed Virgin, being  
willing as it were to equall in some sort his Mothers sove-  
raintie unto the soveraignty of his Father; even he who  
was God, did serve his mother upon earth. Whence Luke  
2. 51. it is written of the Virgin and glorious Ioseph: He  
was subiect unto them. that as this proposition is true; All  
things are subiect to Gods command, even the Virgin her  
selfe: so this againe is true also; All things are subject to  
the command of the Virgin, even God himselfe. that, con-  
sidering the blessed Virgin is the mother of God and God  
is her sonne, and every sonne is naturally inferior to his  
mother and subiect unto her, and the mother hath preemi-  
nence and is superior to her sonne; it therefore followeth  
that the blessed Virgin is superior to God, and God him-  
selfe is subiect unto her, in respect of the manhood which he  
assumed from her. that x howsoever she be subiect unto God  
inasmuch as she is a creature; yet is she said to be superior  
and preferred before him, inasmuch as she is his mother.

Then men were put in minde, that y by sinning after  
Baptisme they seemed to contemne and despise the passion  
of Christ: and so that no sinner doth deserve that Christ  
should any more make intercession for him to the Father;

without



without whose intercession none can be delivered eyther from the eternall punishment or the temporall, nor from the fault which he hath voluntarily committed. And therefore that it was necessary, that Christ should constitute his welbelovèd Mother a Mediatrix betwixt us and him. <sup>a</sup> and so in this our pilgrimage, there is no other refuge left unto us in our tribulations and adversities, but to have recourse unto the Virgin Mary our mediatrix; that she would appease the wrath of her Sonne. That <sup>a</sup> as He is ascended into heaven, to appeare in the sight of God for men; (Hebr. 9.24.) so Shee ought to ascend thither, to appeare in the sight of her Sonne for sinners: that so mankinde might have alwayes before the face of God a Helpe like unto Christ for the procuring of his salvation. That <sup>b</sup> this Emperesse is of so great authoritic in the palace of Heaven, that it is lawfull to appeale unto her from any grievance, all other intermediall Saints omitted. for howsoever according to the Civill law the due meane must be observed in Appales: yet in her the style of the Canon law is observed, wherein the Pope is appealed unto, any intermediall whatsoever omitted. That <sup>c</sup> she is a Chancellour in the Court

<sup>a</sup> Et sic in hac peregrinatione non relinquatur nobis aliud refugium in nostris tribulationibus & adversitatibus; nisi recurrere ad virginem Mariam mediatricem, ut velit placare iram Filij. *Id. ibid.*

<sup>a</sup> Sicut ille ibi ascendit ut continuè appareat vultui Dei pro hominibus; Hebr. 9. ita ego debeo ibi ascendere, ut appaream vultui ipsius filij pro peccatoribus: & sic humanum genus habeat semper

ante faciem Dei adiutorium simile Christo ad procurandam suam salutem. *Bernardin. de Bust. Marial. part. 1. 1. serm. 2. membr. 1.* <sup>b</sup> Tantæ autè auctoritatis in cœlesti palatio est ista Imperatrix, quòd omnibus alijs Sanctis intermedijs omissis, ad ipsam licet ab omni gravamine appellare. Licet enim secundum jura civilia debitum medium servetur in appellationibus: (4. Imperatores ff. de appel. reci.) tamè in ipsâ servatur stylus juris Canonici, quo omissis quolibet medio appellatur ad summum Pontificem. (C. si duobus. extra. de appel. *Id. part. 3. serm. 3. in excellent. 4.*) <sup>c</sup> Nos autem dicere possumus, quòd beatissima Virgo est Cancellaria in cœlesti curiâ. Nam videmus quòd in Cancellariâ Domini Papæ conceduntur tria genera literarum, etc. Istas autè literas misericordiæ dat (B. Virgo) solum in præsentî vitâ. Nam animabus decessitibus quibusdâ dat literas puræ gratiæ: alijs verò simplicis justitiæ, & quibusdâ mixtas, sc. justitiæ & gratiæ. Quidâ enim fuerunt sibi valdè devoti: & istis dat literas puræ gratiæ, per quas mandat ut detur eis gloria sine aliquâ Purgatorij pœnâ. Alij autem fuerunt miseri peccatores & ejus indevoti: & istis dat literas simplicis justitiæ, per quas mandat ut eis fiat condigna vindicta. Alij verò fuerunt in devotione tepidi & remissi: & istis dat literas justitiæ & gratiæ simul; per quas mandat ut & gratia eis fiat, & tamen illis inferatur aliqua Purgatorij pœna propter negligentiam & torporē. Et ista significantur in Hester reginâ, quæ (ut habetur Hest. 8.) scripsit literas ut Iudæi salvarentur, & hostes interficerentur, & pauperibus munuscula darentur. *Id. part. 1. 2. serm. 2. membr. 1. in excellent. 12.*

d Confugimus  
 autem primò  
 ad beatissimā  
 Virginem cœ-  
 lorum Reginā :  
 cui Rex regū,  
 pater cœlestis,  
 dimidiū regni  
 sui dedit. Quod  
 significatū est  
 in Hester regi-  
 nā : quæ cum  
 ad placandum  
 Assuerum regē  
 accessisset, dixit  
 ei Rex; Etiam  
 si dimidiam  
 partem regni  
 mei petieris,  
 dabitur tibi. Sic  
 pater cœlestis,  
 cum habeat  
 iustitiam &  
 misericordiam  
 tanquā potiora  
 regni sui bona;  
 iustitiā sibi re-  
 tentā, miseri-

cordiam matri Virgini concessit *Gabr. Biel in Canon Missæ, lect. 80. Vide Iohann. Gerson. tract. 4. super Magnificat.* c Ista imperatrix figuravit imperatricem cœlorum, cum quā Deus regnum suum divisit. Cum enim Deus habeat iustitiam & misericordiam : iustitiam sibi in hoc mundo exercendam retinuit, & misericordiam matri concessit. Et ideo si quis sentit se gravari à foro iustitiæ Dei, appellet ad forum misericordiæ matris ejus. *Bernardus, de Rust. Alvarus part. 2. serm. 3. in excellent. 4. f Id. ibid. excellent. 5. & part. 5. serm. 7. in fine.*

of heaven : and giveth letters of mercy onely in this present life ; but for the soules that depart from hence, unto some letters of pure grace, unto others of simple justice, and unto some mixt of justice and grace. For some (say they) were much devoted unto her : and unto them shee giveth letters of pure grace, whereby shee commandeth glory to be given them without any paine of Purgatorie. Others were miserable sinners and not devoted to her : and unto them shee giveth letters of simple justice, whereby shee commandeth that condigne punishment be taken of them. Others were lukewarme and remisse in devotion : and unto them shee giveth letters of justice and grace together ; whereby shee commandeth that both favour be done unto them, and yet some paine of Purgatorie bee, inflicted upon them for their negligence and sluggishnesse. And these things they say are signified in Queene Esther ; who wrote letters that the Iewes should be saved, and the enemies should be killed, and to the poore small giftes should be given. Yea further also, d where King Assuerus did profer unto the said Esther even the halfe of his Kingdome : (Esth. 5. 3.) thereby they say was signified that God bestowed halfe of his kingdome upon the blessed Virgin. that having Iustice and Mercie as the chiefest goods of his Kingdome, he retayned Iustice unto himselfe, and granted mercie unto her. & e therefore that if a man do finde himselfe aggrieved in the court of Gods justice, he may appeale to the court of mercie of his mother : shee being that throne of grace, whercof the Apostle speaketh, Hebr. 4. 16. Let us goe



boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may receive mercie, and finde grace to helpe in time of neede.

They tell us, that <sup>g</sup> it is for the ornament of an earthly kingdome, that it should have both a King & a Queene: and therefore when any King hath not a wife his subjects often doe request him to take one. Hereupon they say, that the eternall King and omnipotent Emperor minding to adorne the kingdome of heaven above, did frame this blessed Virgin, to the end he might make her the Ladie and Empresse of his kingdome and empyre: that the prophecie of David might be verified, saying unto her in the Psalme; Vpon thy right hand did stand the Queene in clothing of gold. That <sup>h</sup> she is an Empresse, because she is the spouse of the eternall Emperor; of who it is said, Ioh. 3. 29. He that hath the bride is the bridegrome. and that when God did deliver unto her the empyre of the world and all the things contayned therein; he sayd unto her that which wee reade in the first of the *Aeneids*:

*His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;  
Imperium sine fine dedi.*

That shee is <sup>i</sup> the Empresse also of heaven and earth, because she did beare the heavenly Emperour: and therefore that shee can aske of him what she will and obtaine it. that this was figured in the historie of the Kings, where the mother of Salomon said unto him: I desire one petition of thee, doe not confounde my face: for then should bee

varietate *Id. pars. 9. serm. 2.*

<sup>h</sup> Est etiam Imperatrix, quia æterni Imperatoris est sponsa; de quo dicitur Iohan. 3. cap. Qui habet sponsam, sponsus est. Quando verò Deus illi tradidit imperium orbis & omnium contētorū in eo: dixit ei illud quod habetur 1. *Aeneid. Id. pars. 3. serm. 3. in excellens. 4.*

<sup>i</sup> Beata Virgo est imperatrix cœli & terræ: quia ipsa genuit cœlestem Imperatorem. et ideo potest ab eo petere quicquid vult et obtinere. quod figuratum fuit 3. Reg. 2. ubi mater Salomonis dixit ei: Petitionem unam peto à te; ne confundas faciem meam, tunc enim faciem suam confunderet, quando illud quod peteret denegaret. Si ergo imperat filio ratione maternalis jurisdictionis, qui fuit subditus illi (ut habetur Luc. 2.) multo magis imperat omnibus creaturis filio suo subiectis. *Id. ibid.*

lll

confound

<sup>g</sup> Ad ornamentum regni terreni est, quod habeat Regem & Reginā. Et propter hoc quando aliquis rex non habet uxorem, ejus subditi plerumq; ei supplicant ut eam accipiat. Supernum ergo cœlorum regnum volens Rex æternus & Imperator omnipotens decorare, fabricavit hanc beatissimam Virginē, ut illam regni & imperij sui faceret Dominam & Imperatricem: ut verificaretur prophetia David, Psal. 44. ei dicentis; Assidet regina à dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata

k Matrem  
quippe suam  
præpotens ille  
Deus divinæ  
majestatis po-  
testatisque so-  
ciam, quatenus  
licuit, adscivit.  
Huic olim cœ-  
lestium, morta-  
liumq; princi-  
patum detulit:  
ad hujus arbi-  
trium (quoad  
hominum tu-  
tela postulat)  
terras, maria,  
cœlum, natu-  
ramque mode-  
ratur: hæc an-  
nuente, et per  
hanc divinos  
thesauros mor-  
talibus, et cœ-  
lestia dona lar-  
gitur. Vt om-  
nes intelligant,  
quicquid ab æ-  
terno illo au-  
gustoq; bono-  
rum fonte in  
terras profuat,

fluere per M A R I A M. Horat. Turcellin. Iesuit. in epist. dedicat. Historia Lauretane ad Cardi-  
nalem Aldobrandinum. l Constituta quippe est super omnem creaturam; & quicum-  
que Iesu curvat genu, matri quoq; pronus supplicat: & filij gloriam cum matre non tam  
communem judico, quàm eandem. Arnold. Carnotens tract. de laudib. Virginis. m Tanta  
est gloria Virginis matris Dei; quòd tantum excedit in gloriâ naturam angelicam & hu-  
manam simul junctam, quantum circumferentia firmamenti excedit in magnitudine suum  
centrum: cum intelligat in filio suo se quasi alterum ipsum Deitate vestitam. Bernardin de  
Bust. Marial. part. 12. serm. 2. in excellent. 21. n Qui enim alicui rei innititur, virtutem eius  
sibi assumit, & eâ sicut vult utitur. Et similiter ipsa Dei mater de omnipotentia filij sui cui  
est innixa, quantum vult sibi assumit. Id. pars. 12. serm. 2. in excellent. 28.

confound her face, if he did denie that which she reque-  
sted. and that if in respect of her maternall jurisdiction she  
hath command of her Sonne, who was subject unto her:  
(as we reade, Luke 2.51.) then much more hath she com-  
mand over all the creatures that are subject to her Sonne.  
That this<sup>k</sup> mightie God did (as farre as he might) make  
his Mother partner of his divine majestie and power: gi-  
ving unto her of old the soveraigntie both of celestia<sup>l</sup>  
things and mortall: ordering at her pleasure (as the pa-  
tronage of men did require) the earth, the seas, heaven, and  
nature: at her liking, and by her, bestowing upon mortall  
men his divine treasures and heavenly gifts. So as all  
might understand, that whatsoever doth flowe into the  
earth from that eternall and glorious fountayne of good  
things, doth flowe by M A R I E. That<sup>l</sup> she is constituted  
over every creature, and whosoever boweth his knee unto  
Iesus, doth fall downe also and supplicate unto his mother:  
so that the glory of the Sonne may be judged not so much  
to be common with the Mother, as to be the verie same.  
That<sup>m</sup> so great is her glorie, that she exceedeth the nature  
of Angels and Men, joyned together, as farre in glorie, as  
the circumference of the firmament exceedeth his center  
in magnitude: when shee understandeth her selfe in her  
Sonne to be, as his other selfe, clothed with the Deitie. That  
she being<sup>n</sup> the mother of God, doth assume unto her selfe



of the omnipotencie of her Sonne (upon which she leaneth) as much as shee pleaseth. and that thee o doth come before the golden altar of humane reconciliation, not intreating onely, but commanding; a Mistresse, not a mayde.

They tell us, that the blessed Virgin her selfe appeared once unto Thomas Becket, & used this speech unto him. *P Rejoyce and be glad, and bee joyfull with mee: because my glorie doth excell the dignitie and joy of all the Saints & all the blessed spirits; & I alone have greater glorie than all the Angels and Saints together. Rejoyce, because that as the Sunne doth inlighten the day and the world, so my brightnesse doth inlighten the whole celestiall world. Rejoyce, because the whole hoaste of heaven obeyeth me, reverenceth and honoureth me. Rejoyce, because my Sonne is alwayes obedient unto me, and my will, and all my prayers he alwaies heareth. (or as others doe relate it: \* The will of the blessed Trinitie and mine is one and the same; and whatsoever doth please me, the whole Trinitie with unspeakeable favour doth give consent unto.) Rejoyce, because God doth alwayes at my pleasure reward my servants in this world and in the world to come. Rejoyce, because I sit next to the holy Trinitie, and am cloathed with my bodie glorified. Rejoyce, because I am certaine and sure, that these my joyes shall alwayes stand and never be finished*

*orbem celestē. Gaude, quia tota militia cœli mihi obedit, me veneratur & honorat. Gaude, quia filius meus mihi semper est obediens, & meam voluntatem, & cunctas preces meas semper exaudit. Gaude, quia Deus semper ad beneplacitum meū remunerat servitores meos in hoc seculo & in futuro. Gaude, quia proxima sedeo sanctæ Trinitati, & vestita sum corpore meo glorificato. Gaude, quia certa sum & secura, quod hæc mea gaudia semper stabunt & nunquam finientur vel deficient. Et quicumque cum his gaudijs spiritualibus lætando in hoc seculo me venerabitur, in exitu animæ suæ de corpore præsentiam meam obtinebit; & ipsam animam ab hostibus malignis liberabo, & in conspectu filij mei ut meum gaudia possideat præsentabo. Bernardin. de Burs. Marial. pars. 10. serm. 2. sect. ult.*  
 \* Quod summæ Trinitatis & mea est una voluntas; & quodcumq; mihi placuerit, tota Trinitas ineffabili favore consentit. *Promptuar. Discipuli, de miraculis B. Mariæ, exempl. 14. pag. 8. edit. Mogunt. ann. 1612.*

*o Accedis ante illud aureū humanæ reconciliationis altare, non solum rogans, sed imperans; Domina, non ancilla. Petr. Damian serm. I. de nativitate B. Mariæ.*

*p Gaude & lætare, ac exulta mecum; quia gloria mea excellit dignitatem & lætitiā omnium sanctorum & cunctorum spirituum beatorum, & majorem gloriam habeo ipsa sola quam omnes simul Angeli & Sancti. Gaude, quia sicut Sol illuminat diem ac mundum, sic claritas mea illuminat totū*

q Multæ me-  
retrices in die  
Sabbati non  
peccant pro-  
pter reverentia  
Virginis Et  
multi videntur  
beatam Virgi-  
nem in majori  
veneratione  
habere, quàm  
Christum filiū  
ejus; magis ex  
simplicitate  
moti quàm sci-  
entiā. Sed quia  
honor matris  
redundat in fi-  
lium, Prov. 17.  
patientiam ha-  
bet filius Dei,  
de hac quo-  
rundam virorū  
& mulierum  
simplicitate.  
Bernard. de  
Buss. part. 6.  
serm. 2. memb. 3.  
x Si hoc privi-  
legium habet  
Cardinalis,  
quod si ponat  
pileum sive ca-  
pe lum suum

super caput illius qui ducitur ad justitiam, liberatur: (secundum Baldū & Paulū de Castro, in l. addictos. C. de appel.) a fortiori, pallium beatæ Virginis potest nos ab omnibus malis liberare. Tam lata enim est ejus misericordia, quod si aliquem devotē facientem Coronam suam viderit in medio millium dæmonū trahi ad supplicium; cum protinus liberabit: nec permittet aliquem malē finiri, qui ejus Coronā reverenter studuerit facere. Id. part. 12. serm. 1. memb. 3. f Sic in summā erunt ducenta septuaginta tria millia septingenti quinquaginta octo dies indulgentiæ pro qualibet coronā. Felicis autē recordationis Sixtus Papa quartus, omnibus dicētibz in statu gratiæ infra scriptā orationē sive salutationē ipsius Virginis, quæ a multis dicitur in Coronā, concessit indulgentiā duodecim millium annorū pro qualibet vice quā dicitur. Ave sanctissima Maria, mater Dei, regina cœli, porta paradisi, domina mundi. Singularis & pura tu es virgo. Tu concepisti Christū sine peccato. Tu peperisti creatorē & salvatorem mundi, in quo non dubito, Libera me ab omni malo; & ora pro peccatis meis Amen. Ibid.

or jayle. And whosoever by rejoycing with these spirituall joyes shall worship me in this world, at the time of the departure of his soule out of the bodie he shall obtaine my presence: and I will deliver his soule from the malignant enemies, and present it in the sight of my Sonne, that it may possesse joyes with me. They tell us, that manie (q many whores for example, that would not sinne on Saturday, for the reverence of the Virgin; whatsoever they did on the Lords day) seeme to have the blessed Virgin in greater veneration than Christ her sonne; moved thereunto out of simplicitie more than out of knowledge. Yet that the Sonne of God doth beare with the simplicitie of these men and women: because he is not ignorant, that the honour of the mother doth redound to the childe (Prov. 17.6.) They argue further, that if a Cardinall have this priviledge, that if he put his cap upon the head of one that is ledd unto justice, he is freed therby: then by an argument drawn from the stronger, the cloake of the blessed Virgin is able to deliver us fro all evil. her mercy being so large, that if she should see any man who did devoutly make her Crowne (that is to say, repeate the Rosarie or Chaplet of prayers made for her worship) to be drawn unto punishment in the midst of a thousand Devils; she would presently rescue him, & not permit that any one should have an evil end, who did study reverētly to make her Crown. They add moreover, that for



every of these Crownes a man shal obtaine 273758. dayes of Indulgence: and that Pope Sixtus the fourth granted an indulgence of twelve thousand years for every time that a man in the state of grace should repeat this short orizon or salutation of the Virgin, which by manie is inserted into her Crowne. Haile most holy Mary, the mother of God, the Queene of heaven, the gate of Paradise, the Ladie of the world. Thou art a singular and pure virgin: thou didst conceive Christ without sinne: thou didst beare the creator and saviour of the world, in whom I doe not doubt. Deliver me from all evill, and pray for my sinnes. Amen.

In the Crowne composed by Bonaventure, this is one of the orizons that is prescribed to be sayd. <sup>t</sup> O Em-  
presse and our most kinde Ladie, by the authoritie of a mo-  
ther command thy most beloved Sonne our Lord Iesus  
Christ, that he would vouchsafe to lift up our mindes from  
the love of earthly things unto heavenly desires. which is  
sutable unto that versicle which wee reade in the 35.  
Psalme, of his Ladies Psalter. <sup>u</sup> Incline the countenance  
of God upon us: compell him to have mercie upon sinners.  
the harshenesse. whereof our Romanists have a little  
qualified in some of their editions, reading thus. <sup>x</sup> In-  
cline the countenance of thy Sonne upon us: compell him  
by thy praiers to have mercie upon us sinners. The psalmes  
of this Psalter doe all of them begin as Davids doe:  
but with this maine difference, that where the Prophet  
in the one aymeth at the advancement of the honour  
of our Lord, the Fryar in the other applieth all to the  
magnifying of the power and goodnesse of our Lady.  
So in the first Psalme: <sup>y</sup> Blessed is the man ( quoth Bo-

Imperatrix  
& Domina  
nostra benignissima, iure  
matris impera-  
tuo dilectissimo  
Filio Domino  
nostro Iesu  
Christo, ut  
mentes nostras  
ab amore ter-  
restrium ad  
coelestia desi-  
deria erigere  
dignetur. Bon-  
aventur. Corona  
B. Mariae Virgi-  
nis, Operum tomo  
6. edit. Rom. an.  
1588.  
<sup>u</sup> Inclina vul-  
tum Dei super  
nos: coge illū  
peccatoribus  
misereri. Id. in  
Psalterio B. Ma-  
riae Virg. ibid.

<sup>x</sup> Inclina vultum filij tui super nos: coge illum precibus nobis peccatoribus misereri Psal-  
ter. Bonaventur seorsim, edit. Parisys, an. 1596. in Capitulo Dominica 2. <sup>y</sup> Beatus vir qui dili-  
git nomen tuū Maria virgo: gratia tua animam ejus confortabit. Psalm. 1.

naventure) that loveth thy name, O Virgin Marie: thy grace shall comfort his soule. & in the others following.

*z* Lady, how are they multiplied that trouble me? with thy tempest shalt thou persecute and scatter them. *a* Ladie, suffer me not to be rebuked in the furie of God; nor to bee judged in his wrath. *b* My Ladie, in thee have I put my trust: deliver me from mine enemies, O Ladie. *c* In our Ladie put I my trust; for the sweetenesse of the mercie of her name. *d* How long wilt thou forget me, O Ladie, and not deliver me in the day of tribulation? *e* Preserve me, O Ladie, for in thee have I put my trust: and imparte unto me the droppes of thy grace. *f* I will love thee, O Ladie of heaven and earth: and I will call upon thy name among the nations. *g* The heavens declare thy glorie: and the fragrance of thine oyntments is spread among the nations. *h* Heare us, Ladie, in the day of trouble: and turne thy mercifull face unto our prayers. *i* Vnto thee, O Lady, have I lifted up my soule: in the judgement of God, by thy prayers, I shall not be ashamed. *k* Iudge me, Lady, for I have departed from mine innocencie: but because I will trust in thee, I shall not be weakned. *l* In thee, O Ladie, have I put my trust, let me never be confounded: in thy favour receive me. *m* Blessed are they whose hearts doe love thee, O virgin Marie: their sinnes by thee shall mercifully be washed away. *n* Lady, judge those that hurt me: and rise

*z* Domina, quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me? in tempestate tuâ persequeris & dissipabis eos. *Psalm. 3.*  
*a* Domina, ne in furore Dei finas corripere me: neque in ira ejus judicari. *Psalm. 6.*  
*b* Domina mea, in te speravi: de inimicis meis libera me Domina. *Psalm. 7.*  
*c* In Dominâ confido; propter dulcedinē misericordiæ nominis sui. *Psalm. 10.*  
*d* Usquequo Domina oblivisceris me; & non liberas me in die tribulationis? *Psalm. 12.*  
*e* Conserva me Domina, quoniam speravi in te: mihi que tuæ stillicidia gratiæ impartire. *Psalm. 15.*  
*f* Diligam te, Domina cœli & terræ: & in gentibus nomen tuū invocabo. *Psalm. 17.*  
*g* Cœli enarrant gloriam tuam: & unguentorum tuorum fragrantia in gentibus est dispersa. *Psalm. 18.*  
*h* Exaudias nos Domina in die tribulationis: & precibus nostris converte clementem faciem tuâ. *Psalm. 19.*  
*i* Ad te Domina levavi animā meā: in judicio Dei, tuis precibus non erubescam. *Psalm. 24.*  
*k* Iudica me Domina, quoniam ab innocentia meâ digressus sum: sed quia sperabo in te, non infirmabor. *Psalm. 25.*  
*l* In te Domina speravi, non confundar in æternum: in gratiâ tuâ suscipe me. *Psalm. 30.*  
*m* Beati quorum corda te diligunt, virgo Maria: peccata ipsorum a te misericorditer diluentur. *Psalm. 31.*  
*n* Iudica Domina nocentes me: & contra eos exurge, & vindica causam meam, *Psalm. 34.*



up against them, and plead my cause. *o* Waiting have I waited for thy grace : and thou hast done unto me according to the multitude of the mercie of thy name. *P* Lady, thou art our refuge in all our necessities ; and the powerfull strength treading downe the enemye. *q* Have mercie upon me, *O* Ladie, who art called the mother of mercie ; and according to the bowels of thy mercies, cleanse me from all mine iniquities. *r* Save me, Ladie, by thy name ; and deliver me from mine unrighteousnesse. *s* Have mercie upon me, *O* Ladie, have mercie upon me : because my heart is prepared to search out thy will ; and in the shadow of thy wings will I rest. *t* Let Marie arise, and let her enemies be scattered : let them all be trodden downe under her feete. *u* In thee, *O* Lady, have I put my trust, let me never be put to confusion : deliver me in thy mercie, and cause mee to escape. *x* Give the King thy judgement, *O* God, and thy mercie to the Queene his mother. *y* Lady, the gentiles are come into the inheritance of God : whom thou by thy merits hast confederated unto Christ. *z* Thy mercies, *O* Ladie, will I sing for ever. *a* God is the Lord of revenges : but thou the mother of mercie dost bowe him to take pitie. *b* *O* come, let us sing unto our Ladie : let us make a joyfull noise to Mary our Queene that brings salvation. *c* *O* sing unto our Lady a new song : for shee hath done marveilous things. *d* *O* give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good :

*o* Expectans expectavi gratiam tuam : & fecisti mihi secundum multitudinem misericordiarum nominis tui. *Psalm.* 39.  
*p* Domina refugium nostrum tu es in omni necessitate nostra ; & virtus potentior conterens inimicum. *Psalm.* 45.  
*q* Miserere mei Domina, quæ mater misericordiarum nuncuparis : & secundum viscera misericordiarum tuarum, munda me ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis. *Psalm.* 50.  
*r* Domina in nomine tuo salvum me fac : & ab iniustitiis meis libera me. *Psalm.* 53.  
*s* Miserere mei Domina, miserere mei : quia paratum est cor meum exquirere voluntatem tuam : & in umbram alarum tuarum requiescam. *Psalm.* 56.  
*t* Exurgat Maria, & dissipentur inimici ejus : conterantur omnes sub pedibus ejus. *Psalm.* 67.  
*u* In te Domina speravi, non confundar in æternum : in tuam misericordiam libera me, & eripe me. *Psalm.* 70.  
*x* Deus iudicium tuum Regi da ; & misericordiam tuam Regine matri ejus. *Psalm.* 71.  
*y* Domina, venerunt gentes in hereditatem Dei : quas tu meritis tuis Christo confederasti. *Psalm.* 78.  
*z* Misericordias tuas, Domina, in sempiternum decantabo. *Psalm.* 88.  
*a* Deus ultionum Dominus : sed tu Mater misericordiarum ad miserandum inflectis. *Psalm.* 92.  
*b* Venite, exultemus Domine nostre : jubilemus salutiferæ Mariæ Regine nostre. *Psalm.* 94.  
*c* Cantate Domine nostre canticum novum : quia mirabilia fecit. *Psalm.* 97.  
*d* Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus : confitemini matri ejus, quoniam in sæculum misericordia ejus. *Psalm.* 106. & 117.

give

e Domina,  
laudem meā  
ne despexeris:  
& hoc dedica-  
tum tibi Psal-  
terium digneris  
acceptare. *Psalm.*  
108.

f Dixit Domi-  
nus Dominae  
nostrae: sede  
mater mea à  
dextris meis.  
*Psalm.* 109.

g Qui confi-  
dunt in te, ma-  
ter Dei, non ti-  
mebunt à facie  
inimici. *Psalm.*  
124.

h Nisi Domi-  
na aedificaverit  
domum cordis  
nostri: non  
permanebit æ-  
dificium ejus.  
*Psalm.* 126.

i Beati omnes  
qui timent Do-  
minam nostrā:  
& beati omnes  
qui sciunt face-  
re voluntatem  
tuam, & bene-  
placitum tuū.  
*Psalm.* 127.

k De profun-  
dis clamavi ad  
te Domina:  
Domina exau-  
di vocem meam. *Psalm.* 129.

l Memento Domina David; & omnium invocantium no-  
men tuum. *Psalm.* 131.

m Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus est: quoniam per suam  
dulcissimam matrem Virginem Mariam datur misericordia ejus. *Psalm.* 135.

n Benedicta  
sis Domina, quæ instruis servos tuos ad prælium: & eos roboras contra inimicum. *Psal.* 143.

o Laudate Dominā in sanctis ejus: laudate eam in virtutibus & miraculis ejus. *Psalm.* 150.

p Psalterium meditationum B. Mariæ, vocatur à Io. Pithio, ac illustr. *Angl. Scriptorib.* pag. 380.

give thanks unto his mother, for her mercie endureth  
for ever. e Lady, despise not my prayse: and vouchsafe to  
accept this Psalter which is dedicated unto thee. f The  
Lord sayd unto our Lady: sit thou, my mother, at my right  
hand. g They that trust in thee, O mother of God, shall  
not feare from the face of the enemy. h Except our Lady  
build the house of our heart: the building thereof will not  
continue. i Blessed are all they who feare our Ladie: and  
blessed are all they who know to doe thy will, and thy good  
pleasure. k Out of the deepe have I cried unto thee, O La-  
die: Ladie, heare my voice. l Ladie, remember David,  
and all that call upon thy name. m O give thanks unto  
the Lord, because he is good: because by his most sweete  
mother the virgin Mary is his mercie given. n Blessed be  
thou, O Ladie, which teachest thy servants to warre; and  
strengthenest them against the enemy. and so the last  
Psalm is begun with, o Prayse our Ladie in her Saints;  
prayse her in her vertues and miracles: and ended ac-  
cordingly, with, Omnis spiritus laudet Dominam no-  
stram. Let everie spirit (or, everie thing that hath breath)  
prayse our Ladie.

To this we may adioyne the p Psalter of the saluta-  
tions of the Virgin, framed by Iohn Peckham archbishop  
of Canterburie, which is not yet printed. His preface  
he beginneth thus:

*Mente concipio laudes perscribere  
Sanctæ Virginis; quæ nos à carcere*

I Memento Domina David; & omnium invocantium no-  
men tuum. *Psalm.* 131. m Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus est: quoniam per suam  
dulcissimam matrem Virginem Mariam datur misericordia ejus. *Psalm.* 135. n Benedicta  
sis Domina, quæ instruis servos tuos ad prælium: & eos roboras contra inimicum. *Psal.* 143.  
o Laudate Dominā in sanctis ejus: laudate eam in virtutibus & miraculis ejus. *Psalm.* 150.  
p Psalterium meditationum B. Mariæ, vocatur à Io. Pithio, ac illustr. *Angl. Scriptorib.* pag. 380.

*Solvit*



*Solvit per filium, genus in genere*

*Miri vivificans effectus opere.*

and endeth with a prayer to the blessed Virgin, that shee would release the sinnes of all those for whom hee prayed, and cause both his owne name and theirs to be written in the booke of life.

*Nec non & omnibus relaxes crimina,*

*Pro quibus supplicans fundo precamina :*

*Nostrumq; pariter & horum nomina*

*Conscribi facias in vite paginâ.*

Then followeth his first Psalm; wherein he prayeth, that she would make us to meditate often Gods Law, and afterwards to be made blessed in the glorie of Gods kingdom.

*Ave Virgo virginum parens absq; pari,*

*Sine viri semine digna fecundari :*

*Fac nos legem Domini crebrô meditari :*

*Et in regni gloriâ beatificari.*

His other 149. Psalmes ( which are fraught with the same kinde of stufte ) I passe over. But *Bernardinus de Senis* his boldnesse may not be forgotten : who thinketh that q God will give him leave to maintaine, that the Virgin Marie did more unto him, or at least as much, as he himselfe did unto all mankinde ; and that wee may say for our comfort ( forsooth ) that in respect of the blessed Virgin ( whom God himselfe did make notwithstanding ) God after a sort is more bound unto us, than wee are unto him. With which absurd and wretched speculation *Bernardinus de Busti* after him was so well

q Sola benedicta virgo Maria plus fecit Deo vel tantum (ut sic dicam) quam fecit Deus toti generi humano. Credo etenim certè quòd mihi indulgebit Deus, si nunc pro Virgine loquar. Congregemus in unum quæ Deus homini fecit : &

consideremus quæ Maria virgo Domino satisfecit &c. Reddendo ergo singula singulis, sc. quæ fecit Deus homini, & quæ fecit Deo beata Virgo, videbis quòd plus fecit Maria Deo, quam homini Deus : ut sic pro solatio dicere liceat, quòd propter beatam Virginem, quam tamen ipse fecit, Deus quodammodo plus obligetur nobis, quam nos sibi. *Bernardin. Senens. serm. 6 I. artic. 1. cap. 11.*

M m m

pleased :

r Sed ô virgo  
 gratissima,  
 nunquid tu ali-  
 quid fecisti  
 Deo? Nun-  
 quid vicem ei  
 reddidisti? Pro-  
 fectò (si fas  
 est dicere) tu  
 secundum quid  
 majora fecisti  
 Deo, quàm ipse  
 Deus tibi &  
 universo generi  
 humano. Volo  
 ergo ego dice-  
 re, quod tu ex  
 humilitate re-  
 ticuisti. Tu e-  
 nim solum ce-  
 cinisti; Quia  
 fecit mihi  
 magna qui po-  
 tens est: ego  
 vero cano &  
 dico; Quia tu  
 fecisti majora  
 ei qui potens  
 est. Bernardin.  
 de Enst. Marial.  
 part. 6. serm. 2.  
 membr. 3.  
 f Id. part. 9.  
 serm. 2. affini-  
 lat. 2.

t Speculum vi-  
 32e Francis &

fociorum eius: part. 2. c. 45. edit. Guilielmi Spoelberch. Item, Speculum Exemplorum, dist. 7. exempl.

41. u Velocior est nonnunquam salus memorato nomine Mariæ, quàm invocato nomi-  
 ne Domini Iesu unici Filij sui. Anselm de excellentiâ B. Virginis, cap. 6. Ludolph. Carthusian de  
 Vita Christi, part. 2. cap. 68. & Chrysostom. à Visitatione, de Verbis Domine, tom. 2. lib. 2. cap. 2.

3. Henr. Fitz-Simon, of the Masse. lib. 2. part. 2. chap. 3.

pleased: that hee dareth to revive againe this most  
 odious comparison, and propose it a fresh in this saucy  
 maner. But O most gratefull Virgin, didst not thou some-  
 thing to God? Didst not thou make him any recompence?  
 Truly (if it be lawfull to speake it) thou in some respect  
 didst greater things to God, than God himselfe did to thee  
 and to all mankinde. I will therefore speake that, which  
 thou out of thy humilitie hast past in silence. For thou  
 onely didst sing: He that is mightie hath done to me great  
 things. but I doe sing and say: that thou hast done greater  
 things to him that is mightie. Neyther is that vision  
 much better, which the same author reciteth as she-  
 wed to S. Francis, or (as others would have it) to  
 his companion Fryar Lion; touching the two ladders  
 that reached from earth unto heaven. the one redd, up-  
 on which Christ leaned: from whence many fell back-  
 ward, & could not ascend. the other white, upon which  
 the holy Virgin leaned: the helpe whereof such as used,  
 were by her received with a cheerefull countenance, and so  
 with facilitie ascended into heaven. Neyther yet that  
 sentence, which came first from Anselme, and was af-  
 ter him used by Ludolphus Saxo the Carthusian, and  
 Chrysostomus à Visitatione the Cistercian Monke: that  
 a more present reliefe is sometimes found by commemora-  
 ting the name of Mary, then by calling upon the name of  
 our Lord Iesus her onely Sonne. which one of our Ie-  
 suites is so farre from being ashamed to defend, that he  
 dareth to extend it further to the mediation of other  
 Saints also: telling us very peremptorily, that as our

Lord



Lord Iesus worketh greater miracles by his Saints then by himselfe. (Iohn. 14. 12.) so often he sheweth the force of their intercession more then of his owne.

All which I doe lay downe thus largely, not because I take any delight in rehearsing those things, which deserve rather to be buried in everlasting oblivion: but *first*, that the world may take notice, what kinde of monster is nourished in the Papacie under that strange name of *Hyperdulia*: the bare discoverie whereof, I am perswaded, will prevaile as much with a minde that is touched with anie zeale of Gods honour, as all other arguments and authorities whatsoever. *secondly*, that such unstable soules as looke backe unto *Sodome*, and have a lust to returne unto *Egypt* againe, may be advised to looke a little into this sinke, and consider with themselves whether the steame that ariseth from thence be not so noysome, that it is not to be indured by one that hath any sense left in him of pietie. and *thirdly*, that such as be established in the present truth, may be thankfull to God for this great mercie vouchsafed unto them, and make this still one part of their prayers. From all Romish *Dulia* and *Hyperdulia*, good Lord deliver us.

## OF IMAGES.

**V**ith prayer to Saints our Challenger joyneth the use of holy Images: which what it hath beene and still is in the Church of Rome, seeing hee hath not beene pleased to declare unto us in particular, I hope he will give us leave to learne from others. a Doctrina est Romanae Ecclesiae, Christi & Sanctorum Imagines pia Religione a Christianis commendandas esse. Zac. Boetius, in Orthodoxa Consultat. de ratione vera Fidei & Religionis amplectenda. part. 2. Regul. 1. pag. 189. edit. Matrit. an. 1623.

b Serenissime  
Carole, spes  
Anglicanæ Ec-  
clesiæ. Id. part.  
1. Regul. 4.  
pag. 58.

c Princeps fu-  
tura orbis fœ-  
licitas Id. part.  
2. Regul. 2. pag.  
196.

d Non solum  
pinguntur, ut  
ostendantur,  
sicut Cheru-  
bim olim in  
templo, sed ut  
adorentur: ut  
frequens usus  
Ecclesiæ testa-  
tur Caietan in 3.  
part. Thoma,  
quæst. 25. artic. 3.

e Non solum  
autem licere  
in Ecclesiâ  
imagines ha-  
bere, & illis  
honorem &  
cultum adhibere, ostendet Parochus (cùm honos qui illis exhibetur, referatur ad pro-  
totypa) verum etiam maximo fidelium bono ad hanc usque diem factum declarabit. Cate-  
chism. Roman. part. 3. cap. 2. sect. 14.

is the doctrine then of the Romane Church, that the Images of Christ and the Saints should with pious Religion be worshipped by Christians: saith Zacharias Boverius the Spanish fryar, in his late Consultation directed to our most noble Prince Charles, <sup>b</sup> the Hope of the Church of England, and <sup>c</sup> the future felicitie of the World; as even this Balaam himselfe doth style him. The representations of God, and of Christ, and of Angels, and of Saints, <sup>d</sup> are not onely painted that they may be shewed, as the Cherubims were of old in the Temple, but that they may be adored; as the frequent use of the Church doth testify: saith Cardinall Caietan. So Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canterbury, in his Provinciali Councell helde at Oxford in the yeare 1408. established this Constitution following. \* From henceforth let it be taught commonly and preached by all, that the Crosse and the Image of the Crucifixe and the rest of the Images of the Saints, in memorie and honour of them whom they figure, as also their places and Relickes, ought to be worshipped with processions, bendings of the knee, bowings of the bodie, incensings, kissings, offerings, lighting of candles, and pilgrimages; together with all other maners and formes whatsoever, as hath beene accustomed to be done in our or our predecessors times. And in the Romane Catechisme set out by the appointment of the Councell of Trent, <sup>e</sup> the Parish priest is required to declare unto his parishioners, not onely that it is lawfull to have images in the Church, and to give honour and worship unto them, (forasmuch as the honour which is done unto them, is referred unto the things which they represent) but also that



this hath still beene done to the great good of the faithfull.  
and that the Images of the Saints are put in Churches,  
aswell that they may be worshipped, as that we being admon-  
ished by their example, might conforme our selves unto  
their life and maners.

Now for the maner of this worship, we are told by  
one of their Bishops; that it must not onely be confes-  
sed, that the faithfull in the Church doe adore before the  
Images ( as some peradventure would cautelously speake )  
but also adore the Image it selfe, without what scruple you  
will: yea they doe reverence it with the same worship,  
wherewith they doe the thing that is represented thereby.  
Wherefore ( saith he ) if that ought to be adored with La-  
tria ( or, divine worship ) this also is to bee adored with  
Latria; if with Dulia or Hyperdulia, this likewise is to  
be adored with the same kinde of worship. And so we see  
that Thomas Aquinas doth directly conclude; that  
the same reverence is to be given unto the Image of  
Christ and to Christ himselfe: and by consequence, seeing  
Christ is adored with the adoration of Latria ( or, divine  
worship ) that his image is to be adored with the adoration  
of Latria. Vpon which place of Thomas, Fryar Pedro  
de Cabrera, a great Master of Divinitie in Spaine, doth  
lay downe these conclusions. I. *It is simply and abso-*  
*lutely to be said, that holy Images are to be worshipped, in*

f Sanctorum  
quoq, imagi-  
nes in templis  
positas demon-  
strabit; ut &  
colantur, &  
exemplo moni-  
ti, ad eorum vi-  
tam ac mores  
nos ipsos con-  
formemus Ibid.  
g Ergo non  
solum fatendū  
est, fideles in  
Ecclesia ado-  
rare coram i-  
magine, ut  
nonnulli ad  
cautelam forte  
loquuntur, sed  
et adorare i-  
maginem, sine  
quo volueris  
scrupulo quin  
& eo illam  
venerantur  
cultu, quo &  
prototypon e-  
jus: propter  
quod, si illud  
habet adorari  
Latria, & illa  
Latria; si dulia  
vel hyperdulia,

& illa pariter, ejusmodi cultu adoranda est. Iacob. Nactantius, in epist. ad Roman. cap. I fil 42.  
edit. Venet. an. 1557. h Sic sequitur, quod eadem reverentia exhibeatur imagini Christi  
& ipsi Christo. Cum ergo Christus adoretur adoratione latriæ; consequens est, quod ejus  
imago sit adoratione latriæ adoranda. Thom Summ. part. 2. quest. 25. artic. 3. i Simpliciter  
& absolutè dicendum est, sacras imagines esse venerandas in templis, & extra templa: &  
contrarium est dogma hæreticum. Hoc est, imaginibus exhibenda esse signa servitutis &  
submissionis, amplexu, luminaribus, oblatione suffutuum, capitis nudatione, &c. Hæc con-  
clusio est dogma fidei collectum ex Sanctâ Scripturâ, ex quâ constat, res creatas etiâ inani-  
mes, dum modò Deo sint sacratæ, esse adorandas. Petr. de Cabrera, in 3. part. Thom. quest. 25.  
art. 3. disput. 2. num. 15.

\* Imagines  
sunt veré &  
proprié ado-  
randæ, & ex  
intentione ip-  
sas adorandi, &  
non tantum  
exemplaria in  
ipsis repræsen-  
tata. Hæc con-  
clusio est con-  
tra Durandum  
& sectatores  
illius; quorum  
sententia a re-  
centioribus  
censetur peri-  
culosa, temera-  
ria, & sapiens  
hæresim: &  
M. Medina hic  
refert, Magi-  
strum Victoriam  
reputasse illam  
hæreticam. Sed  
nostra conclu-  
sio est commu-  
nis Theologo-  
rum, Ibid. num.  
32.

l Si imagines  
improprié tan-  
tum adoran-  
tur; simpliciter  
& absolute

non adorantur, neque sunt adorandæ: quod est hæresis manifesta Ibid. num. 24. m Si  
imagines solum adorantur rememorativè & recordativè, quia recordari nos faciunt exem-  
plarum; quæ ita adoramus, ac si essent præsentia: sequeretur eadem adoratione, quâ co-  
limus Deum, esse adorandas omnes creaturas; cum omnes in Dei cognitionem & recorda-  
tionem nos ducant, & Deus sit in omnibus rebus. Sed consequens est absurdum. Ergo. Ibid.  
num. 35.

*Churches & out of Churches: and the contrary is an here-  
ticall doctrine. for explication wherof he declareth, that  
by this worshipping he meaneth; that signes of service  
and submission are to be exhibited unto Images, by embra-  
cing, lightes, oblation of incense, uncovering of the head,  
&c. and that this conclusion is a doctrine of faith collected  
out of the holy Scripture; by which it appeareth, that  
things created yea although they be senselesse, so that they  
be consecrated unto God, are to be adored. II. \* Images  
are truly and properly to be adored; and out of an inten-  
tion to adore themselves, and not onely the samplers that  
are represented in them. This conclusion (which he  
maketh to be the common resolution of the Divines of  
that side) he opposeth against Durand & his followers:  
who helde that Images are adored onely improperly,  
because they put men in minde of the persons repre-  
sented by them; who are then adored before the ima-  
ges, as if they had beene there really present. But this  
opinion he saith is censured by the latter Divines to be  
dangerous, rash, and savouring of heresie: yea and by Fr.  
Victoria to be plainly hereticall. For <sup>l</sup> if Images be ado-  
red onely improperly, they are not to be adored simply & ab-  
solutely: which is a manifest heresie; saith Cabrera. And  
m if Images were onely to be worshipped by way of rememo-  
ration and recordation, because they make us remember  
the samplers, which we doe so worship, as if they had beene  
then present: it would follow that all creatures should be  
adored with the same adoration, wherewith we worship*

God;



God; seeing all of them doe lead us unto the knowledge and remembrance of God, and God is present in all things.

III. <sup>n</sup> The doctrine delivered by Thomas, that the Image and the sampler represented by it is to be worshipped with the same act of adoration; is most true, most pious, and very consonant to the decrees of Faith. This he <sup>o</sup> saith is the doctrine not onely of Thomas, and of all his disciples, but also of all the old Schoole-men almost. and particularly he quoteth for it, Cajetan, Capreolus, Paludanus, Ferrariensis, Antonius, Soto, Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura, Richardus de Media-villa, Dionysius Carthusianus, Major, Masilius, Thomas Waldensis, Turrecremata, Angelus, Clichtoveus, Turrian and Vazquez. In a word; <sup>p</sup> it is the constant judgement of Divines, (saith Azorius the Iesuite) that the Image is to be honoured and worshipped with the same honour and worship, wherewith that is worshipped whereof it is an image.

Against this use, or rather horrible abuse of Images, to what purpose should we heape up anie testimonyes of holy Scripture; if the words of the second commandement, uttered with Gods owne mouth with thundring and lightning upon mount Sinai, may not be heard? *Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any graven Image, nor the likenesse of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth: Thou shalt not bowe downe to them, nor worship them.* Which thunderclap from heaven the guides of the Romish Church discerning to threaten sore that fearefull Idolatrie which daily they commit; thought fit in wisdom, first to conceale the knowledge of this from the people, by excluding those words out of the Decalogue that went abroad for common use, under pretence

<sup>n</sup> Sententia  
Divi Thomae,  
quatenus do-  
cet eodem actu  
adorationis co-  
li Imaginem, &  
exemplar per  
illam represen-  
tatum; est ve-  
rissima, piissi-  
ma, & fidei de-  
cretis admo-  
dum consona.  
<sup>ibid. disput. 3.  
num. 56.</sup>  
<sup>o</sup> Id <sup>ibid. num.</sup>  
<sup>30.</sup>  
<sup>p</sup> Constant est  
Theologorum  
sententia; Ima-  
ginem eodem  
honore & cul-  
tu honorari &  
coli, quo coli-  
tur id cuius est  
Imago <sup>Id. Azor.</sup>  
<sup>Institut. moral.</sup>  
<sup>tom. 1 lib. 9.</sup>  
<sup>cap. 6.</sup>

q Vaux Cate-  
chism. chap. 3.

r Ut unam-  
quamque ima-  
ginem eodem  
cultu, quo ille,  
cujus imago  
est, veneremur.  
id est, ut imagi-  
ni Dei, vel  
Christi, vel etiā  
Crucis signo,  
prout Domini-  
cam passionem  
ad mentem re-  
vocat, latram  
in partiamur:  
ad sacræ Vir-  
ginis imaginem  
hyperdulciæ, a-  
liorum vero  
Sanctorum du-  
lici adoratione  
adoremus. Ia-  
cob. de Graffis,  
Decision. aure.  
casu conscient.  
part. 1 lib. 2.  
cap. 2. sect.  
penult.  
f Rom. 1. 18.  
t Serm. at West-  
minst. before the  
house of Commons.

pretence ( forsooth ) of including it in the first Com-  
mandement: and then afterwards to put this conceite  
into mens heads, that this first commandement was  
so farre from condemning the veneration of Images,  
that it commanded the same, and condemned the con-  
trarie neglect thereof. And therefore *Laurence Vaux* in  
his Catechisme, unto this Question; *Who breaketh  
the first Commandement of God by unreverence of God?*  
frameth this Answer. q *They that doe not give due re-  
verence to God, and his Saints, or to their Relickes and*  
*I M A G E S.* and *Iacobus de Graffis* in his explication  
of the same Commandement specifieth the due reve-  
rence here required, more particularly. namely, *r that  
we should reverence everie Image with the same worship  
that we doe him whose image it is. that is to say, that wee  
impart Latrā ( or, divine worship ) to the Image of God,  
or of Christ, or to the signe of the Crosse also, in asmuch as  
it bringeth the Passion of our Lord unto our minde: and  
that we use the adoration of Hyperdulciā at the Image of  
the holy Virgin, but of Dulciā at the Images of other  
Saints.* And can there be found ( thinke you ) among  
men, a more desperate impudencie then this? that not  
onely the practise of this wretched Idolatrie should be  
maintayned against the expresse commandement of  
almightie God; but also that hee himselfe should be  
made the author and commander of it, even in that  
verie place where he doth so severely forbid it, and  
reveale his wrath from heaven against the ungodlinesse  
and unrighteousnesse of men, which withhold the truth  
in unrighteousnesse. The miserable shiftes and silly eva-  
sions, whereby they labour to obscure the light of this  
truth, have beene detected by others to the full, and  
touched also in some part by my selfe in another  
place:





a καὶ πῶς ἀγαλ- thereby, unto whom he imagineth that he ought to ascend  
 μασι ταῖς τοῖς αὐ- from that which is scene and is but a signe or symbol of  
 χεῖται, ἐκείνῳ εἰ him? And whereas Celsus had brought in that speech  
 πρὸς τοὺς θεομοί- of Heraclitus; a They pray unto these Images, as if a man  
 λιστοῖς τοῦ He- should enter into conference with his house: and deman-  
 raclii. Ephes. ibid. ded; b Whether any man unlesse he were a verie childe,  
 pag. 384. et apud did thinke these things to be Gods, and not monuments  
 Clem. Alexandr. and images of the Gods? Origen replyeth; that c it is  
 in Prophetie. ad not a thing possible, that one should know God, and pray  
 Geni. pag. 25. e- to Images: and that Christians d did not esteeme these to  
 dit. Græcolat. ubi be divine Images, who used not to describe any figure of  
 statim subiungit- God who was invisible and without all bodily shape; e nor  
 sur: ὅ γὰρ καὶ τῶ- could endure to worship God with anie such kinde of  
 ἐκ τῶνδε εἰς λίθου service as this was. In like maner, when the Gentiles  
 ὁμοειδέσιν ἀγαλ- demanded of the ancient Christians, f why they had  
 μασι, ὡς εἰς ἀν- no knowne Images? Minutius Felix returneth them for  
 ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ὡς answer againe. g What Image shall I make to God; when  
 ἀνθρώπου θεός; ἀλλὰ man himselve, if thou rightly judge, is Gods Image?  
 θεοὶ αἰσθητά, καὶ ἀνθρώποι. Celsus, apud Origen. h These holy Images (saith Lactantius) which vaine  
 ut supr. pag. 384. men serve, want all sense; because they are earth. Now  
 c Οὐ μὴν δυνά- who is there that understandeth not, that it is unfit for  
 ταν ἐπὶ καὶ κατὰ an upright creature to be bowed downe, that he may wor-  
 σκεῖν τὸ θεόν, καὶ τοὺς ship the earth? which for this cause is put under our feete,  
 ἀγάλμασι ἀχρὶ- that it may be troden upon, not worshiped by us. i Where-  
 σθαι Origen. ibid. pag. 386.  
 d Α' μ' εἰς θεὸν εἰκόν (lege, εἰκόντα: ut in verbis Celsi, pag. 384. lin 24.) ὑπολαμβάνομεν τὸ τὰ  
 ἀγάλματα, (ἀπὸ) μωροῦ ἀσχετοῦ (θεῷ) καὶ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ διαχρόνου θεοῦ. Id. ibid. pag. 387. e Χρησ-  
 τὸ καὶ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ ἀσχετοῦ τὸ πᾶν τὸ ὑπολαμβάνομεν εἰς τὸ θεὸν θεοποιῶν hoc est, (ut ex verbis sub-  
 sequentibus intelligitur) διὰ τὸ ἐκκλίνειν καὶ κατασπεῖν καὶ καταγεῖν πᾶν εἰς τὸ θεὸν θεοποιῶν ἐν τῷ πᾶ-  
 ντι τῷ ἑλῶν ἑτῶς ἰσχυροῦ καὶ ἀσχετοῦ, καὶ ἀσχετοῦ καὶ ἀσχετοῦ. Id. ibid. pag. 385. f Cur nullas  
 aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota simulacra? Minut. Felix in Octavio. g Quod enim  
 simulacrum Deo fingam; cum si recte existimes, sit Dei homo ipse simulacrum? Ibid.  
 h Ipsæ imagines sacræ, quibus inanissimi homines, serviunt, omni sensu carent, quia terræ  
 sunt. Quis autem non intelligat, nefas esse rectum animal curvari, ut adoret terram? quæ  
 idcirco pedibus nostris subiecta est, ut calcanda nobis, non adoranda sit. Lactant. div. in. l. fi.  
 sur. lib. 2. cap. 17. i Quare non est dubiū, quin religio nulla sit, ubicunq; simulacrum est.  
 Nam si religio ex divinis rebus est; divini autē nihil est nisi in cœlestibus rebus: carent ergo  
 religione simulacra; quia nihil potest esse cœleste in cā re, quæ sit ex terrā. lb. cap. 18. fore



fore there is no doubt, that there is no religion, whereſoeuer there is an Image. For ſeeing Religion conſiſteth of diuine things; and nothing diuine is to be found but in heavenly things: Images therefore are voyde of religion; becauſe nothing that is heavenly can be in that thing, which is made of earth.

When <sup>k</sup> Adrian the Emperour had commanded that temples ſhould be made in all cities without Images; it was preſently conceived, that he did prepare thoſe temples for Chriſt: as *Aelius Lampridius* noteth in the life of *Alexander Severus*. which is an evident argument, that it was not the uſe of Chriſtians in thoſe dayes to have anie Images in their Churches. And for keeping of Pictures out of the Church, the Canon of the *Eliberine* or *Illiberitane* Councell (helde in Spaine, about the time of *Constantine* the great) is moſt plaine. <sup>l</sup> It is our minde, that pictures ought not to be in the Church; leſt that which is worſhipped or adored, ſhould be painted on walles. which hath ſo troubled the mindes of our latter Romaniſtes; that *Melchior Canus* ſticketh not to charge the Councell <sup>m</sup> not onely with imprudencie, but alſo with impiety, for making ſuch a law as this. <sup>n</sup> The Gentiles (ſaith *S. Ambroſe*) worſhip woode, becauſe they thinke it to be the image of God: but the image of the inviſible God is not in that which is ſeene, but in that which is not ſeene. <sup>o</sup> God would not haue himſelfe worſhipped in ſtones: ſaith the ſame Fa-

<sup>k</sup> *Alexander Imp.* Chriſto templum facere voluit, eumque inter Deos recipere. Quod & *Adrianus* cogitaſſe fertur, qui templa in omnibus ciuitatibus ſine ſimulacris iuſſerat fieri; quæ hodie idcirco quia non habent numina, dicuntur *Adriani*: quæ ille ad hoc parâſſe dicebatur, ſed prohibitus eſt ab ijs qui conſulentes ſacra, repperant omnes Chriſtianos futuros ſi id optatò eueniſſet, & templa reliqua deſerenda. *Lamprid.* in *Alexandro*.

<sup>l</sup> Placuit, picturas in Eccleſiâ eſſe non debere; ne quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur. (concil. *El. b. r.* cap: 6. <sup>m</sup> Illa (lex) non imprudenter modò, verumetiam impiè, à Concilio *Elibertino* lata eſt de tollendis imaginibus. *Canus*, loc. *Theologic. lib. 5. cap. 4. concluſ. 4.* <sup>n</sup> Gentiles lignum adorant, quia Dei imaginem putant: ſed inviſibilis Dei imago non in eo eſt quod videtur, ſed in eo unique quod non videtur. *Ambroſ.* in *Pſal. 113. ſolonar. 10.* <sup>o</sup> Non vult ſe Deus in lapidibus coli. *Id. epiſt. 31. ad Valentinianum Imp.*

p Ecclesia in- ther in another place. and, *P The Church knoweth no vain*  
 nes ideas & *ideaes and diverse figures of Images; but knoweth the true*  
 varias nescit si- *substance of the Trinitie. So S. Hierome: q We worship*  
 mulacrorum *one Image, which is the image of the invifible and omnipo-*  
 figuras; fed *tent God. and S. Augustine: r In the first commande-*  
 veram novit *ment, any fimilitude of God in the figments of men is for-*  
 Trinitatis sub- *bidden to be worshipped. not because God hath not an*  
 stantiam. 11. de *image; but because no image of him ought to be worship-*  
 fuga sacris, ca. 5 *ped, but that which is the same thing that he is, ( Coloff.*  
 q Nos unum *1. 15. Hebr. 1. 3. ) nor yet that for him, but with him.*  
 habemus virū; *As for the representing of God in the fimilitude of a*  
 & unam vene- *man: he resolveth, that t it is utterly unlawfull to erect*  
 ramur imagi- *any such image to God in a Christian Church. and touch-*  
 nem, quæ est *ing the danger of Images in generall, and the practise*  
 imago invifibi- *of the Church in this matter, thus he writteth. t The*  
 lis & omnipo- *Gentiles worship that, which they themselves have made*  
 tentis Dei. *of Gold and silver. But even vve also have diverse instru-*  
 Hieronym. lib. 4. in *ments and vessels of the same matter or metall, for the use*  
 Ezech. cap. 16. *of celebrating the sacraments: which being consecrated*  
 r In primo *by this very ministerie are called holy, in honour of him*  
 præcepto pro- *who for our salvation is served thereby. And these instru-*  
 hibetur coli a- *ments and vessels also, what are they else but the worke of*  
 liqua in figmē- *ments and vessels also, what are they else but the worke of*  
 tis hominum *ments and vessels also, what are they else but the worke of*  
 Dei fimilitudo: *ments and vessels also, what are they else but the worke of*  
 non quia non *ments and vessels also, what are they else but the worke of*  
 habet imaginē *ments and vessels also, what are they else but the worke of*  
 Deus, fed quia *ments and vessels also, what are they else but the worke of*  
 nulla imago *ments and vessels also, what are they else but the worke of*  
 ejus coli debet, *ments and vessels also, what are they else but the worke of*  
 nisi illa quæ *ments and vessels also, what are they else but the worke of*  
 hoc est quod ipse; nec ipsa pro illo, fed cum illo. *Augustin. epist. 119. ad Iannar. cap. 17.*  
 t Tale simulacrum Deo nefas est Christiano in templo collocare. *Id. de Fide & Symbol.*  
 cap. 7. t Hoc enim venerantur, quod ipsi ex auro argentoq; fecerunt. Sed enim & nos  
 pleraque instrumenta & vasa ex hujusmodi materiâ vel metallo habemus in usum celebra-  
 dorū sacramentorū; quæ ipso ministerio consecrata sancta dicuntur, in ejus honorē cui pro  
 salute nostrâ inde servitur. Et sunt profectō etiâ ista instrumenta vel vasa, quid aliud quàm  
 opera manū hominū? Veruntamen nunquid os habent, & non loquentur? Nunquid oculos  
 habent, & non videbunt? Nunquid eis supplicamus, quia per ea supplicamus Deo? Illa  
 causa est maxima impietatis insanæ, quod plus valet in affectibus miserorū similis viventi  
 forma quæ sibi efficit supplicari, quàm quod eam manifestū est non esse viventē, ut debeat a  
 vivente contemni. Plus enim valent simulacra ad curvandā infelicē animā, quod os habent,  
 oculos habent, aures habēt, nares habēt, manus habent, pedes habēt; quàm ad corrigendā,  
 quod non loquentur, non videbunt, non audient, non odorabunt, non contrectabunt, non  
 ambulabunt. *Id. in Psal. 113. vers. 2.*

mens



mens hands. Yet have these any mouth, and will not speake? have they eyes, and will not see? Doe we supplicate unto these, because by these wee supplicate unto God? That is the greatest cause of this madd impietie, that the forme like unto one living which maketh it to be supplicated unto, doth more prevaile in the affections of miserable men; than that it is manifest it doth not live at all, that it ought to be contemned by him who is indeed living. For Images prevaile more to bowe downe the unhappy soule, in that they have a mouth, they have eyes, they have eares, they have nostrilles, they have hands, they have feete; than to correct it, that they will not speake, they will not see, they will not heare, they will not smell, they will not handle, they will not walke. Thus farre S. Augustine.

The speech of *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Iconium* to this purpose is memorable: "We have no care to figure by colours the bodily visages of the Saints in tables, because we have no need of such things; but by vertue to imitate their conversation. but the fact of *Epiphanius*, rending the vayle that hung in the Church of *Anablatha*, is much more memorable: which he himselfe in his epistle to *Iohn* Bishop of *Ierusalem* (translated by S. *Hierome* out of Greeke into Latin) doth thus recount. \* I found there a vayle hanging at the doore of the Church dyed and painted, and having the image as it were of Christ or some Saint: for I doe not well remember, whose image it was. When therefore I saw this; that contrarie to the authoritie of the Scriptures the image of a man was hanged up in the Church of Christ: I cut it, and gave counsell to the keepers of the place, that they should rather

u Οὐ γὰρ πλεονεξίαν  
τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁγίων  
ἀντιποιούμενοι τὴν ἀγάπην  
οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τὸ ἑαυτοὺς  
ἐκμελεῖν ἐν τῇ  
τοῦ σώματος, ὅτι καὶ ἡ  
ἐκμελὴς τῆς ψυχῆς  
καὶ πλεονεξία αὐτῶν  
δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκμε-  
μελῆς. *Amphi-*  
*loch.* citatur à  
*Patrib Concilij*  
*Constantinop.*  
*an. 734.*

x Inveni ibi  
velum pendens  
in foribus ejus-  
dem Ecclesie  
tinctum atque  
depictum, &  
habens imagi-  
nem quasi  
Christi, vel  
Sancti cujusdā  
non enim satis  
memini, cujus  
imago fuerit.  
Cum ergo hoc  
vidissem, in Ec-  
clesiā Christi

contra auctoritatem Scripturarum hominis pendere imaginem, scidi illud; & magis dedi  
consilium custodibus ejusdem loci, ut pauperem mortuum eo obvolverent & efferrent. *Epi-*  
*phan. epist ad Ioann. Hierosolym. como 1. oper. Hieronym. epist. 60.*

Ζ Καὶ ὡς τέτοιον  
 μέγεθος ἔχετε,  
 τίς καὶ ἀγαπητὰ, ἢ  
 μὴ ἀναφέρειν εἰκό-  
 νας ἐν ἐκκλησίαις,  
 μήτε ἐν τοῖς κοι-  
 νηθροῖς τῆς ἀ-  
 γίας (ἀλλ' αἰεὶ δια-  
 κήμας ἔχετε τὸν  
 Στέφανον ἢ καρδίαν  
 ἡμῶν) ὅπως ἔπι-  
 κατ' οἶμαι κοινόν.  
 ἔκ ἐξουστὶ γὰρ Χρυ-  
 σόστομος δι' ὁμοπα-  
 λῶν μαθητῶν ἐξά-  
 χη ἡμετέρων ἐπι-  
 τοις. Εἰρημὰ  
 εἰσὶν αἱ Concil.  
 Constantinop.  
 ἐν 147.6.10 π. 5.  
 Concil. Nicen. II.  
 α Ρ. 30, ἐκ εὐδο-  
 λοποιῶν τὸ ὁπιστά-  
 δωμα, καὶ τὸ ἐγ-  
 χεῖμα διαβόλι-  
 ον; θεωροῦσι γὰρ  
 δικαίως αἰεὶ ὡς ὁ-  
 σονταὶ τὸ διάνοιαν  
 ὁ διαβολὴ τῆς  
 ἀνθρώπου τῶν  
 θνητῶν οὐσιν

διοικούντες εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνθρώπων, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἀγῶνα καὶ διὰ ποικιλίας τεχνῶν διέχουσι. καὶ τιθέντες μὲν οἱ  
 ἀποσκευάζοντες, καὶ ὅτε τῶν ἀγῶνα μνηστέον ζήσαντες (ἐπὶ τοῖς καὶ ἀποσκευάζοντες καὶ μνηστέον  
 ζήσαντες) ἀποσκευάζοντες παρεσθῆσι, διὰ κοινολογίας διακίβη, ὅτε τῶ ἐνός καὶ μόνου θεοῦ, οἷς ἡ πολυκοινοῦ  
 πόρῃ ἐπὶ κοινῷ ἀποκίβη καὶ κοινῇ ἀποκίβη, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀποκίβη καὶ τῶ ἐνός ἀνδρὸς ἀποκίβη.  
 Εἰρηβαν in Panar. h. 79. pag. 447.

wrappe and burie some poore dead man in it. and afterwards he intreateth the Bishop of Ierusalem ( under whose government this Church was ) y to give charge hereafter, that such wayles as these which are repugnant to our religion, should not be hanged up in the Church of Christ. Which agreeth verie well with the sentence attributed to the same Father in the Councell of Constantinople : *Have this in minde beloved sonnes, not to bring Images into the Church, nor into the Cæmiteries of the Saints, no not into an ordinarie house : but alwayes carie about the remembrance of God in your hearts. For it is not lawfull for a Christian man to be caried in suspense by his eyes and the wandrings of his minde. and with his discourse against the heresie of the Collyridians, which made an Idol of the Virgin Mary ( as in the former question hath more largely beene declared : ) to which he opposeth himselfe in this maner. How is not this course Idolatrous, and a Diuelish practise ? For the Diuell stealing alwayes into the minde of men under pretence of righteousness, deifying the mortall nature in the eyes of men, by varietie of artes framed Images like unto men. And they truely who are worshipped are dead, but their Images that never yet were alive ( for they cannot be sayd to be dead that never were alive ) they bring in to be worshipped, by a minde going awhoring from the one and onely God : as a common harlot, stirred with a wicked desire of promiscuous mixture, and rejecting the sobrietic of the lawfull marriage of one man.*

If it be inquired who they were that first brought



in this use of Images into the Church : it may well be answered, that they were partly lewd Heretickes, partly simple Christians newly converted from Paganisme, the customes whereof they had not as yet so fully unlearned. Of the former kinde the *Gnostique* heretickes were the principall : who <sup>b</sup> had Images, some painted in colours, others framed of gold and silver and other matter; which they sayd were the representations of Christ, made under Pontius Pilate, when he was conversant here among men. Whence *Carpocrates*, and *Marcellina* his disciple ( who brought this Idolatrous heresie first to Rome in the dayes of Pope *Anicetus* ) <sup>c</sup> having privily made Images of Iesus, and Paul, and Homer, and Pythagoras, did cense them, and worship them : as *Epiphanius* and *Augustine* doe report. To the latter that observation of *Eusebius* may be referred concerning the Image of Christ, thought to be created by the woman that was eured of the bloody issue. <sup>d</sup> It is no marvell ( saith he ) that those of the Heathen who of old were cured by our Saviour should doe such things : seeing we have seene the Images of his Apostles Paul and Peter, yea and of Christ himselfe, kept painted with colours in tables : for that of old they have beene wont by a Heathenish custome thus to honour them whom they counted to be their Benefactors or Saviours.

But by whomsoever they were first brought in, certaine it is that they proved a dangerous snare unto the

<sup>b</sup> Id. *Epiphanius in Anacephaleosi*, pag 525. de *Carpocrate*. Τὰς γάρ τινες ἢ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μαρκιανῶνα, εἰς τὰς ὧς ποίησας ἐκ χρυσοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ Παύλου, καὶ Ὁμήρου, καὶ Πυθαγόρου, ταύτας ἰδουμένας καὶ προσκυνοῦσι. Secta ipsius fuisse traditur socia quædam *Marcellina*; quæ colebat imagines Iesu, & Pauli, & Homeri, & Pythagoræ, adorando incensumque ponendo *Augustinus de heres. cap. 7.* <sup>d</sup> καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔστιν, ὅτι παλαιὰ ἐξ ἐθνῶν διαρρηγνύμεναι ὡς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ταῦτα πιστεύουσιν. ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτῶν τὰς εἰκόνας Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δια χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ ὁμοίων ἰσορροπῶν, ὡς εἰκόνας τοῦ παλαιῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ ὡς ἀποστόλους ἰδοὺντες σιωπῶντες παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τὸν τιμῶν ἐλαττωθῶν ἔροπον. *Euseb. lib. 7. histor. Ecclesiastic. cap. 18.*

<sup>b</sup> Imagines quasdam quidē depictas, quasdam autē & de reliquâ materiâ fabricatas habent : dicentes formam Christi factam à Pilato, illo in tempore quo fuit Iesus cum hominibus. *Irenæus, lib. 1. adversus heres. cap. 24.* Ἐχόντες δὲ εἰκόνας ἐν χρυσοῖς καὶ χαλκοῖς, καὶ ἀργύρῳ, καὶ λίθοις ὡς αὐτοῦ, ἀντιμαρτυροῦντες ἐν ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτοῦ. *Epiphanius in Panar. heres. 27 pag 52.*

e Nolite mihi colligere professores nominis Christiani, nec professionis suæ vim aut scientes aut exhibentes. Nolite consecrari turbas imperitorum, qui vel in ipsâ verâ religione superstiosi sunt, vel ita libidinibus dediti, ut obliti sint quicquid promiserint Deo. Novi multos esse sepulchrorum & picturarum adoratores, &c. Nunc vos illud admonco, ut aliquando Ecclesiæ catholice maledicere desinatis, vituperando mores hominum, quos & ipsa condemnat, & quos quotidie tanquam malos filios corrigere studet.

*Augustin. de moribus Ecclesiæ Catholice, cap. 24.*

f Præterea indico dudum ad nos pervenisse, quod fraternitas vestra quosdam imaginum adoratores aspiciens, easdem Ecclesiæ imagines contregit, atque projecit. Et quidem zelum vos, ne quid manufactum adorari possit, habuisse laudavimus: sed frangere easdem imagines non debuisset, iudicamus. Idcirco enim pictura in Ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi qui literas nesciunt, saltem in parietibus videndo legant quæ legere in codicibus non valent. Tua ergo fraternitas & illas servare, & ab earum adoratione populum prohibere debuit: quatenus & literarum nescij haberent unde scientiam historiarum colligerent; & populus in picturæ adoratione minimè peccaret. *Gregor. Registr. lib. 7. epist. 109. ad Serenum. Vide etiam lib. 9. epist. 9. ad eundem.*

simple people, who quickly went a whooring after them: contrarie to the doctrine which the Fathers & Doctors of the Church did deliver unto them. And therefore S. *Augustine* writing of the maners of the *Catholicke Church* against the *Manichees*, directly severeth the case of such men from the common cause, and approved practise of the *Catholicke Church*.<sup>e</sup> *Do not collect unto me (saith he) such professors of the name of Christ, as eyther know not or keepe not the force of their profession. Do not bring in the companies of rude men, which eyther in the true religiō it selfe are superstitious, or so given unto their lusts that they have forgotte what they did promise unto God.* Then for an instance of the first, he alledgeth that he himselfe did know many which were worshippers of graves and Pictures: and at last concludeth. *Now this I advise you, that you cease to speake evill of the Catholicke Church, by upbrayding it with the maners of those men, whom shee her selfe condemneth, and seeketh everie day to correct as naughtie children.* This also gave occasion to *Serenus Bishop of Marsiles* 200. yeares after, to breake downe the Images in his Church, when hee found them to be thus abused: which fact of his though *Pope Gregory* disliked, because he thought that Images might profitably be retayned as lay-mens bookes; yet in this he commended his zeale, that he would by no meanes suffer them to be worshipped. <sup>f</sup> *I certifie you (saith he) that it came*



of late to our hearing, that your brotherhood, seeing certaine worshippers of Images, did breake the said Church-images and threw them away. And surely we commended you that you had that zeale, that nothing made with hands should be worshipped: but yet we judge that you should not have broken those images. For painting is therefore used in Churches, that they which are unlearned, may yet by sight read those things upon the walles, which they cannot reade in bookes. Therefore your brotherhood ought, both to preserve the images, and to restraine the people from worshipping of them: that both the ignorant might have had, whence to gather the knowledge of the historie; and the people might not sinne in worshipping the picture.

There would be no end, if we should lay downe at large the fierce contentions that afterwards arose in the Church touching this matter of Images: the Greeke Emperours, *Leo Isaurus, Constantinus Caballinus, Nicephorus, Stauratius, Leo Armenus, Michael Balbus, Theophilus*, and others, opposing them in the East; and on the other side, *Gregory the second & third, Paul the first, Stephen the fourth, Adrian the first and second, Leo the third, Nicholas the first*, & other Popes of Rome as stiffely upholding them in the West. In a Councell of cccxxviii. Bishops helde at Constantinople in the yeare of our Lord 754. they were solemnely condemned: in another Councell of ccccl. Bishops helde at Nice in the yeare 787. they were advanced againe, and the veneration of them as much commended. This base decree of the second Nicene Councell, touching the adoration of Images, although it were not by the hundreth part so grosse, as that which was afterwards invented by the Popish School-

men: yet was it rejected as repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of God; by the Princes and Bishops of *England* first, about the yeare 792. and by *Charles* the great afterward, and the Bishops of *Italy*, *France* & *Germany*, which by his appointment were gathered together in the Councell of *Frankford*, the yeare of our Lord. 794.

g Græcorum errores de imaginibus & picturis manifestissime detegens, negat eas adorari debere: quam sententiam omnes Catholici probamus, Gregoriusque Magni testimoniū de illis sequimur. *Papir. Masson. Prefat. in Agobardi Opera, edit. Paris. an. 1605.*  
h Expungantur omnia, quæ sub hoc titulo (*De Imaginibus*) continentur. *Index librorum expurgatorum, Bernardi de Sandoval & Roxas Card. de consilio senatus generalis Inquisitionis Hispan. excus. Madriti, an. 1612.*

The foure bookes, which by his authoritie were published against that *Nicene* Synod, and the adoration of Images defended therein, are yet to be seene: as the Resolution also of the Doctors of *France* assembled at *Paris* by the command of his sonne *Ludovicus Pius*, in the yeare 824. and the booke of *Agobardus* Bishop of *Lions* concerning *Pictures and Images*, written about the same time; the argument whereof is thus delivered by *Papirius Massonus* the setter out of it.

g Detecting most manifestly the errors of the Grecians touching images and pictures, he denieth that they ought to be worshipped: which opinion all wee Catholickes doe allowe; and follow the testimonie of Gregory the great concerning them. This passage, together with the larger view of h the contents of this Treatise following afterwards, the *Spanish Inquisitors* in their *Index Expurgatorius* commande to be blotted out: which wee finde to be accordingly performed by the Divines of *Cullen*, in their late corrupt edition of the i great *Bibliothèque* of the ancient Fathers. *Gretser* professeth, that he k extreamely vvondereth, that this judgement of the booke of *Agobardus* should proceed from a Catholicke

i *Magn. Bibliothec. Pcter. Patrum, tom. 9. pars. I. edit. Colon. ann. 1618. pag. 543. & 551.*

k Vehementer profecto hoc iudicium de libro Agobardi ab homine Catholico profectū, miratus sum. nam Agobardus toto libello, nihil aliud facit, quàm quòd demonstrare nitatur (quamvis casso conatu) imagines non esse adorandas. *Jac. Gretser. lib. I. de Cruce, cap. 58.*



man. For Agobardus (saith he) in that whole booke doth nothing else, but endeavour to demonstrate (although with a vaine labour) that images are not to be worshipped.

<sup>l</sup> And who be these Grecians, whose errors touching images Agobardus doth refell, as this Publisher saith? Surely these Grecians are the Fathers of the Nicene Councell, who decreed that Images should be adored and worshipped. Against whom whosoever disputeth, doth mainly dissent from right beleivers. To which blinde censure of the Iesuite we may oppose, not onely the generall judgement of the ancient <sup>m</sup> *Almaines* his owne countrie-men, who within these foure or five hundred yeares did flatly disclayme this Image-worship (as by *Nicetas Choniates* is witnessed :) but also the testimonie of the Divines and Historians of *England, France, and Germanie* touching the Nicene Councell in particular; rejecting it as a <sup>n</sup> *Pseudo-synode*, because it concluded <sup>o</sup> that Images should be worshipped: which thing (say our Chroniclers) the Church of God doth utterly detest. And yet for all that, we have newes lately brought us from Rome: that <sup>p</sup> it is most certaine, and most assured, that the Christian Church, even the most Ancient, the Whole, and the Vniversall Church, did with wonderfull consent, without any opposition or contradiction, worship statues and images. Which if the cauterized conscience of a wretched *Apostata* would give him leave to utter: yet the extreame shamelesse of the assertion might have withhelde their wisedomes whom he sought to please thereby, from giving him leave to publish it.

<sup>l</sup> Et quoniam sunt Græci, quorū de imaginibus errore Agobardus refellit, ut Editor ait? Nimirum Græci isti sunt Petres Nicæni Concilij, qui sanxerunt, imagines adorandas & colendas esse. Contra quos qui disputat, is ab orthodoxis toto cælo discordat.

*Ibid.*

in *Ἀπορίαις* γὰρ ἡ Ἀναμνησις ὁρίσκει τὴν ἀρχαίαν εἰκόνα ὡς ὁμοιωματὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Nicet. Choniast. Annal. lib. 2.*

<sup>n</sup> *Hincmar. Rhemens. lib. contr. Hincmar. Laudunens. cap. 20. Ego. listmens. monach. in vita Caroli Magni. Annal. Fuldens. Ado, Regino, & Hermann. Contract.*

<sup>o</sup> *Images adorari debere: quod omnino Ecclesia Dei execratur. Simeon Dunelmens. Roger. Hoveden. & Matsh. Westmonaster. histor. ann 792. vel 793.*  
<sup>p</sup> *Ecclesiam porro Christianam, etiam Antiquissimam, Totam, ac Vniversalem, summo consensu, absque ullā oppositione, aut contradictione, Statuas ac imagines veneratam esse, est certissimam ac probatissimum. M. Anton. de Dominis, De consilio sui reditus, sect. 23.*

But it may be I seeke for shamefastnesse, in a place where it is not to be founde: and therefore leaving them to their Images, like to like, ( for *9 they that make them are like unto them*; and so is every one that trusteth in them ) I proceede from this point unto that which followeth.

OF FREE-WILL.

[illegible]

0115



ons that are within his power to doe : whether they be lawfull, unlawfull, or indifferent ; whether done by the strength of nature or of grace. for even in doing the workes of grace, our free-will suspendeth not her action, but being moved and guided by grace, doeth that which is fit for her to doe: grace not taking away the *libertie*, which commeth by Gods creation, but the *pravitie* of the Will, which ariseth from Mans corruption. In a word, as we condemne *Agapius* and the rest of that mad sect of the *Manichees*, for bringing in such a kinde of necessitie of sinning, whereby men were made to offend against their wils : so likewise with *Polychronius* and other men of understanding we defend, that *c vertue is a voluntarie thing, and free from all necessitie*; and with the author of the bookes *De vocatione Gentium* ( attributed unto *Prosper* ) *d we both beleeve and feelee by experience that Grace is so powerfull, that yet we conceive it no way to be violent.*

But it is one thing to inquire of the nature, another to dispute of the strength and abilitie of Free-will. We say with *Adamantius* ( in the Dialogues collected out of *Maximus* against the *Marcionites* ) that *c God made Angels and Men εὐτεξοίς, but not παντεξοίς* : hec indued them with freedome of Will, but not with abilitie to doe all things. And now since the fall of *Adam* wee say further, that freedome of Will remayneth still among men; but the abilitie which once it had, to performe spirituall duties and things pertayning to salvation, is quite lost and extinguished. For *f vvhō is*

quidē perijt per peccatū; sed illa quæ in Paradiso fuit, habēdi plenā cū immortalitate iustitiam: propter quod natura humana divinā indiget gratiā, dicente Domino; Si vos Filius liberaverit, tunc verē liberi eritis; utiq; liberi ad bene iusteq; vivendū. Nam liberū arb triū usque adē in peccatore non perijt; ut per illud peccēt, maximē omnes qui cum delectatione peccāt, & amore peccati, hoc eis placet quod eis libet. *Aug. contr. duas epist. Pelagius. l. 1. cap. 2.*

b A' ἰσχυρὴ τὴ ἡ  
καὶ τὴν τοῦ αὐ-  
τοῦ πνεύματος πᾶσι  
διατίθηται. Phos.  
Bibliothec. num.  
179.

c A' δὲ ἰσχυρὴ τὴ ἡ  
ἡ ἀρετὴ, καὶ ἡ καλὴ  
καὶ ἡ ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἡ  
ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ. Poly-  
chron. in Cantic.  
pag. 93. edit.  
Mensis.

d Hanc quip-  
pe abundantio-  
rem gratiam  
ita credimus  
atque experi-  
mur potentem,  
ut nullo modo  
arbitremur esse  
violentam.  
Prosp. de vocat.  
Gent. li. 2. cap. 26

e Τὸς ἀγγέλους καὶ  
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀν-  
θρώπου λέγει  
ὡς δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡμέ-  
ραν, καὶ εἰς τὴν  
τῆς αἰῶνος. Orig.  
Dial. 3. contr.  
Marcion.

f Quis autem  
nostrum dicat,  
quod primi ho-  
minis peccato  
perierit liberū  
arbitrium de  
humano gene-  
re? Libertas

there of us (saith S. Augustine) which would say, that by the sinne of the first Man Free-will is utterly perished from mankind: Freedom indeed is perished by sinne: but that freedom which was in Paradise, of having full righteousness with immortalitie. for which cause Mans nature standeth in neede of Gods grace, according to the saying of our Lord; If the Sonne shall free you, then yee shall be free indeed: namely free to live well and righteously. For free-will is so farre from having perished in the sinner; that by it they sinne, all they especially who sinne with delight, and for the love of sinne, that pleaseth them which liketh them. When we denie therefore that a naturall man hath any free-will unto good: by a naturall man, wee understand one that is without Christ, and destitute of his renewing grace; by free-will, that which the Philosophers call τὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ, a thing that is in our owne power to doe; and by good, a Theologicall not a Philosophicall good, bonū verē spirituale & salutare, a spirituall good and tending to salvation. This then is the difference which Gods word teacheth us to put, betwixt

<sup>g</sup> Rom. 6. vers. 11. a regenerate & an unregenerate man. The one is <sup>g</sup> alive unto God, through Iesus Christ our Lord; and so enabled

<sup>h</sup> *ibid.* vers. 13. to <sup>h</sup> yeelde himselfe unto God, as one that is alive from the dead, and his members as instruments of righteousness

<sup>i</sup> *ibid.* vers. 21. unto God: <sup>i</sup> having his fruite unto holinesse, and the end

<sup>k</sup> Ephes. 4. 18. everlasting life. The other is a meere <sup>k</sup> stranger from

<sup>l</sup> Ephes. 2. 1, 5. the life of God, <sup>l</sup> dead in trespasses and sinnes; and so no more able to lead a holy life acceptable unto God, then a dead man is to performe the actions of him which is alive.

He may live indeed the life of a naturall and a morall man, and so exercise the freedom of his Will, not onely in naturall and civill, but also in morall actions,



so farre as concerneth externall conformitie unto those  
 motions of good and evill that remaine in his minde:  
 (in respect whereof the verie <sup>m</sup> Gentiles themselves <sup>m</sup> Rom. 2. 14  
 which have not the Law, are said to doe by nature the  
 things contayned in the Law: ) he may have such fruite,  
 as not onely common honestie and civilitie, but com-  
 mon giftes of Gods spirit likewise will yeelde, and in  
 regard thereof hee may obtaine of God temporall  
 rewards appertayning to this transitorie life, and a lesser  
 measure of punishment in the world to come: yet  
 untill he be quickened with the life of grace, & <sup>n</sup> may- <sup>n</sup> Rom. 7. 4  
 ried to him who is raysed from the dead, he cannot bring  
 forth fruite unto God, nor be accepted for one of his ser-  
 vants. This is the doctrine of our Saviour himselve,  
 Iohn. 15. 4, 5. As the branch cannot beare fruite of it selfe,  
 except it abide in the vine; no more can yee, except yee  
 abide in me: I am the Vine, yee are the branches: He that  
 abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much  
 fruite: for without me yee can doe **N O T H I N G**, that  
 is, nothing truely good and acceptable unto God. This  
 is the lesson that S. Paul doth everie where inculcate.  
 \* I know, that in me, that is in my flesh, dwelleth no good <sup>o</sup> Rom. 7. 18.  
 thing. P The naturall man perceiveth not the things of P I. Cor. 2. 14.  
 the spirit of God, for they are foolishnesse unto him: ney-  
 ther can he understand them, because they are spiritually  
 discerned. ¶ Without faith it is impossible to please God. q Hebr. 11. 6.  
 ¶ Unto them that are defiled and unbeleeving is nothing r Tit. 1. 15.  
 pure: but even their minde & conscience is defiled. Now  
 seeing the end of the commandment is charitie, out of a <sup>c</sup> I. Tim. 1. 5.  
 pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfained;  
 seeing the first beginning, from whence every good  
 action should proceed, is a sanctified heart, the last end  
 the seeking of Gods glorie, and faith working by love  
 must

r Sed acerbis-  
simi gratia hur-  
jus inimici, ex-  
empla nobis  
opponitis im-  
piorum, quos  
dicitis alienos  
à fide abunda-  
re virtutibus.

Aug. contr. Iu-  
lian. lib. 4. cap. 3.

u Per hos enim  
probare cona-  
tus es, etiam a-  
lienos à fide  
Christi, veram  
posse habere  
iustitiam; eo  
quod isti, teste  
Apostolo, na-  
turaliter quæ  
legis sunt faci-  
unt. *ibid.*

x Vbi quidem  
dogma vestrum  
quo estis ini-  
mici gratia  
Dei, quæ datur  
per Iesum  
Christum Do-  
minum nostrum,  
qui tollit pec-  
catum mundi,  
evidentius ex-  
pressisti; intro-  
ducens homi-  
num genus,  
quod Deo pla-  
cere possit sine  
Christi fide, le-

ge naturæ. Hoc est unde vos maximè Christiana detestatur Ecclesia. *ibid.* y Sed absit, ut  
sit in aliquo vera virtus, nisi fuerit iustus. Absit autè ut sit iustus verè, nisi vivat ex fide: lu-  
sus enim ex fide vivit. Quis porro eorum, qui se Christianos haberi volunt, nisi soli Pelagia-  
ni, aut in ipsis etià fortè tu solus, iustum dixerit infidelè iustum dixerit impium, iustum dixerit Dia-  
bolo mancipatum? Sit licèt ille Fabricius, sit licèt Fabius, sit licèt Scipio, sit licèt Regulus. *ibid.*

must intercurse betwixt both: the morall workes of  
the unregenerate sayling so fowly both in the begin-  
ning, middle and end, are to be accounted breaches ra-  
ther of the Commandement then observances, deprava-  
tions of good workes rather then performances. For  
howsoever these actions be in their owne kinde good  
and commanded of God, yet are they marred in the  
carriage, that which is *bonum* being not done *bene*: and  
so though in regard of their *matter* they may be ac-  
counted good, yet for the *maner* they must be esteemed  
vitious.

The *Pelagian* heretickes were wont here to object  
unto our forefathers (as the *Romanistes* doe now a daies  
unto us) both the examples of the Heathen, *et vultus*  
*being strangers from the faith*, did notwithstanding (as  
they said) *abound with vertues*: and S. *Pauls* testimo-  
nie also concerning them, *Rom. 2. 14, 15.* by which they  
laboured to prove, *u that even such as were strangers*  
*from the faith of Christ, might yet have true righteous-*  
*nesse; because that these, as the Apostle witnessed, natu-*  
*rally did the things of the Law.* But will you heare how  
S. *Augustine* tooke up *Iulian* the *Pelagian*, for making  
this objection? *x Herein hast thou expressed more evi-*  
*dently that doctrine of yours, wherein you are enemies un-*  
*to the grace of God which is given by Iesus Christ our Lord,*  
*who taketh away the sinne of the world: bringing in a*  
*kinde of men, which may please God without the faith of*  
*Christ, by the law of nature. This is it, for which the*  
*Christia Church doth most of all detest you: & again. y Be*



it farre from us to thinke, that true vertue should be in any one, unlesse he were righteous. And as farre, that one should be truly righteous, unlesse he did live by faith: for the just doth live by faith. Now which of them, that would have themselves accounted Christians, but the Pelagians alone, or even among them, perhaps thou thy selfe alone, would say that an infidell were righteous, would say that an ungodly man were righteous, would say that a man mancipated to the Devill were righteous? although he were Fabricius, although hee were Fabius, although hee were Scipio, although he were Regulus. And whereas Iulian had further demanded: <sup>2</sup> If a Heathen man doe cloath the naked, because it is not of faith, is it therefore sinne? Saint Augustine answereth absolutely, in as much as it is not of faith, it is sinne: not because the fact considered in it selfe, which is to cloath the naked, is a sinne; but of such a worke not to glory in the Lord, none but an impious man will deny to be a sinne. For howsoever, <sup>2</sup> in it selfe, this naturall compassion be a good worke; yet hee useth this good worke amisse, that useth it unbeleevingly, and doth this good work amisse, that doth it unbeleevingly: but who so doth any thing amisse, sinneth surely. From whence it is to be gathered, that even those good workes which unbeleevers doe, are not theirs, but his who maketh good use of evill men: but that the sinnes are theirs, whereby they doe good things amisse; because they doe them not with a faithfull, but with an unfaithfull, that is, with a foolish and naughtie will. Which kinde of will no Christian doubteth to be an evill

<sup>2</sup> Si gentilis (inquis) nudum operuerit, nunquid quia non est ex fide, peccatum est? Prorus in quantum non est ex fide peccatum est: non quia per seipsum factum, quod est nudum operire, peccatum est; sed de tali opere non in Domino gloriari, solus impius negat esse peccatum. Ibid. <sup>a</sup> Quod si & ipsa (misericordia) per seipsam naturali compassione opus est bonum; etiam isto bono male utitur qui infideliter utitur, & hoc bonum male facit qui infideliter facit: qui autem

male facit aliquid, profecto peccat. Ex quo colligitur, etiam ipsa bona opera quae faciunt infideles, non ipsorum esse, sed illius qui bene utitur malis. Ipsorum autem esse peccata, quibus & bona male faciunt; quia ea non fidei, sed infidei, hoc est, stultae & noxiae faciunt voluntate. qualis voluntas, nullo Christiano dubitante, arbor est mala, quae facere non potest nisi fructus malos, id est, sola peccata. Omne enim, velis nolis, quod non est ex fide, peccatum est. Ibid.

tree, which cannot bring forth but evil fruits, that is to say, sinnes only. For all that is not of faith, whether thou wilt or no, is sinne. This and much more to the same purpose, doth Saint Augustine urge against the Heretike Italian: prosecuting at large that conclusion which hee layeth downe in his booke of the Acts of the Palestine Councell against Pelagius. <sup>b</sup> How much soever the works of unbeleevers be magnified, we know the sentence of the Apostle to be true and invincible; Whatsoever is not of faith is sinne. Which maketh him also in his Retractions to correct himselfe, for saying in one place, <sup>c</sup> That the Philosophers shined with the light of vertue, who were not endued with true pietie.

<sup>b</sup> Quantumlibet opera infidelium pradicentur: Apostoli sententiam veram novimus & invictam; Omne quod non est ex fide, peccatum est. Id. de

gestis contra Pelagium, cap. 14.

<sup>c</sup> Quod Philosophos non verâ pietate præditos, dixi virtutis luce fulsisse. Id. Retract. lib. 1. cap. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Sententiam proferamus adversus eos, qui in Christum non credentes, fortes & sapientes, temperantes se putant esse & justos: ut sciant nullum absque Christo vivere, sine quo omnis virtus in vitio est. Hieronym. in Galat. cap. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Manifestissimè patet, in impiorum animis nullam habitare virtutem: sed omnia opera eorum immunda esse atque polluta; habentium sapientiam non spiritualem sed animaleam, non cœlestem sed terrenam, non Christianam sed Diabolicam, non à Patre luminum, sed à Principe tenebrarum; dum per ea ipsa quæ non haberent nisi dante Deo, subduntur ei qui primus recessit à Deo. Prosper. contra Collator. cap. 13.

The like sentence doth Saint Hierome pronounce against those, <sup>d</sup> who not beleeving in Christ, did yet thinke themselves to be valiant and wise, temperate or just: that they might know that no man doth live without Christ, without whom all vertue is accounted vice. And Prosper against Cassianus, a Patron of the free-will of the Semipelagians: <sup>e</sup> It appeareth (saith he) most manifestly, that there dwelleth no vertue in the minds of the ungodly, but that all their workes be uncleane and polluted; who have wisdom not spirituall, but animall, not heavenly but earthly, not Christian, but Diabolicall, not from the Father of light, but from the Prince of darknesse; while by those very things which they should not have had but by Gods giving, they are made subject to him, who did first fall from

God.



God. <sup>f</sup> Neither ought we therefore to imagine, that the beginnings of vertues be in the treasures of nature, because many commendable things are found in the mindes of ungodly men, which doe proceed indeed from nature; but because they haue departed from him that made nature, can not be accounted vertues. For that which is illuminated with the true light, is light; and that which wanteth that light, is night: because the wisdom of this world is foolishnesse with God. And so that is vice, which is thought to be vertue: as that is foolishnesse, which is thought to be wisdom. Hitherto also pertaïneth that sentence, produced by him out of S. Augustines workes: & The whole life of unbeleevers is sinne; and there is nothing good without the chiefest good. For where there is wanting the acknowledgement of the eternall and unchangeable truth, there is false vertue even in the best manners. Which he elegantly expresseth in verse, as well in his 81. Epigramme, as in his Poëme against the Pelagians, wherein of naturall wisdom he writeth thus:

*h Et licet eximias studeat pollere per artes,  
Ingeniumq; bonum generosis moribus ornet:  
Cæca tamen finem ad mortis per devia currit,  
Nec vitæ æternæ veros acquirere fructus  
De falsâ virtute potest; unamq; decoris  
Occidui speciem mortali perdit in ævo.  
Omne etenim probitatis opus, nisi semine veræ  
Exoritur fidei, peccatum est, inq; reatum  
Vertitur, & sterilis cumulat sibi gloria pœnam.*

The Author of the booke *De Vocatione Gentium* (by some wrongly attributed to S. Ambrose, to Prosper by others) delivereth the same doctrine in these words:

commutabilis veritatis, falsa virtus est, etiam in optimis moribus. Id. ex Augustino Sentent. 106. & Epigram. 81. *h Id. de Ingratis, cap. 16.*

*f Nec ideo ex-  
istimare debe-  
mus, in natura-  
libus thesauris  
principia esse  
virtutum, quia  
multa laudanda  
reperiuntur e-  
tiam in inge-  
nijs impiorum:  
quæ ex naturâ  
quidem prode-  
unt; sed quoni-  
am ab eo qui  
naturam con-  
didit recesser-  
unt, virtutes  
esse non pos-  
sunt. Quod e-  
nim vero illu-  
minatum est lu-  
mine, lunæ est;  
& quod eodem  
lumine caret,  
nox est: Quia  
sapientia hujus  
mundi stultitia  
est apud Deum.  
Ac sic vitium  
est quod puta-  
tur esse virtus:  
quandoquidem  
stultitia est,  
quod putatur  
esse sapientia.*

*Ibid.*

*g Omnis infi-  
deliû vita pec-  
catum est: &  
nihil est bonum  
sine summo bo-  
no. Vbi enim  
deest agnitio  
æternæ & in-*

*Augustino Sen-*

i Et si fuit qui i naturali intel-  
lectu conatus  
sit vitij relutari; hujus tan-  
tū temporis  
vitam sterilitern  
ornavit, ad ve-  
ras autem vir-  
tutes æternāq;  
beatitudinem  
non profecit.  
Sine cultu e-  
nim veri Dei,  
etiā quod vir-  
tus videtur ef-  
fe, peccatū est:  
nec placere ul-  
lus Deo sine  
Deo potest.  
Qui verò Deo  
non placet, cui  
nisi sibi & Dia-  
bolo placet? A  
quo cum homo  
spoliaretur; nō  
voluntate, sed  
voluntatis fa-  
nitate privatus  
est. Prosp. de  
Vocatione Gent.  
lib. 1. cap. 7.  
k Qui si non o-  
peratur in no-  
bis, nullius possumus esse participes virtutis. Sine hoc quippe bono, nihil est bonum:  
sine hac luce, nihil est lucidum: sine hac sapientiā, nihil sanum; sine hac justitiā, nihil  
rectum. *ibid.* cap. 8. l Quod si quibusdam cognoscentibus Deum, nec tamen sicut Deum  
glorificantibus, cognitio illa nihil profuit ad salutem: quomodo hi potuerunt justī esse a-  
pud Deum, qui sic in suis moribus atque operibus bonitatis aliquid servant, ut hoc ad fi-  
nem Christianæ fidei charitatisq; non referant? Quibus aliqua quidem bona, quæ ad so-  
cietatis humanæ pertinent æquitatem, inesse possunt: sed quia non charitate Dei fiunt,  
prodesse non possunt. *Fulg. de Incarn. & Grat. Christi, c. 16.* m Liberum naturale arbitrium  
ad nihil aliud valere credimus, nisi ad discernenda tantū & desideranda carnalia sive se-  
cularia; quæ non apud Deum, sed apud homines possunt fortassis videri gloriosa. Ad ea  
verò quæ ad vitam æternam pertinent, nec cogitare, nec velle, nec desiderare, nec per-  
ficere posse, nisi per infusionem & inoperationem intrinsecus Spiritus Sancti. *Id. Maxent.*  
*in Confessione suæ fidei.*

Although there have beene some who by their naturall  
understanding have endevoured to resist vices; yet have  
they only barrenly adorned this temporall life, but not profi-  
ted at all unto true vertues and everlasting blisse. For with-  
out the worship of the true God, even that which seemeth  
to be vertue is sinne: neither can any man please God, with-  
out God. And he that doth not please God, whom doth hee  
please but himselfe and the Devill? By whom when man  
was spoiled, he was deprived not of his will, but of the sa-  
nitie of his will. <sup>k</sup> Therefore if God doe not worke in us, we  
can be partakers of no vertue. For without this good, there  
is nothing good; without this light, there is nothing light-  
some; without this wisdom, there is nothing sound; with-  
out this righteousness, there is nothing right. So Fulgen-  
tius, in his booke of the Incarnation and Grace of Christ.  
<sup>l</sup> If unto some who did know God, and yet did not glorifie  
him as God, that knowledge did profit nothing unto salvati-  
on: how could they be just with God, which doe so keepe  
some goodnesse in their manners and workes, that yet they  
referre it not unto the end of Christian faith and charitie?  
In whom there may be indeed some good things that apper-  
taine to the equitie of humane societie: but because they  
are not done by the love of God, profit they cannot. And  
Maxentius in the Confession of his Faith: <sup>m</sup> We beleieve



that naturall Free-will hath abilitie to nothing else, but to  
discerne and desire carnall or secular things only; which  
not with God, but with men peradventure may seeme glo-  
rious: but for the things that pertaine to everlasting life,  
that it can neither thinke, nor will, nor desire, nor effect, but  
by the infusion and inward operation of the Holy Ghost. and  
Cassiodorus, in his exposition of the Psalmes. <sup>n</sup> On the  
evil part indeed there is an execrable freedome of the will,  
that the sinner may forsake his Creator, and convert him-  
selfe to wicked vices: but on the good part, by Adams sin-  
ning, we have lost free-will, unto which otherwise than by  
the grace of Christ we cannot returne: according to the  
saying of the Apostle; It is God which worketh in you, both  
to will and to doe, of his good pleasure. (Philip. 2. 13.)

The first presumptuous advancer of free-will, con-  
trary to the doctrine anciently received in the Church,  
is by *Vincentius Lirinensis* noted to be *Pelagius* the he-  
reticke. For <sup>o</sup> who ever (saith he) before that profane  
*Pelagius*, presumed the vertue of free-will to be so great;  
that he did not thinke the grace of God to be necessarie for  
the helping of it in good things at every act? For maintai-  
ning of which ungodly opinion, both he and his disci-  
ple *Celestius* were condemned by the censure of the  
ccxliii. Bishops assembled in the great Councell of  
*Carthage* (anno Dom. 418.) <sup>p</sup> untill they should acknow-  
ledge by a most open confession, that by the grace of God  
through Iesus Christ our Lord, we are holpen not onely to

tiam non putaret? *Vincent. Lirinens. Commonitor. 1. advers. hares. cap. 34.* <sup>p</sup> Donec aper-  
tissimâ confessione fateantur, Gratiâ Dei per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, non  
solum ad cognoscendam verumetiam ad faciendam justitiam, nos per actus singulos adju-  
vari; ita ut sine eâ nihil veræ sanctæque pietatis habere, cogitare, dicere, agere valeamus.  
*Synod. African. Epist. ad Zosimum Pap. apud Prosperum contra Collator. cap. 5. & Respons. ad ob-  
ject. 8. Gallorum: ubi addit, hanc constitutionem contra inimicos gratiæ Dei totum mun-*

¶ Anathema  
 qui vel sentit  
 vel dicit, grati-  
 am Dei, quā  
 Christus venit  
 in hunc mun-  
 dum peccato-  
 res salvos face-  
 re, non solum  
 per singulas  
 horas aut per  
 singula mo-  
 menta, sed et-  
 iam per singu-  
 los actus no-  
 stros non esse  
 necessariam: &  
 qui hanc co-  
 nantur auferre,  
 poenas sortien-  
 tur æternas.  
 Pelag. apud Au-  
 gustin. lib. 1. de  
 gratiā Christi,  
 contr. Pelag. &  
 Celest. cap. 2.  
 r Legant etiam  
 recens meum  
 opusculū, quod  
 pro libero nu-  
 per arbitrio  
 edere compulsi  
 sumus; & agno-  
 scent quāmini-  
 quē nos nega-  
 tione gratiæ  
 infamare gesti-  
 erint; qui per totum penē ipsius textum operis perfectē atque integrē & liberum arbi-  
 trium confitemur & gratiam. Id. ibid. cap. 41. ¶ Sub ambiguā generalitate quid senti-  
 ret abscondens; gratiæ tamen vocabulo frangens invidiam, offensionemque declinans.  
 Augustin. ibid. cap. 37. ¶ Pelag. apud Augustin. de gestis contra Pelag. cap. 10. & in epist. 95.  
 Vid. eund. Augustin. de grat. & lib. arbitr. cap. 13. & serm. 11. de verbis Apostoli.

know but also to doe righteousnesse at every act: so that  
 without it we can have, thinke, say, doe, nothing that belon-  
 geth to true and holy piety. Wherewith Pelagius being  
 pressed, stucke not to make this profession: ¶ Anathema  
 to him, who either thinketh or saith, that the grace of God,  
 whereby Christ came into this world to save sinners, is not  
 necessarie, not onely at every houre or every moment, but  
 also at every act of ours: and they who goe about to take  
 away this, are worthy to suffer everlasting punishment.  
 Foure bookes also did he publish in defence of Free-  
 will; to which he thus referreth his adversaries, for fur-  
 ther satisfaction in this matter: ¶ Let them reade the  
 late worke, which we were forced to set out the other day  
 for Free-will; and they shall perceive how uniuersally they  
 goe about to defame us with the deniall of Grace, who  
 thorowout the whole context almost of that worke doe per-  
 fectly and intirely confesse both Free will and Grace. Yet  
 for all this he did but equivocate in the name of Grace:  
 under an ambiguous generalitie hiding what he thought,  
 but by the tearme of Grace breaking the envie, and declining  
 the offence which might be taken at his doctrine, as  
 S. Augustine well observeth. For, by Grace, he did not  
 understand, as the Church did in this question, the in-  
 fusion of a new qualitie of holinesse into the soule,  
 whereby it was regenerated, and the will of evill made  
 good: but first, the possibilitie of nature, that is to  
 say, the naturall freedome of will which every one  
 hath received from God by vertue of the first crea-  
 tion. Against which S. Augustine thus opposeth him-

selfe:



selfe: "Why is there so much presumed of the possibilitie of nature? It is wounded, it is maimed, it is vexed, it is lost. It hath need of a true confession, not of a false defence. And Prosper, speaking of the state of mans free-will after Adams fall;

*hinc arbitrium per devia lapsum*

*Claudicat, & cecis conatibus inque ligatis*

*Motus inest, non error abest. manet ergo voluntas*

*Semper amans aliquid quò se ferat; & labyrintho*

*Fallitur, ambages dubiarum ingressa viarum.*

*Vana cupit, vanis tumet & timet: omnimodaque*

*Mobilitate ruens, in vulnera vulnere surgit.*

Secondly, by grace he understood the grace of doctrine and instruction, whereby the minde was informed in the truth out of the word of God. Which by Prosper is thus objected to his followers:

— *aliud non est vobiscum gratia, quàm lex,*

*Quamq; Prophetam monens, & quàm doctrina ministri.*

Unto whom S. Augustine therefore saith well: "Let them reade and understand, let them behold and confesse, that not by the law and doctrine sounding outwardly, but by an inward and hidden, by a wonderfull and unspeakable power, God doth worke in the hearts of men, not only true revelations, but good wills also. And thereupon the African Fathers in the Councell of Carthage, enacted this Canon. "Whosoever shall say, that the grace of God by Iesus Christ our Lord, doth for this cause only helpe us not to sinne, because by it the understanding of the comman-

lùm veras revelationes, sed etiam bonas voluntates. *Augustin. ibid. cap. 24.* a Quisquis dixerit gratiam Dei per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, propter hoc tantum nos adjuvare ad non peccandum, quia per ipsam nobis revelatur & aperitur intelligentia mandatorum, ut sciamus quid appetere, quid vitare debeamus; non autem per illam nobis præstari, ut quod faciendum cognoverimus, etiam facere diligamus atque valeamus: anathema sit. *African. Patr. in Synod. Carthagin. can. 4.*

u Quid tantum de naturæ possibilitate præsumitur?

Vulnerata, sauciata, vexata, perdita est. Verâ confessione, non falsâ defensione opus habet. *Augustin. de natur. & grat. cap. 53.*

x Prosp. de Ingratis, cap. 27.

y Id. ibid. cap. 20. Vid. eund.

in epist. ad Rufinum, non procul ab initio: & Augustin. de heres.

cap. 88. & lib. i. de gratiâ Christi contra Pelag. cap.

8, 9, 10.

z Legant ergo & intelligant, intueantur at-

que fateantur, non lege atque doctrinâ in-

sonante forinsecus, sed inter-

nâ atque occultâ, mirabili

ac ineffabili potestate operari

Deum in cordibus homi-

num, non so-

lùm veras revelationes, sed etiam bonas voluntates. *Augustin. ibid. cap. 24.*

a Quisquis dixerit gratiam Dei per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, propter hoc tantum nos adjuvare ad non peccandum, quia per ipsam nobis revelatur & aperitur intelligentia mandatorum, ut sciamus quid appetere, quid vitare debeamus; non autem per illam nobis præstari, ut quod faciendum cognoverimus, etiam facere diligamus atque valeamus: anathema sit. *African. Patr. in Synod. Carthagin. can. 4.*

dements is revealed and opened unto us, that we may know what we ought to affect, what to shunne; & that by it there is not wrought in us, that we may also love and be enabled to doe that, which we know should be done; let him be

b *Augustin. lib. 1. de grat. Christ. contr. Pelag. cap. 7. & 41.*

c *Quam (gratiam) nos non, ut tu putas, in lege tantummodo, sed & in Dei esse adiutorio confitemur. Adjuvat enim nos Deus per doctrinam & revelationem suam, dum cordis nostri oculos aperit; dum nobis, ne praesentibus occupemur, futura demonstrat; dum Diaboli pandit insidias; dum nos multiformi & ineffabili dono gratiae caelestis illuminat. Qui haec dicit, gratiam tibi videtur negare? An & liberum ho-*

anathema. Thirdly, under this grace he comprehended not only the externall revelation by the word, but also the <sup>b</sup> internall by the illumination of Gods Spirit.

Whereupon he thus riseth up against his adverlarie.

<sup>c</sup> We confesse that this grace is, not (as thou thinkest) in

the Law only, but in the helpe of God also. For God doth

helpe us by his doctrine and revelation, whilest he openeth

the eyes of our hearts; whilest he sheweth us things to come,

that we be not holden with things present; whilest he dis-

covereth the snares of the Devill; whilest he enlighteneth

us with the manifold and unspeakable gift of his heavenly

grace. He that saith these things, doth he seeme unto thee

to denie grace? or doth he confesse, both the free-will of

man, and the grace of God too? And yet in all this (as

*S. Augustine* rightly noteth) <sup>d</sup> he doth but confesse that

grace, whereby God doth shew and reveale what we ought

to doe; not that, whereby he doth grant and helpe that we

may doe. And therefore <sup>e</sup> in other places of his wri-

tings he plainly affirmeth, that our very prayers are to be

used for nothing but this, that the doctrine may be opened

unto us by divine revelation; not that the minde of man

may be holpen, that he may also accomplish by love and acti-

on that which he hath learned should be done. Fourthly,

minis arbitrium, & Dei gratiam confiteatur? *Pelag. ibid. cap. 7.* d Hinc itaque apparet, hanc cum gratiam confiteri, quâ demonstrat & revelat Deus quid agere debeamus; non quâ donat atque adjuvat ut agamus: cum ad hoc potius valeat legis agnitio, si gratiae defuit opitulatio, ut fiat mandati praevicatio. *Augustin. ibid. cap. 8.* e Ipsas quoque orationes (ut in scriptis suis apertissime affirmat) ad nihil aliud adhibendas opinatur, nisi ut nobis doctrina etiam divina revelatione aperiatur; non ut adjuvetur mens hominis, ut id, quod faciendum esse didicerit, etiam dilectione & actione perficiat. *Id. ibid. cap. 41.*



to these he further added the grace of remission of sins. For the Pelagians said,<sup>f</sup> that mans nature which was made with free-will, might be sufficient to enable us, that we might not sinne, and that we might fulfill righteousness: and that this is the grace of God, that we were so made that we might doe this by our will, and that he hath given us the helpe of his law and commandements, and that he doth pardon the sinnes past to those that are converted unto him: that in these things only the grace of God was to be acknowledged, and not in the helpe given unto all our singular actions. And so they<sup>g</sup> said, that that grace of God which is given by the faith of Iesus Christ, which is neither law nor nature, is effectually only to this, that sinnes past may be remitted, not that sinnes to come may be avoided, or when they make resistance may be vanquished. Whereupon S. Augustine thus encountreth Iulian the Pelagian hereticke.<sup>h</sup> Thou (according to your custome, which descendeth from your error) dost not acknowledge grace, but in the remission of sinnes; that now from henceforth a man himselfe by his free-will may make himselfe righteous. But so saith not the Church, which all cryeth that which it hath learned from a good master: Lead us not into temptation.

Lastly, this was the common doctrine of the<sup>i</sup> Pelagians, and accounted to be one of the principall<sup>k</sup> blasphemies of that sect: that they held the grace of

<sup>f</sup> Ut non peccemus, impleamusque iustitiam, posse sufficere naturam humanam quæ condita est cum libero arbitrio: eamque esse Dei gratiam, quia sic conditi sumus, ut hoc voluntate possimus; & quod adiutorium Legis mandatorumque suorum dedit; & quod ad se conversis peccata præterita ignoscit: in his solis esse Dei gratiam deputandam, non in adiutorio nostrorum actuum singulorum. Id. de gestis contra Pelagium, cap.

<sup>g</sup> Dicunt gratiam Dei quæ data est per fidem Iesu Christi,

sti, quæ neque lex est neque natura, ad hoc tantum valere, ut peccata præterita dimittantur, non ut futura vitentur, vel repugnantia superentur. Id. de gratiâ & libero arbitrio, cap. 13. Vid. eiusd. lib. 1. de grat. Christi contr. Pelag. cap. 2. <sup>h</sup> Tu vestro more, qui de vestro descendit errore, non agnoscis gratiam, nisi in dimissione peccatorum; ut jam de cætero per liberum arbitrium ipse homo se ipsum fabricet iustum. Sed non hoc dicit Ecclesia, quæ clamat tota, quod didicit à Magistro bono: Ne nos inferas in tentationem. Id. lib. 2. postremi operis contra Iulianum; à Claud. Menardo edit. non procul à fine. <sup>i</sup> Id. De dono Perseverant. cap. 2. & 20. De gratiâ & lib. arbit. cap. 5. De hæresib. cap. 88. &c. <sup>k</sup> Ex his una est blasphemia, nequissimum & subtilissimum germen aliarum, quâ dicunt, Gratiam Dei secundum merita hominum dari. Prosper. in epist. de grat. & lib. arbit. ad Rufinum.

Quod sic alienū est a Catholice doctrinā, & inimicum gratiæ Christi; ut nisi hoc obiectū sibi anathematizasset, ipse inde anathematizatus exisset. Sed fallaciter cum anathematizasset posteriores ejus indicant libri; in quibus omnino nihil aliud defendit, quā gratiam Dei secundū merita nostra dari. *Augustin. de grat. & lib. arbitr. cap. 5.*  
 m Prosp. de Ingratis, cap. 9.  
 n Cū ab istis quæritur, quā gratiam Pelagius cogitaret sine ullis præcedentibus meritis dari, quando anathematizabat eos, qui dicunt gratiam Dei secundū merita nostra dari: respondent, sine ullis præcedentibus meritis gratiam, ipsam hu-

manam esse naturam, in quā conditi sumus. Neque enim antequā essemus, mereri aliquid poteramus, ut essemus. *Augustin. epist. 105. ad Sixtum.*

God to be given according to mens merits. Which was so abhorring from the Catholike doctrine, and opposite to the grace of Christ, that when it was objected to Pelagius in the Diospolitan Synod, held in Palestina by the Bilhops of the East, he durst not avow it; but was forced to accurse it, lest otherwise he should have beene accursed himselfe. But that he deceitfully cursed it, the books written by him afterwards doe shew; wherein he defendeth nothing else, but that the grace of God is given according to our merits. which Prosper treading in S. Augustines steps, doth thus expresse:

m Objectum est aliud; ipsum dixisse magistrum  
 Quod meritis hominum tribuatur gratia Christi,  
 Quantum quisque Dei donis se fecerit aptum.  
 Sed nimis adversum hoc fidei, nimiumque repugnans  
 Esse videns, dixit se non ita credere, & illos  
 Damnari dignos quorum mens ista teneret.  
 Quo cernis, cum Iudicibus damnantibus ista  
 Consensisse reum: nec quenquam has posse tueri.  
 Quæ tamen ipse suis rursus excoluisse libellis  
 Detegitur, reprobam in sensum fallendo reversus.

And in this also did the Pelagians betake themselves unto their old coverts of the grace of nature, the grace of mercy in forgiving of sinnes, the grace of instruction and revelation, and such other shifts. For<sup>n</sup> when it is demanded of them (saith S. Augustine) what grace Pelagius did thinke was given without any precedent merits: when he anathematized those, who say that the grace of God is given according to our merits: they answer, that the grace which is without any precedent merits, is the humane nature it selfe wherein we are crea-



ted. forasmuch as before we were, we could not deserve any thing, that we might be. Then afterward perceiving what an idle thing it was to confound grace and nature thus together; ° they said, that the only grace which was not according to our merits, was that whereby a man had his sinnes forgiven him. for they did not thinke, that a sinner could rightly be said to merit any thing save Gods displeasure.

But that at which they all ayimed in generall was this, <sup>p</sup> that Grace was only a kinde of Mistresse to Free-will; and that by exhortations, by the law, by doctrine, by the creatures, by contemplation, by miracles, and by terrors outwardly, it shewed it selfe to the judgement thereof: whereby every man according to the motion of his will, if he did seeke, might finde; if he did aske, might receive; if he did knocke, might enter in. And thus (saith Pelagius) doth God <sup>q</sup> worke in us to will that which is good, to will that which is holy; whilest finding us given to earthly lusts, and like bruit beasts affecting only present things, he inflameth us with the greatnesse of the glory to come, and with promise of rewards; whilest by the revelation of his wisdom he raiseth up our stupified will to the desire of God; whilest he perswadeth us to all that good is. To this instructing and perswading grace doth Pelagius attribute the exciting of the Will: but the converting of it unto God (which followeth afterward) hee ascribeth wholly to the freedome of the will it selfe.

veniat; si petierit, recipiat; si pulsaverit, introeat. *Prospex in epist. ad Russos. de grat. & lib. arbitr.* <sup>q</sup> Operatur in nobis velle quod bonum est, velle quod sanctum est; dum nos terrenis cupiditatibus deditos, & mutorum more animalium tantummodo præsentia diligentes, futuræ gloriæ magnitudine & præmiorum pollicitatione succendit; dum revelatione sapientiæ in desiderium Dei stupentem suscitatur voluntatem; dum nobis suadet omne, quod bonum est. *Pelag. apud Augustin. lib. 1. de grat. Christi contra Pelag. cap. 10.*

o Dicunt Pelagiani, hanc esse solam non secundum merita nostra gratiam, quæ homini peccata dimittuntur.

*Id. de grat. & lib. arbitr. cap. 6.*

<sup>p</sup> Intellectum est enim, saluberrimèq; perspectum, hoc tantum eos de gratiâ cōfiteri, quod quædam libero arbitrio sit magistra; seque per cohortationes, per legem, per doctrinam, per creaturam, per contemplationem, per miracula, perque terrores extrinsecus iudicio ejus ostendat: quo unusquisque secundum voluntatis suæ motum, si quaesierit, in-

r Qui currit  
 ad Deum, & á  
 Deo se regi cu-  
 pit, id est, vo-  
 luntatem suam  
 ex ejus volun-  
 tate suspendit;  
 qui ei adhæ-  
 rendo jugiter,  
 unus, secun-  
 dum Aposto-  
 lum, cum eo  
 fit spiritus;  
 non hoc nisi de  
 arbitrij efficit  
 libertate. Quâ  
 qui bene uti-  
 tur, ita se to-  
 tum tradit  
 Deo, omnem-  
 que suam mor-  
 tificat volun-  
 tatem, ut cum  
 Apostolo possit  
 dicere; Vivo  
 autem jam non  
 ego, vivit au-  
 tem in me  
 Christus: po-  
 nitq; cor suum  
 in manu Dei,  
 ut illud quò  
 voluerit Deus  
 ipse declinet.  
 Pelagius, apud  
 Augustin. de gra-  
 tia Christi, lib. 1.  
 cap. 22, 23.

r He that runneth unto God, (saith he) and desireth to  
 be ruled by God, hanging his will upon Gods wil; he  
 who by adhering unto him continually, is made, according  
 to the Apostle, one spirit with him: doth not this but out  
 of the freedome of his will. Which freedome who so  
 useth aright, doth so commit himselfe wholly to God,  
 and mortifieth all his owne will, that he may say with  
 the Apostle; I live now, yet not I, but Christ liveth in  
 me: and doth put his heart into Gods hand, that God  
 may incline it whither it shall please him. Here have  
 you the full platforme laid downe of Pelagius his do-  
 ctrine touching the conversion of a sinner. First, he  
 supposeth a possibilitie in nature; whereby a man may  
 will and doe good. secondly, a corruption in act; where-  
 by a man doth will and doe the contrary. thirdly, an ex-  
 citing grace from God; whereby the minde is inlight-  
 ned, and the will perswaded (upon consideration of the  
 promises and threats propounded) to forsake that  
 lewd course of life, and to will and doe the things that  
 are good and holy. fourthly, an act of the free-will, thus  
 prepared by Gods exciting grace: whereby a man  
 (without any further helpe from God) doth volun-  
 tarily yeeld unto these good motions; and so run-  
 neth unto God, desireth to be ruled by him, hangeth his  
 will upon Gods will, and by adhering unto him is made one  
 spirit with him. fifthly, an assisting grace; whereby God  
 guideth the will thus converted, and inclineth the heart  
 whither it pleaseth him.

We see three kindes of Grace here commended unto  
 us by Pelagius. the first, a naturall grace (as he fondly  
 rearmed it) bringing with it a bare possibilitie only to  
 will and doe good: which he said was not given accor-  
 ding to merits, because he held it to be given at the very  
 beginning



beginning of mans being, before which he could not possibly merit any thing. the second, an exciting or perswading grace, imparted unto such as were *given to earthly lusts, and like brut beasts affected only present things*; who being in that case, were far from meriting any good thing at Gods hands: and in that regard he affirmed, that this grace likewise was given without any respect to precedent merits. the third, an assisting grace, by which God doth guide and incline the heart of the converted sinner, to the doing of all good: and this he maintained to be given as a reward to that act of the free-will, whereby it yeelded to the perswasions of the former exciting grace, and so did actually convert it selfe to God. Now this is <sup>r</sup> *the presumption which S. Augustine* condemneth so much in these men; that they durst say: *We worke to merit that God may worke with us. that they <sup>r</sup> would first give to God, that it might be recompensed to them againe: namely, they first give somewhat out of their free-will, that grace might be rendered to them againe for a reward. that they were of opinion; <sup>u</sup> that our merit consisted in this, that we were with God, and that his grace was given according to this merit, that he should also be with us: that our merit should be in this, that we doe seeke him; and according to this merit his grace was given that we should finde him.* For they that followed *Pelagius*, (refining herein a little the doctrine of their Master, and delivering it in somewhat a more plausible manner) declared that <sup>x</sup> the merits which they held to goe before grace and to procure

cum. Item meritum nostrum in eo esse, quod quærimus: & secundum hoc meritum dari ejus gratiam, ut inveniamus eum. *Id. de grat. & libero arbitr. cap. 5.* x Ibi enim vos ut video, ponere jam cœpistis merita gratiam præcedentia, quod est petere, quærere, pulsare; ut his meritis debita illa reddatur, ac sic gratia inaniter nuncupetur. *Id. contra Julian. Pelagian. lib. 4. cap. 8.*

r Nihil sic evertit hominum præsumptionem dicentium; Nos facimus, ut mereamur cum quibus faciat Deus. *Augustin. contra duas epist. Pelagian. lib. 4. cap. 6.*

r Priores volunt dare Deo, ut retribuatur eis: priores utique dare quodlibet ex libero arbitrio, ut sit gratia retribuenda pro præmio. *Ibid.*

u Meritum nostrum in eo esse, quod sumus cum Deo: ejus autem gratiam secundum hoc meritum dari, ut sit & ipse nobiscum.

y Dicunt enim, *et si non datur gratia secundum merita bonorum operum, quia per ipsam bene operamur, tamen secundum meritum bonæ voluntatis datur, quia bona voluntas (inquit) præcedit orantis, quam præcessit voluntas credentis; ut secundum hæc merita gratia sequatur exaudientis Dei.* *Id. de grat. & lib. arbit. cap. 14.*

z Quid ei hoc prodest? quando quidem non tam contra Manichæos defendunt, quam contra Catholicos extollunt liberum arbitrium. Sic enim volunt intelligi quod dictum est; Si volueritis & audiveritis me: *tanquam in ipsâ præcedente voluntate sit consequentis meritum gratiæ; ac si gratia jam non sit gratia, quæ non est gratuita, cum redditur debita. Si autem sic intelligerent quod dictum est, Si volueritis; ut etiam ipsam bonam voluntatem illum præparare confiterentur, de quo scriptum est, Præparatur voluntas à Domino: tanquam Catholici uterentur hoc testimonio; & non solum hæresim veterem Manichæorum vincerent, sed novam Pelagianorum contererent.* *Id. contr. duas epist. Pelagian. lib. 4. cap. 6.*

grace, were, asking, seeking, and knocking: and that *grace was given, not according to the merit of our good workes, (which they did acknowledge to be an effect, and not a cause of this grace) but of our good will only. because (said they) the good will of man praying went before, and the will of man beleeving went before that: that according to these merits the grace of God hearing might follow after.* And all this they did under colour of maintaining free-will against the *Manichees*: for which they urged much that testimony of the Prophet, *Esa. i. 19, 20. If yee be willing and hearken unto me, yee shall eat the good things of the land: but if yee refuse and will not hearken unto me, the sword shall consume them. But what doth this profit them? (saith S. Augustine) seeing they doe not so much defend free-will against the Manichees, as extoll it against the Catholickes. For so would they have that understood which is said; If yee be willing and hearken unto me: as if in that very precedent will there should be the meriting of the subsequent grace; and so grace should be now no grace, which is no gratuitie, when it is rendred as due. But if they would so understand that which is said, If yee be willing; that they would also confesse that he doth prepare that good will, of whom it is written, The will is prepared by the Lord: they should use this testimonie like Catholickes; and not only vanquish the old hereſie of the Manichees, but also crush the new of the Pelagians.*

Beside the professed *Pelagians*, who directly did denie Originall sinne; there arose others in the Church in *S. Augustines* daies, that were tainted not a little



with their errors in this point of Grace and Free-will; as namely one *Vitalis* in *Carthage*, and the *Semi-pelagians* (as they are commonly called) in *France*. For the first held, that <sup>a</sup> God did worke in us to will by his Scriptures either read or heard by us: but that to consent unto them or not consent is so in our power, that if we will it may be done, if we will not, we may make the operation of God to be of no force in us. For God doth worke (said he) as much as in him is that we may will, when his word is made knowne unto us: but if we will not yeeld unto it, we make that his operation shall have no profit in us. Against him *S. Augustine* disputeth largely in his 107. Epistle; where he maketh this to be the state of the question betwixt them; <sup>b</sup> Whether Grace doth goe before or follow after the Will of man, that is to say, (as he further explaineth it) Whether it be therefore given us, because we will; or by it God doth worke even this also, that we doe will. The worthy Doctor maintaineth that Grace goeth before, and worketh the will unto good: which he strongly proveth, both by the word of God and by the continuall practise of the Church, in her prayers and thanksgivings for the conversion of unbelievers. <sup>c</sup> For if thou dost confesse (saith he) that we are to pray for them, surely thou dost pray that they may consent to the doctrine of God, with their will freed from the power of darknesse. And thus it will come to passe, that

a Per legem suam, per Scripturas suas Deum operari ut velimus quas vel legimus vel audimus: sed eis consentire vel non consentire ita non strum est, ut si velimus fiat; si autem nolumus, nihil in nobis operationem Dei valere faciamus. Operatur quippe ille, dicis, quantum in ipso est ut velimus, cum nobis nota fiunt ejus eloquia: sed si eis acquiescere nolumus, nos ut operatio ejus nihil in nobis proficiat efficiamus.

*Id. epist. 107. ad Vitalem.* b Utrum præcedat hæc gratia an subsequatur hominis voluntatem, hoc est, (ut planius id eloquar) utrum ideo nobis detur, quia volumus, an per ipsam Deus etiam hoc efficiat ut velimus. *Ibid.* c Si fateris pro eis orandum, id utique orandum fateris, ut doctrinæ divinæ arbitrio liberato à tenebrarum potestate consentiant. Ita fit ut neque fideles fiant nisi libero arbitrio; & tamen illius gratiâ fideles fiant, qui eorum à potestate tenebrarum liberavit arbitrium. Sic & Dei gratia non negatur, sed sine ullis humanis præcedentibus meritis vera monstratur: & liberum ita defenditur, ut humilitate solidetur, non elatione præcipitetur arbitrium; & qui gloriatur, non in homine, vel quolibet alio vel seipso, sed in Domino gloriatur. *Ibid.*

neither

d Quomodo  
Deus expectat  
voluntates ho-  
minum, ut  
præveniant  
eum, quibus  
det gratiam:  
cùm gratias ei  
non immeritò  
agamus de ijs  
quibus non ei  
credentibus, &  
ejus doctrinam  
voluntate im-  
piâ persequen-  
tibus miseri-  
cordiam præ-  
rogavit; eosque  
ad seipsum om-  
nipotentissimâ  
facilitate con-  
vertit, ac vo-  
lentes ex no-  
lentibus fecit?  
ut quid ei inde  
gratias agimus,  
si hoc ipse non  
fecit? Ibid.  
c Prorsus non  
oramus Deum,  
sed orare nos  
fingimus; si  
nos ipsos non  
illum credimus  
facere quod

oramus. Prorsus non gratias Deo agimus, sed nos agere fingimus; si unde illi gratias agimus, ipsum facere non putamus. Labia dolosa si in hominum quibuscunque sermo- nibus sunt, saltem in orationibus non sint. Absit, ut quod facere Deum rogamus oribus & vocibus nostris, eum facere negemus cordibus nostris: & quod est gravius ad alios de- cipiendos, hoc non taceamus disputationibus nostris: & dum volumus apud homines de- fendere liberum arbitrium, apud Deum perdamus orationis auxilium, & gratiarum actio- ne non habeamus veram, dum veram non agnoscimus gratiam. Si verè volumus de- fendere liberum arbitrium; non oppugnemus unde fit liberum. Nam qui oppugnat gra- tiam, quâ nostrum ad declinandum à malo, & faciendum bonum liberatur arbitrium, ipse arbitrium suum adhuc vult esse captivum. Ibid.

*neither men shall be made to be beleevers but by their free- will; and yet shall be made beleevers by his grace, who hath freed their will from the power of darknesse. Thus both Gods grace is not denied, but is shewed to be true without any humane merits going before it: and free-will is so defended, that it is made solide with humilitie, and not throwne downe headlong by being lifted up; that he that rejoyceth, may not rejoyce in man, either any other or yet himselfe, but in the Lord. and againe: "How doth God expect the wills of men that they should prevent him, to whom he might give grace: when we doe give him thanks not undeservedly in the behalfe of them, whom not belee- ving, and persecuting his doctrine with an ungodly will, he hath prevented with his mercy, and with a most omnipotent facilitie converted them unto himselfe, and made them willing of unwilling? Why doe we give him thanks for this, if he himselfe did not this? " Questionlesse we doe not pray to God, but faine that we doe pray, if we beleeve that not he, but our selves be the doers of that which we pray for. Questionlesse we doe not give thanks to God, but faine that we give thanks; if we doe not thinke that he doth the thing, for which we give him thanks. If deceitfull lips be found in any other speeches of men, at leastwise let them not be found in prayers. Farre be it from us, that what we doe beseech God to doe with our mouthes and voices,*



we should denie that he doth it in our hearts : and, which is more grievous, to the deceiving of others also, not conceale the same in our disputations ; and whilest we will needs defend free-will before men, we should leese the helpe of prayer with God, and not have true giving of thanks, whilest we doe not acknowledge true grace. If we will truly defend free-will, let us not oppugne that by which it is made free. For who so oppugneth grace, whereby our will is made free to decline from evill and to doe good ; he will have his will to be still captive. Thus doth S. Augustine deale with Vitalis : to whom he saith, <sup>f</sup> I doe not beleeeve indeed that thou art a Pelagian hereticke ; but so I would have thee to be, that no part of that error may passe unto thee, or be left in thee.

The doctrine of the Semi-pelagians in France is related by *Prosper Aquitanicus* and *Hilarius Arelatensis*, in their severall epistles written to S. Augustine of this argument. <sup>g</sup> They doe agree (saith Hilarius) that all men were lost in Adam, and that from thence no man by his proper will can be freed : but this they say is agreeable to the truth, or answerable to the preaching of the word ; that when the meanes of obtaining salvation is declared to such as are cast downe and would never rise againe by their owne strength, they by that merit, whereby they doe will and beleeeve that they can be healed from their disease, may obtaine both the increase of that faith, and the effecting of their whole health. And <sup>h</sup> that grace is not denied, when such a will as this is said to goe before it, which seeketh

eo merito, quo voluerint & crediderint á suo morbo se posse sanari, & ipsius fidei augmentum, & totius sanitatis suæ consequantur effectum. *Hilar. epist. ad Augustin.* h Nec negari gratiam, si præcedere dicatur talis voluntas, quæ tantum medicum quærat ; non autem quicquam ipsa jam valeat. Nam illa testimonia, ut est illud, Sicut unicuique partitus est mensuram fidei, & similia, ad id volunt valere, ut adjuvetur qui coeperit velle ; non ut etiam donetur, ut velit. *Ibid.*

only a Physitian, but is not of it selfe otherwise able to doe any thing. For as touching that place, As he hath distributed to every one the measure of faith; and other like testimonies: they would have them make for this, that he should be holpen that hath begun to will; but not that this also should be given unto him, that he might will. Prosper in his Pœms doth thus deliver it.

i Prosp. de In-  
gratis, cap. 10.

i Gratia quâ Christi populus sumus, hoc cohibetur.  
Limite vobiscum, & formam hanc asseribitis illi:  
Ut cunctos vocet illi quidem, invitet q̃; nec ullum.  
Præteriens, studeat communem adferre salutem  
Omnibus, & totum peccato absolvere mundum.  
Sed proprio quem q̃ arbitrio parere vocanti,  
Iudicio q̃ suo; motâ se extendere mente  
Ad lucem oblatam; quæ se non subtrahat ulli,  
Sed cupidos recti iuvet, illustret q̃ volentes.  
Hinc adiutoris Domini bonitate magistrâ  
Crescere virtutum studia; ut quod quis q̃ petendum  
Mandatis didicit, jugi sectetur amore.  
Esse autem edoctis istam communiter aquam  
Libertatem animis, ut cursum explere beatum  
Persistendo queant: finem effectum q̃ petillum  
Dante Deo, ingenijs qui nunquam desit honestis.  
Sed quia non idem est cunctis vigor, & variarum  
Illecebris rerum trahitur dispersa voluntas:  
Sponte aliquos vitijs succumbere, qui potuissent  
A lapsu re vocare pedem, stabiles q̃ manere.

Against these opinions, S. Augustine wrote his two bookes, of the Predestination of the Saints, and of the gift of Perseverance: in the former whereof he hath this memorable passage among divers others.

Many



\* Many heare the word of truth; but some doe beleeeve, others doe contradict. Therefore these have a will to beleeeve, the others have not. Who is ignorant of this? who would denie it? But seeing the will is to some prepared by the Lord, to others not, we are to discern what doth proceed from his mercy, and what from his iudgement. That which Israël did seeke (saith the Apostle) he obtained not: but the election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded, (Rom. II. 7.) Behold mercy and judgement; mercy in the election which hath obtained the righteousness of God, but judgement upon the rest that were blinded: and yet the one because they would, did beleeeve; the others because they would not, did not beleeeve. Mercy therefore and judgement were executed even upon the wills themselves. Against the same opinions divers treatises were published by Prosper also; who chargeth these men with <sup>1</sup> nourishing the poyson of the Pelagian pravitie, by their positions: inasmuch as 1. the beginning of salvation is naughtily placed in man by them. 2. the will of man is impiously preferred before the will of God: as if therefore one should be holpen because he did will, and did not therefore will because he was holpen. 3. a man originally evil is naughtily beleeeved to begin his receiving of good, not from the highest good, but from himselfe. 4. it is thought that God may otherwise be pleased, than out of that which he himselfe hath bestowed. But he maintaineth constantly, that both the beginning and ending of a

k Multi audiunt verbum veritatis; sed alij credunt, alij contradicunt. Volunt ergo isti credere, nolunt autem illi. Quis hoc ignoret? quis hoc neget? Sed cum alijs præparetur, alijs non præparetur voluntas à Domino: discernendum est utique quid veniat de misericordia ejus, quid de iudicio. Quod quærebat Israël, ait Apostolus, hoc non est consecutus: electio autem consecuta est, ceteri verò exæcati sunt, &c. Ecce misericordia & iudicium; misericordia in electione quæ consecuta est iustitiam Dei, iudicium verò in cæteros qui exæcati sunt: & tamen illi quia voluerunt, crediderunt; illi quia noluerunt, non crediderunt. Misericordia igitur & iudicium in ipsis voluntatibus facta sunt. Augustin. d. Prædestinat. Sanctar. cap. 6. 1 In istis Pelagianæ pravitatis reliquijs non mediocris virulentia fibra nutritur, si principium salutis malè in homine collocatur; si divinæ voluntati impiæ voluntas humana præferatur, ut idè quis adjuvetur quia voluit, non idè quia adjuvatur velit; si originaliter malus receptionem boni non à summo bono, sed à semetipso inchoare malè creditur; si abunde Deo placeatur, nisi ex eo quod ipse donaverit. Prosp. in epist. ad Augustin.

mans conversion is wholly to be ascribed unto grace: and that God effecteth this grace in us, *not by way of counsell and perswasion only, but by an inward change and reformation of the minde ; making up a new vessell of a broken one, by a creating vertue.*

m *Id. de Ingratis, cap. 14.*

*m Non hoc consilio tantum hortatuq̃ benigno  
Suadens atq̃ docens, quasi normam legis haberet  
Gratia : sed mutans intus mentem, atq̃ reformans,  
Vasq̃ novum ex fracto fingens, virtute creandi.*

n *Opuscula  
Cassiani, Pref-  
byteri Gallia-  
rum, apocry-  
pha. Opuscula  
Fausti Rhegi-  
ensis Gallia-  
rum, apocry-  
pha. Concil. Ro-  
man. I. sub Gela-  
so.*

o *Si quis invo-  
catione huma-  
nâ gratiam Dei  
dicit posse con-  
ferri ; non au-  
tem ipsam gra-  
tiam facere, ut  
invocetur a no-  
bis: contradicit  
Esaiæ Prophe-  
tæ, vel Aposto-  
lo idem dicen-  
ti ; Inventus  
sum a non qua-  
rentibus me,  
palâm apparui  
ijs qui me non  
interrogabant.  
Concil. Arausi-  
can. II. Can. 3.*

The Writers of principal esteeme on the other side, were *n Iohannes Cassianus*, and *Faustus Regiensis* or *Rei-ensis* : the former of which was encountred by *Prosper* (in his booke *Contra Collatorem*) the latter by *Fulgentius*, *Ioh. Maxentius*, *Facundus*, *Casarius*, *Iohannes Antiochenus* : as also by *Gelasius* and his *Romane Synod* of *Lxx*. Bishops, the writings of them both were reje-cted amongst the bookes *Apocryphall*. And lastly by the joint authoritie both of the See of *Rome*, and of the *French Bishops* assembled in the *second Councell* of *Orange*, in the yeare of our Lord *dxix*. sentence was giuen against the *Pelagians* and *Semi-Pelagians* in generall, that their opinions touching *Grace* and *Free-will*, were not agreeable to the rule of the *Catholike faith*: and these conclusions following, among sundrie others, determined in particular.

o *If any doth say, that by mans prayer the grace of God may be conferred ; and that it is not grace it selfe which maketh, that God is prayed unto by us : he contradicteth the Prophet Esay, or the Apostle saying the same thing ; I was found of them that sought me not, and have beene made manifest to them that asked not after me, (Esai. 65. 1. Rom. 10. 20.)*

If



**P** If any man defend, that God doth expect our will, that we may be purged from sinne; and doth not confesse, that this will of ours to be purged, is wrought in us by the infusion and operation of the holy Ghost: he resisteth the holy Ghost, saying by Salomon; The will is prepared by the Lord, (Prov. 8. 35. according to the LXX.) and the Apostle preaching wholesomely; It is God which worketh in you, both to will and to doe, of his good pleasure: (Phil. 2. 13.)

**Q** If any man say, that to us, without grace, beleeving, willing, desiring, endeavouring, labouring, watching, studying, asking, seeking, knocking, mercie is conferred by God; and doth not confesse, that it is wrought in us by the infusion and inspiration of the holy Ghost, that we may beleeve, will, or doe all these things as we ought; and doth make the helpe of grace to follow after mans either humilitie or obedience, neither doth yeeld that it is the gift of grace it selfe, that we are obedient and humble: he resisteth the Apostle, saying; What hast thou, that thou hast not received? (1 Cor. 4. 7.) and, By the grace of God I am that I am, (1 Cor. 15. 10.)

**R** It is of Gods gift, both when we doe thinke aright, and when we hold our feet from falshood and unrighteousnesse. For as oft as we doe good things, God worketh in us, and with us, that we may worke.

**T** There are many good things done in man, which man doth not. But man doth no good things, which God doth not make man to doe.

petētib, quārentib, pulsantib nobis misericordiam dicit cōferri divinitus; non autē ut credamus, velimus, vel hēc omnia sicut oportet agere valeamus, per infusionē & inspirationem sancti Spiritus in nobis fieri confiterur; & aut humilitati aut obedientiæ humanæ subjungit gratiæ adiutorium, nec ut obedientes & humiles simus ipsius gratiæ donum esse consentit: resistit Apostolo dicenti; Quid habes, quod non accepisti? et, Gratiā Dei sum id quod sum. *Can. 6.* **r** Divini est muneris, cum & rectē cogitamus, & pedes nostros ā falsitate & injustitiā tenemus, Quoties enim bona agimus, Deus in nobis atq; nobiscum, ut operemur, operatur. *Can. 9.* **I** Multa in homine bona fiunt, quæ non facit homo. Nulla verō facit homo bona, quæ non Deus præstet, ut faciat homo. *Can. 20.*

t Hoc etiam  
salubriter pro-  
fitemur & cre-  
dimus, quòd in  
omni opere  
bono non nos  
incipimus, &  
postea per Dei  
misericordiam  
adjuvamus; sed  
ipse nobis, nul-  
lis præcedenti-  
bus bonis me-  
ritis, & fidem  
& amorem sui  
prius inspirat,  
ut & baptismi  
sacramenta fi-  
deliter requira-  
mus, & post  
baptismum  
cum ipsius ad-  
jutorio ea quæ  
sibi sunt placita  
implere possi-  
mus. Can. ult.  
u Concil. tom. 2.  
part. 1. pag. 639.  
edit. Colon. an.  
1618.

x Gratiam se-  
cundum meri-  
ta nostra dari  
intelligent Pa-  
tres, cum ali-  
quid sit pro-

prijs viribus, ratione cujus datur gratia, etiamsi non sit illud meritum de condigno. *Bel-  
larm. de Grat. & lib. Arbitr. lib. 6. cap. 5.* y Ita semper gratia Dei nostro in bonam partem  
cooperatur arbitrio, atq; in omnibus illud adjuvat, protegit ac defendit, ut nonnunquam  
etiam ab eo quosdam conatus bonæ voluntatis vel exigit, vel expectet; ne penitus dor-  
mienti aut inertis otio dissoluto, sua dona cōferre videatur: occasiones quodammodo qua-  
rens, quibus humanæ segnitiei torpore discusso, non irrationabilis munificentia suæ lar-  
gitas videatur, dum eam sub colore cujusdam desiderij ac laboris impartit. & nihilominus  
gratia Dei semper gratuita perseveret; dum exiguis quibusdam parvisq; conatibus tan-  
tam immortalitatis gloriam, tanta perennis beatitudinis dona, inæstimabili tribuit largi-  
tate. *Io. Cassian. Collat. 13. cap. 13.*

\* This also doe we wholesomely professe and beleve,  
that in every good worke we doe not beginne, and are holpen  
afterwards by the mercie of God; but hee first of all, no  
good merits of ours going before, inspireth into us both faith  
and the love of him: that we may both faithfully seeke the  
Sacrament of Baptisme, and after Baptisme with his helpe,  
we may fulfill the things that are pleasing unto him.

Touching which last Canon we may note: First for  
the reading, that in the Tomes of the Councils set out  
by *Binius*, it is most notoriously corrupted. For where  
the Councell hath, *Nullis præcedentibus bonis meritis*,  
No good merits going before; there wee reade, " *Multis  
præcedentibus bonis meritis*, Many good merits going before.  
Secondly, for the meaning, that \* the Fathers under-  
stand grace to be given according to merits; when any thing  
is done by our owne strength, in respect whereof grace is gi-  
ven, although it be no merit of condignitie: as both *Bellar-  
mine* himselfe doth acknowledge in the explication of  
the determination of the *Palastine* Synod against *Pela-  
gius*; and in the case of the *Semi-Pelagians*, as it is deli-  
vered by *Cassianus*, is most evident. For y the grace of  
God (saith he) doth alwaies so cooperate to the good part  
with our Free-will, and in all things helpe, protect and de-  
fend it, that sometime it either requireth, or expecteth from  
it some endeavours of a good will; that it may not seeme to

conferre



conferre its gifts upon one that is altogether sleeping, and given to sluggish idlenesse: seeking occasions after a sort, whereby the dulnesse of humane slothfulnesse being shaken off, the largenesse of its bountie may not seeme to be unreasonable, while it imparteth the same under the colour of a kinde of desire and labour. Yet so notwithstanding that grace may alwaies continue to be gracious and free; while to such kinde of small and little endevours, with an inestimable largesse it giveth so great glory of immortalitie, so great gifts of everlasting blisse. <sup>2</sup> Let humane frailtie therefore endevour as much as it will, it cannot be equall to the retribution that is to come; neither by the labours thereof doth it so diminish Gods grace, that it dati not alwaies continue to be given freely.

z. Quantumlibet ergo enisafuerit humana fragilitas, futuræ retributioni par esse non poterit; nec ita laboribus suis divinam immunit gratiam, ut non semper gratuita perseveret. Ibid. a Prosp. contr. Collator. cap. 3. & 17. Tom. 7. Oper. Augustini.

Where you may observe, from what fountaine the Schoole-men did derive their doctrine of workes preparatorie, meriting grace by way of congruities, though not of condignitie. For *Cassianus* (whom <sup>a</sup> *Prosper* chargeth, notwithstanding all this qualifying of the matter, to be a maintainer in very deed of that damned point of Pelagianisme; that the grace of God was given according to our merits) *Cassianus*, I say, was a man that bare great sway in our Monasteries, where his writings were accounted as the Monkes generall Rules: and untill the other day, *Faustus* himselfe (who of all others most cunningly opposed the doctrine of *S. Augustine* touching grace and free-will) was accepted in the Popish Schooles for a reverend Doctor and a Catholike Bishop. Yea the workes of *Pelagius* himselfe were had in such account, that some of them (as his Epistle *ad Demetriadem* for example, and his Exposition upon *S. Pauls* Epistles, which are fraught with his hereticall opinions) have passed from hand to hand, as if they had beene

b Ecce enim  
(quod non nisi  
tactus dolore  
cordis intrinse-  
cus refero) si-  
cut olim contra  
unicum Dei  
Prophetam  
octingenti &  
quingenta  
Prophetæ Baal,  
& similes sunt  
reperi, quibus  
& innumerabi-  
lis populus ad-  
hærebat: ita &  
hodie in hac  
causâ; quot,  
Domine, hodie  
cum Pelagio  
pro libero Ar-

bitrio contra gratuitam Gratiâ tuam pugnant, & contra Paulum pugilem gratiæ spiri-  
tualis? *Tho. Bradwardin. Præfat. in libros de Causâ Dei contra Pelag.* c Totus etenim penè  
mundus post Pelagium abiit in errorem. Exurge igitur Domine, judica causam tuam; &  
sustinentem te sustine, protege, roborâ, consolare. *Ibid.* d Liberi arbitrij defensores,  
imò deceptores quia inflatores, & inflatores quia præsumptores. *Augustin. Epist. 105. ad  
Sixtum.* Vani, non defensores, sed inflatores liberi arbitrij. *Id. in opere postremo contra Iu-  
lian. Pelagian. lib. 2.* Non defensores, sed inflatores & præcipitatores liberi arbitrij. *Id. de  
Grat. & lib. arbitrij. cap. 14.*

beene written by *S. Hierome*; and as such, have beene al-  
ledged against us by some of our Adversaries in this  
very question of *Free-will*. The lesse is it to be wonde-  
red, that three hundred yeares agoe in the mid-night of  
Popery, the profound Doctor *Thomas Bradwardin* (then  
Chancellor of *London*, and afterwards Archbishop of  
*Canterbury*) should beginne his Disputations, Of the  
cause of God against *Pelagius* with this lamentable com-  
plaint. <sup>b</sup> Behold, (I speake it, with griefe of heart touched  
inwardly) as in old time against one Prophet of God, there  
were found eight hundred and fiftie Prophets of Baal; un-  
to whom an innumerable company of people did adhere: so  
at this day, in this cause, how many (O Lord) doe now fight  
with *Pelagius* for *Free-will* against thy free grace, and a-  
gainst *Paul*, the spirituall Champion of grace? <sup>c</sup> For the  
whole world almost is gone after *Pelagius* into error. Arise  
therefore, O Lord, judge thine owne cause; and him that  
defendeth thee, defend, protect, strengthen, comfort. To  
whose judgement I also now leave these <sup>d</sup> Vaine defen-  
ders, or (as *S. Augustine* rightly censureth them) de-  
ceivers, and puffers up, and presumptuous extollers of  
*Free-will*.

## OF MERITS.

**I**N the last place we are told, that the Fathers of the  
Unspotted Church of *Rome* did teach, That man for  
his



his meritorious workes receiveth, through the assistance of Gods grace, the blisse of everlasting happinesse. But our Challenger, I suppose, will hardly finde one Father either of the spotted or unspotted Church of Rome, that ever spake so babishly herein, as he maketh them all to doe. That man, by the assistance of Gods grace, may doe meritorious workes, we have read in divers Authors, and in divers meanings. But after these workes done, that a man should receive through the assistance of Gods grace the blisse of everlasting happinesse, is such a peece of gibbrish, as I doe not remember that before now I have ever met withall even in Babel it selfe. For with them that understand what they speake, assistance hath reference to the doing of the worke, not to the receiving of the reward: and simply to say, that a man for his meritorious workes (taking merit here as the Romanists in this question would have it taken) receiveth through Gods grace the blisse of everlasting happinesse; is to speake flat contrarieties, and to conjoine those things, that cannot possibly be coupled together. For that conclusion of Bernard is most certaine: <sup>a</sup> *There is no place for* grace to enter, where merit hath taken possession. because it is grounded upon the Apostles determination, Rom. 11. 6. *If it be of grace, it is no more of workes: or else were grace no more grace.*

<sup>a</sup> Non est in quo gratia intrat, ubi jam meritum occupavit. Bernard. in Cantic. Ser. 67.

Neither doe we therefore take away the reward, because we deny the merit of good workes. Wee know, that in the keeping of Gods Commandements there is great reward; Psal. 19. 11. and that unto him who soweth righteousness, there shall be a sure reward; Prov. 11. 18. But the question is, whence he that soweth in this manner, must expect to reape so great and so sure a harvest? Whether from Gods justice; which he must doe

if hee stand as the Iesuites would have him doe upon merit : or from his *mercie* ; as a recompence freely bestowed out of Gods gracious bountie, and not in justice due for the worth of the worke performed. Which question, we thinke, the Prophet *Hosea* hath sufficiently resolved ; when he biddeth us *sow to our selves in righteousness*, and *reape in MERCIE*, *Hose. 10. 12.* Neither doe we hereby any whit detract from the truth of that axiome, That *God will give every man according to his works*: for still the question remaineth the very same; whether God may not judge a man according to his workes, when he sitteth upon the *throne of grace*, as well as when he sitteth upon the *throne of justice*? and wee thinke here, that the Prophet *David* hath fully cleared the case, in that one sentence, *Psal. 62. 12. With thee, O Lord, is MERCY: for thou rewardest every one according to his worke.*

Originally therefore, and in it selfe, we hold that this reward proceedeth meerely from Gods free bountie and *mercie* : but accidentally, in regard that God hath tied himselfe by his word and promise to, conferre such a reward, we grant that it now proveth in a sort to be an act of *justice*. even as in *forgiving of our sins* ( which in it selfe all men know to be an act of *mercie* ) he is said to be *faithfull and just*, 1 *Ioh. 1. 9.* namely, in regard of the faithfull performance of his promise. For promise, we see, amongst honest men is counted a due debt. but the thing promised being free, and on our part altogether undeserved, if the promiser did not performe, and proved not to be so good as his word ; he could not properly be said to doe me wrong, but rather to wrong himself, by impairing his own credit. And therefore *Aquinas* himselfe confesseth,<sup>b</sup> *that God is not hereby simply made*

<sup>b</sup> Non sequitur, quod Deus efficiatur simpliciter debitor nobis, sed sibi ipsi; in quantum debitum est, ut sua ordinatio impleatur. *Thom. 1. 2. Quest. 14. art. 1. ad 3.*



made a debter to us, but to himselfe; in as much as it is requisite that his owne ordinance should be fulfilled. Thus was Moses carefull to put the children of Israel in minde touching the Land of Canaan (which was a type of our eternall habitation in Heaven) that it was a Land of promise, and not of merit: which God did give them to possesse, not for their righteousness, or for their upright heart, but that he might performe the word which he sware unto their Fathers, Abraham, Izhak, and Jacob, (Deut. 9. 5.) Whereupon the Levites say, in their praier unto God, Nehem. 9. 8. *Thou madest a covenant with Abraham, to give unto his seed the Land of the Canaanites; and hast performed thy word, because thou art Iust.* Now because the Lord had made a like promise of the Crowne of life to them that love him: (Iam. 1. 12.) therefore S. Paul doth not sticke in like manner to attribute this also to Gods justice. Henceforth (saith he, 2 Tim. 4. 8.) *is laid up for me the crowne of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Iudge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.* Upon which place, Bernard, in his booke of Grace and Free-will, saith most sweetly. *That therefore which Paul expecteth, is a crowne of righteousness, but of Gods righteousness, not his owne. For it is just that he should give what he oweth, and he oweth what he hath promised: and this is the righteousness of God, of which the Apostle presumeth, the promise of God.*

But this will not content our Iesuites, unlesse wee yeeld unto them; *that wee doe as properly and truly merit rewards, when with the grace of God we doe well, as we doe merit punishments, when without grace we do evill.* So saith Maldonat. that is to say, unlesse we maintaine, *that the good workes of just persons doe merit eternall*

c Est ergo quā  
Paulus expe-  
ctat, corona ju-  
stitiæ, sed justi-  
tiæ Dei, non  
suar. Iustum  
quippe est ut  
reddat quod  
debet; debet  
autem quod  
pollicitus est.  
Et hæc est justi-  
tia Dei, de quā  
præsumit Apo-  
stolus, promissio  
Dei. Bern. li.  
de Gratia, & li-  
bero arbitrio.

d Nos tam  
propriè ac verè  
cum gratiâ Dei  
bene agentes  
præmia mere-  
ri, quàm sine il-  
lâ malè agen-  
tes supplicia  
meremur. 10.  
Maldonat. in  
Ezech. 13. 20.

c Opera bona  
justorum meri-  
toria esse vitæ  
æternæ ex con-  
digno, non so-  
lùm ratione pa-  
cti & accepta-  
tionis, sed eti-  
am ratione o-  
peris; ita ut in  
opere bono ex  
gratiâ proce-  
dente, sit quæ-  
dam proportio  
& æqualitas ad  
præmium vitæ  
æternæ. Bellay.

life condignely, not only by reason of Gods covenant and acceptance, but also by reason of the worke it selfe: so that in a good worke proceeding from grace, there may be a certaine proportion and equalitie unto the reward of eternall life.

So saith Cardinall Bellarmine. For the further opening whereof, Vasquez taketh upon him to prove in order these three distinct Propositions. First, <sup>f</sup> *that the good*

*workes of just persons are of themselves, without any covenant and acceptance, worthy of the reward of eternall life;*

*and have an equall value of condignitie to the obtaining of eternall glorie.* Secondly, <sup>g</sup> *That no accession of dignitie*

*doth come to the workes of the just by the merits or person of Christ; which the same should not have otherwise, if*

*they had beene done by the same grace bestowed liberally by God alone without Christ.* Thirdly, <sup>h</sup> *That Gods promise*

*is annexed indeed to the workes of just men, yet it belongeth no way to the reason of the merit; but commeth rather to*

*the workes, which are alreadie not worthy only, but also meritorious.* Unto all which hee addeth afterwards this

Corollary. <sup>i</sup> *Seeing the works of a just man doe condignely merit eternall life, as an equall recompence and reward:*

f Opera bona  
justorum ex  
seipfis, absq; ul-  
lo pacto & ac-  
ceptione,  
digna esse re-  
muneratione  
vitæ æternæ;  
& æqualem va-  
lorem condig-  
nitatis habere  
ad consequen-  
dam æternam  
gloriam. Gabr.  
Vasquez. Com-  
mentar. in 1<sup>am</sup>.  
2<sup>æ</sup>. qu. 114 disp.  
214 ca. 5. init.  
g Operibus  
justorum nul-  
lum dignitatis  
accrementum

provenire ex meritis aut personâ Christi, quod aliâs eadem non haberent, si fierent ex eâdem gratiâ à solo Deo liberaliter sine Christo collatâ. *Ibid. init. cap. 7.* h Operibus justorum accessisse quidem divinam promissionem: eam tamen nullo modo pertinere ad rationem meriti; sed potius advenire operibus, non tantum jam dignis, sed etiam jam meritorijs. *Ibid. init. cap. 8.* i Cum opera justî condigné mereantur vitam æternam, tanquam æqualem mercedem, & præmium: non opus est interventu alterius meriti condigni, quale est meritum Christi, ut eis reddatur vita æterna. quinimo aliquid habet peculiare meritum cujuscunq; justî respectu ipsius hominis justî, quod non habet meritum Christi: nempe reddere ipsum hominem justum, & dignum æternâ vitâ, ut eam digné consequatur. meritum autem Christi licet dignissimum sit, quod obtineat à Deo gloriam pro nobis; tamen non habet hanc efficaciam & virtutem, ut reddat nos formaliter justos, & dignos æternâ vitâ: sed per virtutem ab ipso derivatam hunc consequuntur effectum homines in seipfis. Et ita nunquam petimus à Deo per merita Christi, ut nostris dignis operibus & meritorijs reddatur merces æternæ vitæ: sed ut per Christum detur nobis gratia, quâ possumus digné hanc mercedem promereri. *Id. ibid. disput. 222. cap. 3. num. 30. 31.*

there



there is no need that any other condigne merit, such as is the merit of Christ, should come betweene, that eternall life might be rendred unto them. Yea the merit of every just man hath somewhat peculiar in respect of the just man himselfe, which the merit of Christ hath not: namely, to make the man himselfe just, and worthie of eternall life, that hee may worthily obtaine the same. But the merit of Christ, although it be most worthie to obtaine glory of God for us, yet it hath not this efficacy and vertue, to make us formally just, and worthy of eternall life: but men by vertue derived from him, attaine this effect in themselves. And so we never request of God by the merits of Christ, that the reward of eternall life may be given to our worthy and meritorious workes: but that by Christ grace may be given unto us, whereby we may be enabled worthily to merit this reward.

In a word: <sup>k</sup> Our merits (saith hee) have this force in us, that they make us formally worthy of eternall life: the merits of Christ doe not make us worthy formally; but Christ is worthy, in regard of them, to impetrate unto us whatsoever he requesteth for us.

Thus doth Vasquez the Iesuite discover unto us to the full the mysterie of this iniquitie: with whom (for the better information of the English Reader) wee joine our Rhemists, who deliver this as their Catholike doctrine. <sup>l</sup> that all good workes done by Gods grace after the first justification, be truly and properly meritorious, and fully worthy of everlasting life: and that thereupon heaven is the due and just stipend, crowne, or recompence, which God by his justice oweth to the persons so working by his grace. (For he rendreth or repayeth heaven, say they, as a just Judge, and not only as a mercifull giver: and the crowne which he payeth, is not only of mercy, or favour, or grace, but also of justice.) And againe. <sup>m</sup> that mans workes

<sup>k</sup> Merita nostra in nobis hanc vim habent, ut reddant nos formaliter dignos vitam eternam: merita autem Christi non reddunt nos dignos formaliter; sed Christus dignus est, qui propter illa nobis impetret quicquid ipse pro nobis petierit. Ibid. num.

<sup>l</sup> Rhem. annotat. in 2 Tim. 4. 8.

<sup>m</sup> Ibidem in Luc. 20. 35.

n *Iid. in 1. Co-  
rinth. 3.8.*

o *Ibid.*

p *Si inutilis  
est, qui fecit  
omnia: quid  
de illo dicen-  
dum est, qui  
explere non  
potuit? Hiero-  
nym. ad Ctesiphōt.*

contr. *Pelag.*

q *De aeternā  
vitā scimus,*

*quia non sunt  
condignae pas-  
siones hujus*

*temporis ad  
futuram glori-*

*am; nec, si unus  
omnes sustine-*

*at. Neque  
enim talia sunt*

*hominum me-  
rita, ut propter*

*ea vita aeterna  
deberetur ex*

*jure; aut Deus  
injuriam ali-*

*quam faceret,  
nisi eam dona-*

*ret. Nam, ut ta-*

*ceam quod  
merita omnia*

*dona Dei sunt,*

*& ita homo  
magis propter*

*ipsa Deo debi-  
tor est, quam*

*Deus homini:  
quid sunt me-*

*rita omnia ad  
tantam glori-*

*am? Bernard.  
serm. 1. in An-*

*nantiat. B. Ma-  
ric.*

done by Christs grace, doe condignely or worthily deserve eternall joy: so as <sup>a</sup> works can be none other but the value, desert, price, worth, and merit of the same. Whereupon they put us in minde, <sup>o</sup> that the word, Reward, which in our English tongue may signifie a voluntarie or bountifull gift, doth not here so well expresse the nature of the Latine word, Merces, or the Greeke Μισθός: which are rather the very stipend that the hired work-man or journey-man covenanteth to have of him whose worke he doth; and is a thing equally and justly answering to the time and weight of his travels and workes, rather than a free gift.

This is that doctrine of merits, which from our very hearts we detest and abhorre; as utterly repugnant to the truth of God, and the common sense of all true-hearted Christians. The lesson which our Saviour taught his disciples, is farre different from this, Luk. 17.10. *When ye have done all those things which are commanded you, say: We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our dutie to doe. And <sup>p</sup> if he be unprofitable (saith S. Hierome) who hath done all: what is to be said of him, who could not fulfill them?* So likewise the Romanes themselves might remember, that they were taught by S. Paul at the beginning: that there is no proportion of condignitie to be found betwixt not the actions only but the passions also of the Saints, and the reward that is reserved for us in the world to come. For I reckon, that the sufferings of this present time, are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us: saith he, Rom. 8.18. and Bernard thereupon: <sup>a</sup> *Concerning the life eternall we know, that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the future glory; no, not if one man did sustaine them all. For the merits of men are not such, that for them*



them eternall life should be due of right; or God should doe any iniurie, if he did not give it. For, to let passe that all merits are Gods gifts, and in that respect a man is for them made a debter to God, more than God to man: what are all merits in comparison of so great a glory? and S. Ambrose long before him: <sup>r</sup> All those things which we suffer, are too little and unworthy, for the paines whereof there should be rendred unto us so great reward of good things to come, as shall be revealed in us, when being reformed according to the image of God we shall merit (or obtaine) to see his glory face to face.

Where for the better understanding of the meaning of the Fathers in this point, we may further observe, that *merits* in their writings doe ordinarily signifie nothing but *workes* (as in the alleaged place of Bernard:) and <sup>r</sup> to *merit*, simply to *procure* or to *attaine*, without any relation at all to the dignitie either of the person or the worke; as in the last words of Ambrose is plainly to be seene. And therefore as Tacitus writes of Agricola, that <sup>r</sup> by his vertues he merited (that is to say, incurred) the anger of Caius Caesar: so S. Augustine saith, that he and his fellowes for their good doings at the hands of the Donatists, <sup>r</sup> in stead of thanks merited (that is, incurred) the flames of hatred. On the other side the same Father affirmeth, that S. Paul<sup>x</sup> for his persecutions and blasphemies merited (that is, found the grace) to be named a vessell of election; having reference to that in

consecutionem de facto. Stapleton. Promptuar. Catholic. fer. 5. post Dominic. Passion. Vocabulum merendi apud veteres Ecclesiasticos scriptores ferè idem valet quod consequi, seu aptum idoneumque fieri ad consequendum. Georg. Cassand. Schol. in Hymnos Ecclesiastic. pag. 179. Oper. Vid. Cechleum in Discuss. confess. & Apolog. artic. 20. <sup>r</sup> Iis virtutibus iram Caij Caesaris meritus. Tacit. in vii. Iul. Agricole. <sup>u</sup> Pro actione gratiarum flammam meruimus odiorum. Augustin. contr. liter. Petilian. lib. 3. cap. 6. <sup>x</sup> Pro persecutionibus & blasphemijs vas electionis meruit nominari. Id. de Prædestinat. & gratiâ.

I Timoth.

r Omnia quæ patimur minora sunt & indigna quorum pro laboribus tanta rependatur futurorum merces bonorum, quæ revelabitur in nobis, cum ad Dei imaginem reformati gloriam ejus faciem ad faciem aspicere meruerimus. Ambros.

epist. 22. f Verum quidem est, neque id me fugit, usurpari nonnunquam nomen meriti, ubi nulla est ratio meriti, neque ex congruo, neque de condigno.

Andr. Vega defens. Concil. Tridentin. de Iustificat. lib. 8. cap. 8.

Si aliquis vocabulo promerendi usus est; aliter non intellexit, quàm

y Cypri. epist. 73.  
scilicet. 11. Augustin.  
de Baptism. contr.  
Donatist. lib. 4.  
cap. 5.

z Ut omnis  
peccator prop-  
terea de se non  
desperet, quia  
Paulus meruit  
indulgentiam.

Augustin. serm.  
49. de Tempore.

a Quid quod  
Paulus, cum  
Redemptoris  
nomen in terra

conaretur ex-  
tinguere, ejus  
verba de celo  
meruit audire?

Greg. Moral. in  
Job. lib. 9. cap. 17.

b O felix cui-  
pa, quæ talem  
ac tantum me-  
ruit habere Re-  
demptorem.

Vid. Iodoc.

Chetbovei lib.  
de duab. prepo-  
sitionib. Cerei  
Paschalis.

c Vix mihi  
suadeo quod  
possit ullum

opus esse, quod ex debito remunerationem Dei deposcat: cum etiam hoc ipsum, quod agere aliquid possumus, vel cogitare, vel proloqui, ipsius dono & largitione faciamus. Origen. lib. 4. in epist. ad Rom. cap. 4. d Merces quidem ex dono nulla est, quia debetur ex opere: sed gratuitam Deus omnibus ex fidei justificatione donavit. Hilar. in Matth. Can. 20. e Unde mihi tantum meriti, cui indulgentia pro coronâ est? Ambros. in Exhortat. ad Virgines.

1 Timoth. 1. 13. *Who was before a blasphemer, and a persecuter, and injurious; but I obtained mercy.* where instead of ἡλεήσω, which the vulgar Latine translateth *Misericordiam consecutus sum;* y S. Cyprian readeth, *Misericordiam merui, I merited mercy.* Whereunto we may adde that saying which is found also among the workes of S. Augustine: that z no sinner should despaire of himselfe, seeing Paul hath merited pardon. and that of Gregory: a Paul when he went about to extinguish the name of our Redeemer upon earth, merited to heare his words from heaven. as also that other straine of his concerning the sin of Adam; which is sung in the Church of Rome at the blessing of the Taper: b O happy sinne, that merited (that is, found the favour) to have such and so great a Redeemer. Howsoever therefore the ancient Doctors may seeme unto those that are not well acquainted with their language, to speake of *merits* as the Romanists doe: yet have they nothing common with them but the bare word; in the thing it selfe they differ as much from them every way, as our Church doth.

c I can hardly be perswaded, saith Origen, that there can be any worke, which may require the reward of God by way of debt: seeing this very thing it selfe, that we can doe or thinke or speake any thing, we doe it by his gift and largesse.

d Wages indeed, saith Saint Hilary, there is none of gift, because it is due by worke: but God hath given the same free to all men, by the justification of faith. e Whence should I have so great merit, seeing mercy is my Crowne? saith S.

Ambrose.



*Ambrose. and againe, <sup>f</sup> Which of us can subsist, without the mercy of God? What can we doe worthy of the heavenly rewards? Which of us doth so rise up in this bodie, that he doth elevate his minde, in such sort as he may continually adhere unto Christ? By what merit of man is it granted, that this corruptible flesh should put on incorruption, and this mortall should put on immortality? By what labours, or by what enduring of injuries, can we abate our sinnes? The sufferings of this time are unworthy for the glory that is to come. Therefore the forme of heavenly decrees doth proceed with men, not according to our merits, but according to Gods mercy. S. Basil expounding those words of the Psalmist, Behold the eye of the Lord is upon them that feare him; upon them that hope in his mercy, (Psalm. 33. 18.) saith, that he doth hope in his mercy, & who not trusting in his owne good deeds, nor looking to be iustified by workes, hath the hope of his salvation only in the mercies of God. and in his explication of those other words, Psalm. 116. 7. Returne unto thy rest, O my soule; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee. <sup>h</sup> Everlasting rest (saith he) is laid up for them that strive lawfully in this life; not to be rendred according to the debt of workes, but exhibited by the grace of the bountifull God to them that trust in him. <sup>i</sup> If we consider our owne merits, we must despaire, saith S. Hierome. and, <sup>k</sup> When the day of judgement or death shall come, all hands will faile; because no worke shall be*

*cundum misericordiam Dei, celestium decretorum in homines forma procedit. Id. in Psal. 118. octonar. 20. Vid. eund. de bono mortis, cap. 11. g O' μη προσιδεις εν τω αυτω φεραζοντα, μηδ' αποσδοκων' ες εργων δικαιοσυνην, μηδ' εν τω ελπιειν της σωτηριας εν τω εν τω πνευματι του Θεου. Basil. in Psalm. 22. h Προκειται γ' απαντες αιωνια τω νομιμω τον επαινον διαθλινου βίου, & κατ' οφειλμεν ηδ' εργων αποδοδωμεν, αλλα ε' χάριν του μεγαλοδυνου Θεου τοις εις αυτον ελπιουσιν παρεχομεν. Id. in Psalm. 114. & apud Anton. Meliss. part. 2. serm. 93. i Si nostra consideremus merita, desperandum est. Hieronym. lib. 17. in Esai. cap. 64. k Cum dies iudicii vel dormitionis advenerit, omnes manus dissolventur, &c. quia nullum opus dignum Dei iustitiā reperietur. Id. lib. 6. in Esai. cap. 13.*

ἰ Περὶ τὸ δόμα  
εὖν ὁ μέλλων κλη-  
ρονοῦν, τὸ τοιοῦτον  
ἔσθαι εἶποι, εἰ ἴ-  
κατος ἀπ' οὐ ἐκπύ-  
σθῃ ὁ Ἀδάμ, ἵνα  
τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς  
κόσμου, ἱπολέμει  
ᾧ τὸν Σατα-  
νᾶν, καὶ ἐπιμένει  
τοῖς θάλασσι, οὐδὲν  
μᾶλλον ἵποιοι ᾧ τὸν  
τὴν δόξαν τοῦ μέλ-  
λοι κληρονομεῖν.  
συμβολίζουσι γὰρ  
εἰς τοὺς ἀπερχομένους  
αἰῶνας μετὰ Χρι-  
στοῦ. Macar. ho-  
mil. 15.

in Marc. eremit.  
edit. Paris. an.  
1563. Nam in  
Macropræsbylico  
Proœmiu il-  
lud non habetur:  
quippe quod Ma-  
carus constet esse,  
non Marc.

ἢ τὸ παντοδύνα-  
μον διὰ πιστεύσαν-  
τες, ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ  
ἐμψύχων καρδία  
ᾧ τὸν δόξαν τοῦ  
διὰ πίστεως τὴν  
μεταστοιχίαν τοῦ πνεύ-  
ματος λαμβάνου-  
ντο, καὶ ὁ διὰ πεί-  
ρασμον πίστεως  
ἔργων. Macar.  
homil. 37.

o B. blithie.  
Pat. tom 4. pag.  
235. B. edit. 1607.

p. τοὺς μὴ ποι-  
οῦντες τὰς ἐντο-  
λάς, πιστεύουσιν ὅτι  
δὲν ἵμίζουσιν. τῆς δὲ ποιούντες, ὡς μὲν ἱερολόγου, τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδέχονται. ἀμφοτέρω δὲ τῆς  
βασιλείας ἀποφύλακται. Marc. Eremit. de his qui putant ex operib. justificari, cap. 17. &  
ex eo Anastasius Sinaita, vel Nicænus, quæst. 1. pag. 16. edit. Ingolstadt.

found worthy of the justice of God. Macarius the Egyp-  
tian Eremite in his 15. homily writeth thus. <sup>1</sup> Touching  
the gift which Christians shall inherit, this a man may right-  
ly say; that if any one from the time wherein Adam was  
created unto the very end of the world, did fight against  
Satan, and undergoe afflictions, he should doe no great mat-  
ter in respect of the glory that he shall inherit. for he shall  
reigne together with Christ world without end. His 37.  
homily is in the Paris edition of the workes of <sup>m</sup> Mar-  
cus the Eremite set out as the Proœme of his booke  
of Paradise and the spirituall law. There Macarius ex-  
horteth us, that <sup>n</sup> beleeving in almighty God, we should  
with a simple heart and void of scrupulositie come unto  
him who bestoweth the communion of the spirit according  
to faith, and not according to the proportion of the workes  
of faith. Where Ioannes Picus the Popish interpreter  
of Marcus, giveth us warning in his margent, that this  
classe is to be understood of a lively faith: but concea-  
leth his owne faithlesnesse in corrupting of the text, by  
turning the workes of faith into the workes of nature.  
for ὁ διὰ πειρασμῶν πίστεως ἔργων, is by his Latine transla-  
tion (which is to be seene in <sup>o</sup> Bibliotheca Patrum) as  
much to say as, Non ex proportionem operum natura.

There is a treatise extant of the said Marcus; <sup>de</sup> τῶν  
οἰούντων ὅτι ἔργων δικαιοσύνης, touching those who thinke to be  
justified by their workes: where he maketh two sorts of  
men, <sup>p</sup> that misse both of them the kingdome of heaven.  
the one, such as doe not keepe the commandements, and yet  
imagine that they beleevue aright: the other, such as kee-  
ping the commandements, doe expect the kingdome as a wa-



ges due unto them. For the Lord (saith he) willing to shew, that all the commendments are of dutie to be performed, and that the adoption of children is freely given to men by his blood, saith; When you have done all things that are commanded you, then say; We are unprofitable servants, and we have done that which was our dutie to doe. Therefore the kingdome of heaven is not the hire of works, but the grace of the Lord prepared for his faithfull servants. This sentence is repeated in the very selfe same words, by Hesychius in his booke of Sentences written to Thalassius. The like sayings also hath S. Chrysostome. No man sheweth such a conversation of life, that he may be worthy of the kingdome; but this is wholly of the gift of God. Therefore he saith; When yee have done all, say, We are unprofitable servants; for what we ought to doe, we have done. Although we did die a thousand deaths, although we did performe all vertuous actions; yet should we come short by farre of rendring any thing worthy of those honours which are conferred upon us by God. Although we should doe innumerable good deeds, it is of Gods pitie and benignitie that we are heard. although we should come unto the very top of vertue, it is of mercy that we are saved. for although we did innumerable workes of mercy, yet would it be of the benignitie of grace, that for such small and meane matters should be given so great a heaven and a kingdome, and such an honour: y whereunto nothing we doe can have equall

μὴ ὅτι εἰς ἡμᾶς ὑποκαταμένον παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ τιμῶν. Id. de compunctione, ad Stelechnum, cap. 6. edit. Savil. pag. 157. ἢ καὶ γὰρ μωρία κατορθώματα, ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης ἀκούμεθα καὶ φιλαδελφίας, καὶ θεοῦ αὐτῶν ἀνιδωμεν τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν κορυφῶν, ἀπὸ ἱλίκου σωζόμεθα. Id. in Psalm. 4. x καὶ γὰρ μωρία ὡς πεποιηκότες, χάριτος ὅτι ἡ φιλοπνία, τὸ ἀπὸ μακρῶν ἔτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ σῶτος καὶ βασιλείας καὶ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ αὐτοῖς δοθέντων τιμῶν. Id. in Math. Homil. 79. edit. Græc. vol. 80. Latin. γ ὅς ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἰσθ. Id. in Psalm 5.

z. Sit licet excellens hominum meritum, sit naturæ jura conservans, sit legum jussu obtemperans; impleat fidem, justitiam teneat, virtutes exerceat, damnet vitia, peccata repellat, semet exemplum imitanti-bus præbeat: si quid gesserit, parū est; quicquid fecerit, minus: omne enim meritum breve est. Numerabam beneficia, si potes; & tunc considera quid mereris. Cum beneficijs cælestibus tua facta perpēde, cū divinis muneribus actus proprios meditare: nec dignū te judicabis eo quod fueris, si intelligas quid mereris. *Serm. de primo homine*

prelato omni creature; tom. i. oper. Chrysost. a. Ὡς ὁ ἡμεῖς ἀνθρώπων βίος βραχυτάτης ἐστὶ, μηδὲν ἄλλως τοῦς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. ὥς καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἡμῶν μηδὲν εἶναι τοῦς τῶν αἰώνων χρόνῳ. καὶ πᾶν μὲν πρῶτον εἶναι τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἀξίον προσέσχεσθαι, καὶ ἴσθαι ἵνα τις ἀντιπατάλασται. ἡ δὲ ἱπαρχία τῆς αἰῶνις ζωῆς, ὅλη καὶ πᾶσι ἀποδίδεται. δε. ὥς τίνες μὴ ἐκκαμῶμεν, μηδὲ νομίζωμεν χρονοῦν, ἢ μὴ τι ποιεῖν. ἢ γὰρ αἴτια τὰ παθήματα τὰ τῶν κατὰ τοῦς μέλλοντας ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς δεῖται. μηδὲ εἰς τὸν κόσμον βλέπομεν νομίζωμεν μεγάλους τισὶν ἀποτατάχθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ βραχυτάτη τοῦς ὅλοις τὸν χρόνον εἶναι. εἰ τούτων καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς κύριος ἐπιγυμνασθῶμεν, καὶ ἀπειταστέμεθα τῇ γῇ πάσης, ἵνα ἀξίον ᾖ καὶ πάλιν τοῦς βασιλείας ἡμεῶν εἶναι. ὥς γὰρ εἰ τις καταπονήσει μὲν χαλκῆς δαχρυμῶς, ἵνα καρδία χυσῶς δαχρυμῶς ἐκείνη: ὥς ὁ πάσης τῆς γῆς κύριος αὐτὸ καὶ ἀπειταστέμενος αὐτῇ, ὅλην ἀφίησι, καὶ ἐκκαταπλάττει λαμβάνει. Athanas. Vit. Antonij, pag. 25.

sake



sake the whole earth; that would be nothing worthy to be compared with the kingdome of heaven. For as if one would neglect one peece of brasse, that he might gaine a hundred peeces of gold: so he who is lord of the whole earth and forsaketh it, should but forgoe a little, and receive a hundred fold.

Such an other exhortation doth S. Augustine also make unto his hearers. <sup>b</sup> When thou dost consider (saith he) what thou art to receive; all the things that thou sufferest will be vile unto thee, neither wilt thou esteeme them worthy for which thou shouldst receive it. Thou wilt wonder, that so much is given, for so small a labour. For indeed, brethren, for everlasting rest everlasting labour should be undergone: being to receive everlasting felicitie, thou oughtest to sustaine everlasting sufferings. But if thou shouldst sustaine everlasting labour; when shouldst thou come to everlasting felicitie? So it commeth to passe, that thy tribulation must of necessitie be temporall; that it being finished, thou maist come to infinite felicitie. But yet, brethren, there might have beene long tribulation for eternall felicitie. that, for example, because our felicitie shall have no end; our misery, and our labour, and our tribulations should be of long continuance. For admit they should continue a thousand yeere: weigh a thousand yeeres with eternitie. Why dost thou weigh that which is finite, be it never so great, with that which is infinite? Ten thousand yeeres, ten hundred thousand, if we should say, and a thou-

tribulatio tua, quâ finitâ venias ad felicitatem infinitam. Sed plané, fratres, posset esse longa tribulatio pro æternâ felicitate. Verbi gratiâ, ut quoniam felicitas nostra finem non habebit; miseria nostra, & labor noster, & tribulationes nostræ diuturnæ essent. Nam etsi mille annorum essent, appende mille annos contra æternitatem. Quid appendis cum infinito quantumcunq; finitum? decem millia annorum, decies centena millia, si dicendum est, & millia millium, quæ finem habent, cum æternitate comparari non possunt. Huc accedit, quia non solum temporalem voluit laborem tuum Deus, sed etiam brevem. *August. in Psal. 36. Conc. 2.*

b Cum attenderis quid sis accepturus; omnia tibi erunt vilia quæ pateris, nec digna æstima-bis pro quibus illud accipias. Miraberis tantum dari pro tanto labore. Nam utiq; fratres, pro æternâ requie labor æternus subeundus erat. Æternam felicitatem accepturus, æternas passionibus sustinere deberes. Sed si æternum sustineres laborem; quando venires ad æternam felicitatem? Ita fit, ut necessario temporalis sit

c Fidelis homo est credens promittenti Deo; fidelis Deus est exhibens quod promissit homini. Teneamus fidelissimum debitorem, quia teneamus misericordissimum promissorem. Neque enim aliquid ei commendavimus, aut mutuum commendavimus, ut teneamus eum debitorem: cum ab illo habeamus quicquid illi offerimus, & ex illo sit quicquid boni sumus. Id. in Psal. 32. Conc. 1.  
d Ergo non ei aliquid dedimus: & teneamus debitorem. Unde debitorem? Quia promissor est

Non dicimus Deo; Domine redde quod accepisti, sed redde quod promissisti. Id. ibid. & in Psal. 83. e Securus ergo esto. Tene debitorem, quia credidisti in promissorem. Id. in Psal. 83. circa finem. f Fidelis Deus qui se nostrum debitorem fecit: non aliquid a nobis accipiendo, sed tanta nobis promittendo, &c. Promisit enim hominibus divinitatem, mortalibus immortalitatem, peccatoribus justificationem, abjectis glorificationem. Quicquid promissit, indignis promissit; ut non quasi operibus merces promitteretur, sed gratia a nomine suo gratis daretur: quia & hoc ipsum quod iuste vivit, in quantum homo potest iuste vivere, non meriti humani, sed beneficii est divini. Id. in Psal. 109. circa initium

sand thousand, which have an end, cannot be compared with eternitie. This then thou hast, that God would have thy labour to be not only temporall, but short also. And therefore doth the same Father every where put us in minde, that God is become our debtor, not by our deservings, but by his owne gracious promise. <sup>c</sup> Man (saith he) is faithfull, when he beleeveeth God promising: God is faithfull, when he performeth that which he hath promised unto man. Let us hold him a most faithfull debtor, because we have him a most mercifull promiser. For we have not done him any pleasure, or leant any thing to him that we should hold him a debtor; seeing we have from himselfe whatsoever we doe offer unto him, and it is from him whatsoever good we are. <sup>d</sup> We have not given any thing therefore unto him; and yet we hold him a debtor. Whence a debtor? because he is a promiser. We say not unto God; Lord, pay that which thou hast received, but, pay that which thou hast promised. <sup>e</sup> Be thou secure therefore. Hold him as a debtor, because thou hast beleeved in him as a promiser. <sup>f</sup> God is faithfull, who hath made himselfe our debtor; not by receiving any thing from us, but by promising so great things to us. For to men hath he promised divinitie, to those that are mortall immortalitie, to sinners justification, to abjects glorification. Whatsoever he promised, he promised to them that were unworthy; that it might not be promised as wages for workes, but being grace, might according to the name be graciously and freely given: because that even this



very thing, that one doth live justly (so farre as a man can live justly) is not a matter of mans merit, but of the gift of God. Therefore, & in those things which we have already, let us praise God as the giver: in those things which as yet we have not, let us hold him our debtor. For hee is become our debtor, not by receiving any thing from us, but by promising what it pleased him. For it is one thing to say to a man, Thou art debtor to me, because I have given to thee: and another thing to say, Thou art debtor to mee, because thou hast promised me. When thou sayest, Thou art debtor to me, because I have given to thee: a benefit hath proceeded from thee, though lent, not given. But when thou sayest, Thou art debtor to me, because thou hast promised me: thou gavest nothing to him, and yet requirest of him. For the goodnesse of him that hath promised, will give it, &c.

<sup>h</sup> The salvation of men depends upon the sole mercy of God: saith Theodoret. for we do not obtaine it as the reward and wages of our righteousness: but it is the gift of Gods goodnesse. <sup>i</sup> The crownes doe excell the fights, the rewards are not to be compared with the labours: for the labour is small, but great is the gaine that is hoped for. And therefore the Apostle, Rom. 8. 18. called those things that are looked for, not wages, but glory. and Rom. 6. 23. <sup>k</sup> not wages, but grace. For although a man should performe the greatest and most absolute righteousness: things eternall doe not answer temporall labours in equall poise. The same for this point is taught by S. Cyrill of Alexandria: that <sup>l</sup> the crowne which we are to receive, doth much surpasse the

<sup>g</sup> In his quæ jam habemus, laudemus Deum laigitorem: in his quæ nondum habemus, tenemus debitorem. Debitor enim factus est, non aliquid à nobis accipiendo, sed quod ei placuit promittendo. Aliter enim dicimus homini, Debes mihi quia dedi tibi: & aliter dicimus, Debes mihi quia promisti mihi. Quando dicis, Debes mihi quia dedi tibi; à te processit beneficium, sed mutuum non donatum. Quando autem dicis, Debes mihi quia promisti mihi; tu nihil dedisti, & tamen exis.

Bonitas enim ejus qui promisit dabit, &c. Id. de Verbis Apostoli, Serm. 16. <sup>h</sup> Hominum salus ex solâ Dei misericordiâ pendet. neq; enim hanc adipiscimur præmium & mercedem justitiæ: sed Dei bonitatis donum est. Theodoret, in Sophoni. cap. 3. <sup>i</sup> Superant certamina coronæ, non comparantur cum laboribus remunerationes: labor enim parvus est, sed magnum lucrum speratur. Et propterea non mercedem sed gloriam vocavit ea quæ expectantur. Id. in Roman. 8. 18. <sup>k</sup> Hic non dicit mercedem, sed gratiam. Et si quis enim summam & absolutam justitiam præstiterit: temporalibus laboribus æterna in æquilibrio non respondent. Id. in Roman. 6. ult. <sup>l</sup> Πολύ τι σίμαι τις πῖος ἀγαλλῆται. Cyril. Alexandrin. homil. Paschal. 4.

m Non labori  
pretiū solvens,  
sed divitias bo-  
nitatis suæ in-  
eos, quos sine  
operibus ele-  
git, effundens:  
ut etiam hi qui  
in multo labo-  
re sudarunt,  
nec amplius  
quām novissimi  
acceperunt, in-  
telligent do-  
num se gratiæ,  
non operum  
accepisse mer-  
cedem. *Prosp.  
de Vocat. Gent.  
lib. 1. cap. 17.*

n Meritum  
meum regna-  
tor cœlestis si  
attenderet, aut  
exigua bona  
adipisceretur, aut  
magna suppli-  
cia; & mei do-  
neus æstima-  
tor, quo meri-  
tis pervenire  
non poteram,  
voto non ten-  
derē. Sed grati-  
as illi, qui deli-  
cta nostra sic  
ne extollamur  
refecat, ut spem

ad latiora (*al. latiora*) perducatur. *Ennod. Ticinens. l. 2. ep. 10. ad Faust.* o Gratia autem etiā ipsa  
ideo nō injustē dicitur, quia nō solum donis suis Deus dona sua reddit: sed quia tantū etiā  
ibi gratia divinæ retributionis exuberat, ut incōparabiliter atq; ineffabiliter omne meritū,  
quamvis bonæ & ex Deo datæ, humanæ voluntatis atq; operationis excedat. *Fulg. ad Moni-  
mum, l. 1. c. 10.* p Totis licet & animæ & corporis laboribus desudemus, totis licet obedi-  
entiæ viribus exerceamur: nihil tamen condignum merito pro cœlestibus bonis compensare  
& offerre valebimus. Non valent vitæ præsentis obsequia æternæ vitæ gaudijs comparari.  
Lassescant licet membra vigilijs; palleant licet ora jejunijs: non erunt tamen condignæ  
passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam, quæ revelabitur in nobis. Pulsemus ergo,  
charissimi, in quantum possumus; quia non possumus quantum debemus: futura beatitudo  
acquiri potest, æstimari non potest. *Enseb. Emis. vel. Gallican. ad Monachos, ser. 3*

paines which we take for it. And the Author of the  
booke of the calling of the Gentiles (attributed unto Pro-  
sper) observeth out of the Parable, Matth. 20. 9. that  
God bestoweth eternall life on those that are called at  
the end of their daies, as well as upon them that had la-  
boured longer: <sup>m</sup> not as paying a price to their labour,  
but powring out the riches of his goodnesse upon them whom  
he had chosen without works; that even they also who have  
sweat with much labour, and have received no more than  
the last, might understand, that they did receive a gift of  
grace, and not a due wages for their workes.

This was the doctrine taught in the Church for the  
first five hundred yeeres after Christ: which wee finde  
maintained also in the next five hundred. <sup>n</sup> If the King  
of heaven should regard my merit (saith Ennodius, Bishop  
of Pavia) either I should get little good, or great punish-  
ments; and judging of my selfe rightly, whither I could not  
come by merits, I would not tend in desire. But thanks be  
to him, who, that we may not be extolled, doth so cut off our  
offences, that he bringeth our hope unto better things. Our  
glorification, saith Fulgentius, <sup>o</sup> is not unjustly called  
Grace: not only because God doth bestow his owne gifts upon  
his owne gifts; but also because the grace of Gods reward  
doth so much there abound, as that it exceedeth incompara-  
bly and unspeakably all the merit of the will and worke of  
man, though good, and given from God. For <sup>p</sup> although  
we did sweat (saith he who beareth the name of Euse-



bius Emissenus, or Gallicanus) with all the labours of our soule and bodie, although we were exercised with all the strength of obedience: yet shall not we be able to recompence and offer any thing worthie in merit for the heavenly good things. The offices of this present life cannot be compared with the joyes of the life eternall. Although our members be wearied with watchings; although our faces wax pale with fastings: yet the sufferings of this time will not be worthy to be compared with the future glory which shall be revealed in us. Let us knocke therefore, dearly beloved, as much as we can, because we cannot as much as we ought: the future blisse may be acquired, but estimated it cannot be.

¶ Albeit thou hadst good deeds equall in number to the starres, (saith Agapetus the Deacon, to the Emperour Iustinian) yet shalt thou never goe beyond the goodnesse of God. For whatsoever any man shall bring unto God, he doth but offer unto him his owne things, out of his owne store, and as one cannot outstrip his own shadow in the Sunne, (which preventeth him alwaies, although he make never so much speed:) so neither can men by their good doings, outstrip the unmatched bountie of God. ¶ All the righteousness of man, saith Gregory, is convicted to be unrighteousnesse, if it be strictly judged. It needeth therefore prayer after righteousness; that that which being sifted might faile, by the meere pitie of the Iudge might stand for good. Let him therefore say: Although I had any righteous thing, I would not answer, but I would make supplication to my Iudge. (Iob 9. 15) as if he should more plainly confesse, and say: Albeit I did grow up unto the worke of vertue, I should be enabled unto life, not by merits, but by pardon.

Dicat ergo: Qui etiam si habuero quippiam iustum, non respondebo, sed meum iudicem deprecabor. Velut, si apertius fateatur, dicens: Etsi ad opus virtutis excrevero, ad vitam non ex meritis, sed ex venia convalesco. Gregor. Moral. in Iob. lib. 9. cap. 14.

V u u

But

¶ Τοιούτου τοις  
ἀνθρώποις ἀνὰ κλῆσιν οὐ  
καταρθήματα, ἐδὲ-  
ποτι νικῶσιν τὰ  
τῷ Θεῷ ἐχθρότη-  
τα, ὅσα γὰρ αὐτῷ  
θεοστυλῆται Θεῷ, ἐκ  
τῆς αὐτῶν ταυτῶν  
θεοστυλῆται αὐτῶν. καὶ  
οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερβύ-  
ου τῶν ἰδίων ἐκ  
τῶν ἰλίων σκιάων,  
καθὼς λαμβάνουσιν  
ἀεὶ καὶ τοὺς λιασίναι-  
χόμενον, οὕτως αὐτῷ  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἁλόντων  
τῷ Θεῷ χηρῶνται  
ταῖς ὑπερβύταις ὑπερ-  
βύσονται ἐν ὁρῶνται.

Agapet. Diacon.  
Paranef. ad Iu-  
stinian. sect 43.

¶ Ut enim fa-  
pe diximus:  
Omnis huma-  
na iustitia, in-  
iustitia esse cō-  
vincitur, si di-  
strictē iudice-  
tur. Prece ergo  
post iustitiam  
indiget; ut quæ  
succumbere  
discussa pote-  
rat, ex solâ ju-  
dicis pietate  
cōvalescat. &c.

Quod si illa  
sanctorum felici-  
tas misericor-  
dia est, & non  
meritis acqui-  
ritur: ubi erit  
quod scriptum  
est; Et tu red-  
des unicuique  
secundum ope-  
ra sua? Si se-  
cundum ope-  
ra redditur;  
quomodo mi-  
sericordia assti-  
miabitur? Sed  
aliud est se-  
cundum opera red-  
dere, & aliud  
propter ipsa o-  
pera reddere.  
In eo enim  
quod se-  
cundum opera di-  
citur, ipsa o-  
perum qualitas  
intelligitur; ut  
cujus apparue-  
rint bona ope-  
ra, ejus sit & re-  
tributio glo-  
riosa. Illi namque  
beatae vitae in  
quâ cum Deo,  
& de Deo vivi-  
tur, nullus po-  
test æquari la-  
bor, nulla opera

But you will say, ' If this blisse of the Saints be mercie, and is not obtained by merits; how shall that stand which is written: And thou shalt render unto every one according to his workes? If it be rendred according to workes; how shall it be accounted mercie? But it is one thing to render according to workes; and another thing to render for the workes themselves. For when it is said, According to workes; the qualitie it selfe of the worke is understood: that whose workes appeare good, his reward may be glorious. For unto that blessed life, wherein wee are to live with God, and by God, no labour can be equalled, no workes compared: seeing the Apostle saith, The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. ' By the righteousness of works no man shall be saved, but only by the righteousness of faith: saith Bede. and therefore " no man should beleve, that either his freedom of will, or his merits, are sufficient to bring him unto blisse; but understand, that he can be saved by the grace of God only. The same Author, writing upon those words of David, Psalm. 24. 5. He shall receive a blessing from the Lord, and righteousness from the God of his salvation: expoundeth the blessing to be this; \* that for the present time he shall merit (or worke) well, and for the future shall be rewarded well, and that, not by merits, but by grace only.

To the same purpose Elias Cretenfis, the interpreter

comparati: præsertim cum Apostolus dicat, Non sunt condignæ passionēs hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis. Id. in Psalm. Penitent. 7. vers. 9. t Per justitiam factorum nullus salvabitur, sed per solam justitiam fidei. Bed. in Psalm. 77. u In-  
struit videlicet, ut nemo vel libertatem arbitrij, vel merita sua sufficere sibi ad beatitudinem credat; sed solâ gratiâ Dei se salvari posse intelligat. Id. in Psalm. 31. x Accipiet benedictionem, id est, multiplicationem à Domino; hanc scilicet; ut in præsentī bene promereatur, & in futuro bene remuneretur. Et hoc non ex meritis, sed ex solâ gratiâ. Id. in Psalm. 23.



\* Debemus  
per misericor-  
diam intelligen-  
re mercedem  
illam, quam  
nobis Deus re-  
pendit. Nos  
enim tanquam  
servi, virtutem  
debemus, ut  
optima quæq;  
Deo & grata  
tanquam debi-  
tum quoddam  
exsolvamus ac  
offeramus :  
quippe quum  
nihil habea-  
mus, quod non  
ab ipso accepe-  
rimus. Deus  
autem velut  
Dominus &  
herus noster  
miseretur, no-  
bisq; potius  
donat, quàm  
rependit. *Elias  
in Nazianzeni  
Orat. habit. in  
elect. Eulali.*  
*Οὐκ ἔν ταπειν-*  
*οσύνη ἀλλήλῃς*  
*ἔστι, τὸ ἀρετῇ τὰ*  
*ἰσθῶτα, λογίζεσθαι*  
*τὰ ἑαυτὸν ἀκαθάρ-*  
*τον καὶ ἀνέξιστον τῷ*  
*θεῷ, διὰ μόλις*

**Are**

<sup>a</sup> In eo autem  
damus illi glo-  
riam, quo nul-  
lis præcedenti-  
bus bonorum  
actuum meri-  
tis, sed solâ nos  
ejus misericor-  
diâ, ad tantam  
dignitatē per-  
venisse fatea-  
mur. *Ambros.*  
*Ansbert. lib. 8. in*  
*Apocal. sc. 19.*  
<sup>b</sup> Ne dicerent,  
Patres nostri  
suo merito pla-  
cuerunt, ideo  
tanta sunt à  
Domino conse-  
cuti: intulit  
non meritis di-  
tum, sed quia  
ita sit Deo pla-  
citum; cujus  
est gratuitum  
omne quod  
præstat. *Rab. m.*  
*in Jerem. lib. 18.*  
*cap. 2.*  
<sup>c</sup> Propter Da-  
vid servum tu-  
um, id est,  
propter meri-  
tū ipsius Christi.  
& hic datur planè intelligi, nullum de meritis suis debere præsumere;  
sed omne in saluationem ex Christi meritis expectare. *Haymo in Psal. 131.*  
<sup>d</sup> Sed & nos  
agentes pœnitentiam, sciamus nihil nos dignum dare posse ad placandum Deum;  
sed solummodo in sanguine immaculati & singularis Agni nos posse salvari. *Id. in Mishee*  
*cap. 6.*  
<sup>e</sup> Vita æterna nulli per debitum redditur; sed per gratuitam misericordiam datur.  
*Id. Homil. in Dominic. Septuagesimæ.*  
<sup>f</sup> Necesse est solâ fide Christi salvari credentes.  
*Smaragd. in Galat. cap. 3.*  
<sup>g</sup> Gratiâ, non meritis, salvari sumus à Deo. *Comment. in*  
*Marc. cap. 14. inter pseud. Hieronym.*

are saved. So *Ambrosius Ansbertus*, expounding that place, *Rev. 19. 7.* Let us be glad and rejoyce, and give glory to him; for the marriage of the Lambe is come, and his wife hath made her selfe readie. <sup>a</sup> In this, saith he, doe we give glory to him; when we doe confesse, that by no precedent merits of our good deeds, but by his mercie only, we have attained unto so great a dignitie. And *Rabanus* in his Commentaries upon the Lament. of *Jeremie*: <sup>b</sup> Lest they should say, Our Fathers were accepted for their merit, and therefore they obtained such great things at the hand of the Lord; he adjoyneth, that this was not given to their merits, but because it so pleased God, whose free gift is whatsoever he bestoweth. *Haymo* writing upon those words, *Psal. m. 132. 10.* For thy servant Davids sake refuse not the face of thine Anointed, saith that, <sup>c</sup> For thy servant Davids sake, is as much to say as, For the merit of Christ himselfe: and from thence collecteth this doctrine; that none ought to presume of his owne merits, but expect all his salvation from the merits of Christ. So in another place: <sup>d</sup> When we performe our repentance, (saith he) let us know that we can give nothing that is worthy for the appeasing of God; but that only in the bloud of that immaculate and singular Lambe we can be saved. And againe, <sup>e</sup> Eternall life is rendred to none by debt; but given by free mercie. <sup>f</sup> It is of necessity that beleevers should be saved only by the faith of Christ: saith *Smaragdus* the Abbot. <sup>g</sup> By grace, not by merits, are we saved of God: saith the Author of the



Commentaries upon *S. Marke*, falsely attributed to *S. Hierome*.

That this doctrine was by Gods great mercie preserved in the Church the next 500. yeares also, as well as in those middle times : appeareth most evidently by those Instructions and Consolations, which were prescribed to be used unto such as were readie to depart out of this life. <sup>h</sup> This forme of preparing men for their death, was commonly to be had in all Libraries, and particularly was found inserted among the Epistles of *Anselme* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who was commonly accounted to bee the Author of it. The substance thereof may be seene (for the copies varie, some being shorter, and some larger than others) in a Treatise written by a *Cistercian* Monke, of the *Art of dying well* (which I have in written hand, and have seene also printed in the yeere 1483. and 1504.) in the booke called, *Hortulus animæ*; in *Cassanders* Appendix to the booke of *Iohn Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, de *fiduciâ & misericordiâ Dei*; (edit. Colon. An. 1556.) *Casspar Vlenbergius* his *Motives*; (caus. 14. pag. 462. 463. edit. Colon. An. 1589.) in the *Romane Sacerdotall* (part. 1. tract. 5. cap. 13. fol. 116. edit. Vener. An. 1585.) in the booke intituled, *Sacra institutio Baptizandi juxta ritum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, ex decreto Concilij Tridentini restituta, &c.* printed at *Paris*, in the yeere 1575. and in a like booke intituled *Ordo Baptizandi, cum Modo visitandi*, printed at *Venice* the same yeere. out of which the *Spanish* Inquisitors, as well in their New, as in their Old *Expurgatory Index* (the one set out by Cardinall *Quiroga* in the yeere 1584. the other by the Cardinall of *Sandoval* and *Roxas*, in the yeere 1612.) command

<sup>h</sup> Formula illa infirmos jam animam agentes interrogandi, in Bibliothecis passim obvia; quæ & separatim Anselmo Cantuariensi inscribitur, & operi Epistolarum inserta reperitur. Georg. Cassand. in Appendic. ad Opusc. Io. Rossens. de fiduciâ & misericordiâ Dei.

i SACERDOS. *these interrogatories to be blotted out. Dost thou beleeve  
 Credis non to come to glory, not by thine owne merits, but by the vertue  
 proprijs meri- and merit of the passion of our Lord Iesus Christ? and, Dost  
 tis, sed passio- thou beleeve, that our Lord Iesus Christ did die for our sal-  
 nis Domini no- vation: and that none can be saved by his owne merits, or  
 stri Iesu Christi- by any other meanes, but by the merit of his passion? Where-  
 virtute. & me- by we may observe how late it is, since our Romaniits  
 rito, ad glori- in this maine and most substantiall point (which is the  
 am pervenire? very foundation of all our comfort) have most shame-  
 Respondet infir- fully departed from the faith of their fore-fathers. In  
 mus: Credo. other copies of this same Instruction (which are fol-  
 SACERDOS. lowed by *Cassander, Vlenbergius*, and *Cardinall Hosius*  
 Credis, quòd after Iesus Chri- himselfe) <sup>k</sup> the last question propounded to the sicke  
 Dominus no- man is this. *Dost thou beleeve that thou canst not be saved,  
 ster Iesus Chri- but by the death of Christ? Whereunto when he hath  
 stus pro nostrâ made answer affirmatively: he is presently directed to  
 Salute mortu- make use thereof, in this manner. Goe too therefore, as  
 us sit: & quòd long as thy soule remaineth in thee, place thy whole confi-  
 ex proprijs dence in this death only; have confidence in no other thing:  
 meritis, vel alio commit thy selfe wholly to this death, with this alone cover  
 modo nullus thy selfe wholly, intermingle thy selfe wholly in this death,  
 possit salvari, nisi in merito  
 passionis ejus? Respondet infir-  
 mus: Credo. mus: Credo.  
 Ordo baptizandi, & visitandi, edit.  
 Venet. an. 1575. fol. 34. & Institut. Baptizandi, edit. Paris. an. 1575. fol. 35. a. & Sacerdotal. Rom. edit. Venet. an.  
 1585 fol. 116. b. <sup>k</sup> Sed & *Anselmus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis* interrogationes quasdam præ-  
 scripsisse dicitur infirmis in extremis constitutis: inter quas extrema est. Credis te non posse nisi  
 per mortem Christi salvari? Respondet infirmus: Etiam. Tum illi dicitur. Age ergò, dum  
 superest in te anima, in hâc solâ morte fiduciam tuam constitue; in nullâ aliâ re fi-  
 duciam habe: huic morti te totum committe, hâc solâ te totum contege, totum im-  
 misce te in hâc morte, totum confige; in hâc morte te totum involve. Et si Do-  
 minus Deus voluerit te judicare, dic: Domine, mortem Domini nostri Iesu Christi  
 obijcio inter me & tuum iudicium: aliter tecum non contendo. Et si tibi dixerit, quia  
 peccator es, dic: Domine, mortem Domini Iesu Christi pono inter te & peccata mea.  
 Si dixerit tibi, quòd meruisti damnationem, dic: Domine, mortem Domini nostri  
 Iesu Christi obtendo inter me, & mala merita mea; ipsiusq; meritum offero pro  
 merito, quod ego debuisssem habere nec habeo. Si dixerit, quòd tibi est iratus, dic:  
 Domine, mortem Domini nostri Iesu Christi oppono inter me & iram tuam. *Hosius in*  
*Confessione Petricoviens. cap. 73.***



fasten thy selfe wholly; wrap thy whole selfe in this death. And if the Lord God will judge thee, say: Lord, I oppose the death of our Lord Iesus Christ betwixt mee and thy judgement: no otherwise doe I contend with thee. And if he say unto thee, that thou art a sinner; say: Lord, I put the death of the Lord Iesus Christ betwixt thee and my sinnes. If he say unto thee, that thou hast deserved damnation, say: Lord, I set the death of our Lord Iesus Christ betwixt me and my bad merits; and I offer his merit in stead of the merit which I ought to have, but yet have not. If he say, that he is angrie with thee, say: Lord, I interpose the death of our Lord Iesus Christ betwixt me and thine anger.

Adde hereunto the following sentences of the Doctors of these latter ages. <sup>1</sup> We cannot suffer or bring in any thing worthy of the reward that shall be: saith Oecumenius. So Petrus Blesensis Archdeacon of Bathe. <sup>2</sup> No trouble can be endured in this vitall death, which is able equally to answer the joyes of heaven. and Anselme Archbishop of Canterbury more fully, before him. <sup>3</sup> If a man should serve God a thousand yeeres, and that most fervently; he should not deserve of condignitie to be halfe a day in the Kingdome of heaven. Radulphus Ardens, expounding those words of the Parable, Matth. 20. 13. Didst not thou agree with me for a peny? <sup>4</sup> Let no man out of these words, saith he, thinke that God is, as it were, tied by agreement to pay that which he hath promised. For as God is free to promise, so is he free to pay: especially see-

*l'Our iguorde  
d'Est n'ris ixei  
and d'orac p'adit  
n' amonit'g.*

*O. cum n. in Ro-  
man. 8. pag. 12.*

*m Nihil mole-  
ste potest susti-*

*neri in hac  
morte vitali,*

*quod celesti-*

*bus gaud. is ex*

*æquo respon-*

*dere sufficiat.*

*Petr. Blesens. in*

*Iob, cap. ult.*

*n Si homo*

*mille annis ser-*

*viret Deo, eti-*

*am ferventissi-*

*mè; non mere-*

*retur ex con-*

*digno, dimidi-*

*am diem esse in*

*regno cælo-*

*rum. Anselm.*

*in lib. de Mensu-*

*ratione Crucis.*

<sup>5</sup> Nemo, fratres, ex his verbis putet Deum quasi ex conventionem astrictum esse ad reddendum promissum. Sicut enim Deus est liber ad promittendum, ita est liber ad reddendum: præsertim cum tam merita quam præmia sint gratia sua. Nihil enim aliud quam gratiam suam coronat in nobis Deus: qui si vellet in nobis agere districtè, non justificaretur in conspectu ejus omnis vivens. Unde Apostolus qui plus omnibus laboravit, dicit: Existimo quod non sunt condignæ passionibus hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis. Ergo hæc conventio nihil aliud est, quam voluntaria Dei promissio. Rad. Ardens. Dominic. in Septuagesima, Homil. 2.

ing

p Ne miremi-  
ni, fratres, si  
merita justor-  
um gratias vo-  
co: teste enim  
Apostolo, nihil  
habemus quod  
non à Deo &  
gratis accipi-  
mus. Sed quo-  
niam per unam  
gratiam perve-  
nimus ad ali-  
am, merita di-  
cuntur & im-  
propriè. Teste  
enim Augusti-  
no, solam gra-  
tiam suam co-  
ronat in nobis  
Deus. Id. Domi-  
nic. 18 post Tri-  
nitat. Hemil. 1.  
q Res est non  
meriti, sed gra-  
tia, magnitudo  
vel æternitas  
cælestis glo-  
riæ Rupert Tuit.  
in Iohann. lib. 1.  
cap. 1.

r Bernard. Cla-

riacens. de Contemptu mundi, lib. 1. \* al. turris & edita. f Necesse est primò omni-  
um credere, quòd remissionem peccatorum habere non possis, nisi per indulgentiam  
Dei: deinde quòd nihil prorsus habere queas operis boni, nisi & hoc dederit ipse: po-  
stremò quòd æternam vitam nullis potes operibus promereri, nisi gratis detur & illa. Ber-  
nard. Serm. 1. in Annuntiat. B. Mariæ.

ing as well merits as rewards are his grace. For God doth  
crowne nothing else in us but his owne grace: who if hee  
would deale strictly with us, no man living should be justi-  
fied in his sight. Whereupon the Apostle, who laboured  
more than all, saith: I reckon that the sufferings of this  
time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which  
shall be revealed in us. Therefore this agreement is nothing  
else, but Gods voluntary promise. And I doe not wonder  
(saith he, in another Sermon) if I call the merits of the  
just graces. for as the Apostle witnesseth, we have nothing  
which we have not received from God, and that freely. But  
because by one grace we come unto another; they are called  
merits, but improperly. For as Augustine witnesseth: God  
crowneth only his owne grace in us. So Rupertus Tuitien-  
sis: ¶ The greatnesse or the eternitie of the heavenly glo-  
rie, is not a matter of merit, but of grace. The same doth  
Bernardus Morlanensis expresse in these rhythmicall  
verses of his:

*Vrbs Sion inclyta, \* patria condita littore tuto;  
Te peto, te colo, te flagro, te volo, canto, saluto.  
Nec meritis peto, nam meritis meto morte perire:  
Nec reticens tego, quòd meritis ego filius ira.  
Vita quidem mea, vita nimis rea, mortua vita:  
¶ Quippe reatibus exitiis obruta, trita.  
Spe tamen ambulo, premia postulo spe q̃ fide q̃:  
Illa perennia postulo premia nocte die q̃.*

But Bernard of Clarevalle aboute others delivereth  
this doctrine most sweetly. ¶ It is necessary (saith hee)  
that first of all thou shouldest beleerve, that thou canst not



have remission of finnes, but by the mercie of God: then, that thou canst not at all have any whit of a good worke, unlesse he likewise give it thee: lastly, that by no workes thou canst merit eternall life, unlesse that also be freely given unto thee. <sup>c</sup> Otherwise, if wee will properly name those which wee call our merits: they be certaine seminaries of hope, incitements of love, signes of secret predestination, foretokens of future happinesse, the way to the kingdome, not the cause of reigning. <sup>u</sup> Dangerous is the dwelling of them that trust in their merits: dangerous, because ruinous. <sup>x</sup> For this is the whole merit of man, if hee put all his trust in him who saveth the whole man. <sup>y</sup> Therefore my merit is the mercy of the Lord. I am not poore in merit, so long as he is not poore in mercie: and if the mercies of the Lord be many, my merits also are many. With which that passage of the *Manuall*, falsly fathered upon *S. Augustine*, doth accord so justly; that the one appeareth to be plainly borrowed from the other. <sup>z</sup> All my hope is in the death of my Lord. His death is my merit, my refuge, my salvation, life and resurrection. My merit is the mercy of the Lord. I am not poore in merit, so long as that Lord of mercies shall not faile: and as long as his mercies are much, much am I in merits.

Neither are the testimonies of the *Schoolemen* wanting in this cause. For where <sup>a</sup> God is affirmed to give

inde meritum, miseratio Domini. Non plané sum meriti inops, quandiu ille miserationum non fuerit. Quòd si misericordiæ Domini multæ, multis nihilo minus ego in meritis sum. *Id. in Cant. serm. 61.* <sup>z</sup> Totas pes mea est in morte Domini mei. Mors ejus meritum meum, refugium meum, salus, vita & resurrectio mea. Meritum meum miseratio Domini. Non sum meriti inops, quamdiu ille miserationum Dominus non defuerit: & misericordiæ Domini multæ, multus ego sum in meritis. *Manual. cap. 22. tom. 9. Operum Augustini.* <sup>a</sup> Nota quòd cum dicitur, Deus pro bonis meritis dabit vitam æternam; *Pro*, primo notat signum, vel viam; vel occasionem aliquam: sed si dicatur, Propter bona merita dabit vitam æternam; *Propter*, notat causam efficientem. Ideò non recipitur á quibusdam: sed hanc recipiunt, *Pro bonis meritis*, & consimiles eorum; assignantes differentiam inter *Pro*, & *Propter*. *Georg. Cassander, epist. 19. ad Io. Molinicum (Oper. pag. 1109.) ex libro MS. vetusti cujusdam Scholastici.*

X x x

the

<sup>t</sup> Alioquin si propriè appellantur ea quæ dicimus nostra merita: spei quædam sunt seminaria, charitatis incentiva, occultæ prædestinationis indicia, futuræ felicitatis præfagia, via regni, nõ causa regnandi. *Id. in fine libri de Grat. & lib. Arb.* <sup>u</sup> Periculosa habitatio eorum qui in meritis suis sperant: periculosa, quia ruinosa. *Id. in Psal. Qui habitat.* *Serm. 1.*

<sup>x</sup> Hoc enim totum hominis meritum, si totam spem suam ponat in eo qui totum hominem saluum facit.

*Ibid. Serm. 15.*

<sup>y</sup> Meum pro-

b. *Hæc dictio Proppter quandoq; capitur consecutivè; & tunc denotat ordinem consecutionis unius rei ad aliam: ut cum dicitur, Præmium datur propter meritum. Nihil enim aliud significatur, nisi quod post meritum datur præmium, & non nisi post meritum: sicut aliàs patebit in materiâ de merito. Quandoq; verò capitur causaliter. Pet. Cameracensis in 1. Sentent. dist. 1. quest. 2. DD.*

c. *Quia enim causa est illud ad cuius esse sequitur aliud; dupliciter potest aliquid dici*

*Causa. Uno modo propriè; quando ad præsentiam esse unius, virtute ejus & ex naturâ rei sequitur esse alterius: & sic ignis est causa caloris. Alio modo impropriè; quando ad præsentiam esse unius sequitur esse alterius, non tamen virtute ejus nec ex naturâ rei, sed ex solâ voluntate alterius: & sic actus meritorius dicitur causa respectu præmij. Sic etiam causa sine quâ non dicitur causa. Ex quo sequitur, quod causa sine quâ non, non debet absolutè & simpli. iter dici causa: quia propriè non est causa. Id. in 4. Sent. quest. 1. artic. 1. D.*

the kingdome of heaven for good merits or good works; some made here a difference betwixt *pro bonis meritis* and *propter bona merita*. The former, they said, did note, a *signe, or a way, or some occasion*: and in that sense they admitted the proposition. But according to the latter expression, they would not receive it; because *propter* did note an *efficient cause*. And yet for the salving of that also, the Cardinal of Cambraye, *Petrus de Alliaco* delivereth us this distinction: *b This word Proppter is sometimes taken by way of consequence; and then it noteth the order of the following of one thing upon another: as when it is said, The reward is given for the merit. For nothing else is signified thereby, but that the reward is given after the merit, and not but after the merit. Sometimes againe it is taken causally. And c forasmuch as a cause also is accounted that, upon the being whereof another thing doth follow: a thing may be said to be a cause two manner of waies. One way properly; when upon the presence of the being of the one, by the vertue thereof and out of the nature of the thing there followeth the being of the other: and thus is fire the cause of heat. Another way improperly; when upon the presence of the being of the one there followeth the being of the other, yet not by the vertue thereof nor out of the nature of the thing, but only out of the will of another: and so a meritorious act is said to be a cause in respect of the reward; as causa sine quâ non also is said to be a cause, though it be none properly.*

Among those famous Clearkes that lived in the fa-



milie of *Richard Angervill* Bishop of *Durham* in the daies of *Edward the third*; *Thomas Bradwardin* who was afterward Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Richard Fitzrause* afterward Archbishop of *Armagh*, and *Robert Holcot* the *Dominican*, were of speciall note. The first of these, in his Defense of the cause of God against the *Pelagians* of his time, disputeth this point at large: shewing, <sup>d</sup> that *Merit is not the cause of everlasting reward*; and that when the Scriptures and Doctors doe affirme, that God will reward the good for their good merits (or workes,) *Propter* did not signifie the cause properly; but improperly, either the cause of knowing it, or the order, or the disposition of the subject thereunto. *Richard* of *Armagh* (whom my countrymen commonly doe call *S. Richard* of *Dundalke*, because he was there borne and buried) intimateth this to be his minde; that the reward is here rendred, <sup>e</sup> not for the condignitie of the worke, but for the promise and so for the justice of the rewarder: as heretofore we have heard out of *Bernard. Holcot*, though in words he maintaine the merit of condignitie; yet he confesseth with the Master of the Sentences, that God is hereby made our debtor, *ex naturâ sui promissi, non ex naturâ nostri commissi*, out of the nature of his owne promise, not out of the nature of our doing: and that our workes have this value in them, not naturally, as if there were so great goodnesse in the nature or substance of the merit that everlasting life should be due unto it, but legally, in regard of Gods ordinance and appointment. even <sup>f</sup> as a

Is in laudatissimâ illâ Summâ contra Pelagianos copiose & eruditè disputat, Meritum non esse causam æterni præmij: cumq; Scriptura & Doctores confirmant, Deum præmiaturum bonos propter merita sua bona; propter, non significare causam propriè, sed impropriè, vel causam cognoscendi, vel ordinem, vel deniq; dispositionem subjecti. *Georg. Cassand. epist. 19. ut supra. Vid. ipsum Bradwardini opus, edit. Lond. an. 1618. a pag. 350. ad 353.*

<sup>e</sup> Non propter condignitatem operis, sed propter promissionem & sic propter justitiam præmiantis. *Armachan. in Quæst. Armenicis, lib. 12. cap. 21.* <sup>f</sup> Sicut parva pecunia cupri, ex naturâ suâ sive naturali vigore, non valet tantum, sicut unus panis; sed ex institutione principis tantum valet. *Rob. Holcot. in lib. Sapient. cap. 3. lect. 36.*

g Possumus dicere, quod opera nostra sunt condigna vitæ æternæ ex gratiâ, non ex subſtantiâ actus. Statuit enim Deus quod bene operans in gratiâ habebit vitam æternam. Et ergo per legem & gratiam principis nostri Christi meremur de condigno vitam æternam. *Ibid.*  
 h Contingere enim potest, ut si veram causam & rationem meriti non assignemus; verbis solum ab hæreticis

diffidentes reipsâ cum eis conveniamus, atq; in eorum sententiam, velimus nolumus, consentire cogamur: quod sanè aliquibus Catholicis in hac controversiâ accidisse, non obscure inferius patebit. *Gabr. Vasquez, in 1<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>e</sup>æ. quest. 114 disput. 214. cap. 1. i Guilielm. Parisiens. tract. de Meritis. k Scotus in 1. Sent. dist. 17. quest. 3. sect. Hic potest dici. Id. in 4. distinct. 49. quest. 6. Loquendo de strictâ justitiâ, Deus nulli nostrum propter quæcunq; merita est debitor perfectionis reddendæ, tam intense; propter immoderatum excessum illius perfectionis ultra illa merita. l Guilielm. Ockam, in 1. Sent. distinct. 17. quest. 2. sect. Ideo dico aliter. m Gregor. in 1. Sent. distinct. 17. quest. 1. artic. 2. in confirmationibus secundæ conclusionis & solutione quartæ argumeti contra eand. n Gabriel. in 1. Sent. dist. 17. quest. 3. artic. 3. dub. 2. & in 2. dist. 27. quest. 3. arti. 3. dub. 2. o Supplement. Gabriel. in 4. distinct. 49. quest. 4. artic. 2. conclus. 3. p Antididagm. Colonienſ. cap. 12. de premio & retribut. bonorum operum. q Enchirid. addit. Concilio Colonienſi, tit. de Iustific. sect. Et ut semel hunc articulum. r Io. Bunder. Compend. Concertationis, tit. 6. artic. 5. s Alphons. contr. hæres. lib. 10. tit. Meritum, & lib. 7. tit. Gratia. t Vega in Opusc. de Iustif. quest. 5. ad 1. & 3.*

little peece of copper, of it owne nature or naturall value, is not worth so much as a loafe of bread; but by the institution of the Prince is worth so much. And in this manner & we may say (saith he) that our workes are worthy of life everlasting by grace, and not by the substance of the act. For God hath ordained, that he that worketh well in grace should have life everlasting: and therefore by the law and grace of Christ our Prince we merit condignely everlasting life. Whereby we may see, how rightly it hath beene observed by *Vasquez*; <sup>h</sup> that divers of those whom he accounteth Catholickes, doe differ from us only in words, but agree in deed. Of which number he nameth <sup>i</sup> *Willielmus Parisiensis*, <sup>k</sup> *Scotus*, <sup>l</sup> *Ockam*, <sup>m</sup> *Gregorius Ariminensis*, <sup>n</sup> *Gabriel Biel* with his <sup>o</sup> *Supplement*, the Chanons of *Culley* in their <sup>p</sup> *Antididagma* and <sup>q</sup> *Enchiridion*, <sup>r</sup> *Ioh. Bunderius*, <sup>s</sup> *Alphonsus de Castro*, and <sup>t</sup> *Andreas Vega* who was present at the handling of these matters in the last *Tridentine* Councell.

All these, and sundry others beside them, hold that the dignitie of the good workes done by Gods children doth not proceed from the value of the workes themselves, but only from the gracious promise and

accepta-



acceptation of God. Yea *Gregorius Ariminensis*, <sup>u</sup> that most able and carefull defender of *S. Augustine* (as *Vega* stileth him) concludeth peremptorily, <sup>x</sup> that no act of man, though issuing from never so great charitie, meriteth of condignitie from God, either eternall life, or yet any other reward whether eternall or temporall. The same conclusion is by *Durand* the most resolute Doctor (as <sup>y</sup> *Gerson* rearmeth him) thus confirmed: <sup>z</sup> That which is conferred rather out of the liberalitie of the giver than out of the due of the worke, doth not fall within the compasse of the merit of condignitie, strictly and properly taken. But whatsoever we receive of God, whether it be grace or whether it be glory, whether temporall or spirituall good, whatsoever good worke we have before done for it, yet we receive the same rather and more principally out of Gods liberalitie, than out of the due of the worke. Therefore nothing at all falleth within the compasse of the merit of condignitie, so taken. And <sup>a</sup> the cause hereof is, (saith he) because both that which we are and that which we have, whether they be good acts or good habits, or the use of them, is wholly in us by Gods liberalitie freely giving and preserving the same. Now because none is bound by his owne free gift to give more, but the receiver rather is more bound to him that giveth: therefore by the good habits, and

*u* Valens ille  
*Gregorius Ar-*  
*riminensis,*  
*maximus &*  
*studiosissimus*  
*Divi Augustini*  
*propugnator.*

*Id. ibid. quest. 6.*

*x* Ex hoc ulterius infero;

quod nedum

vita æternæ,

sed nec aliqu-

jus alterius

præmij æterni

vel temporalis,

aliquis actus

hominis ex

quacunq; cha-

ritate elicitus,

est de condig-

no meritorius

apud Deum.

*Gregor. in 1. dist.*

*17. quest. 1. art. 2.*

*y* Durandus

utiq; resolutif-

simus. *Jo. Ger-*

*son. epist. ad stu-*

*dentis Collegij*

*Navarrae.*

*z* Quod red-

ditur potius ex

liberalitate.

dantis quàm ex debito operis; non cadit sub merito de condigno strictè & proprie accepto, ut expositum est. Sed quicquid à Deo accipimus, sive sit gratia, sive sit gloria, sive bonum temporale vel spirituale, præcedente in nobis propter hoc quocunq; bono opere; potius & principalius accipimus ex liberalitate Dei, quàm reddatur ex debito operis. Ergo nihil penitus cadit sub merito de condigno sic accepto. *Durand. in 2. distinct. 27. quest. 2. sect. 12.* a Causa autem hujus est, quia & illud quod sumus, & quod habemus, sive sunt boni actus, sive boni habitus seu usus; totum est in nobis ex liberalitate divinâ gratis dante & conservante. Et quia ex dono gratuito nullus obligatur ad dandum amplius, sed potius recipiens magis obligatur danti: idè ex bonis habitibus, & ex bonis actibus sive usibus nobis à Deo datis, Deus non obligatur nobis ex aliquo debito justitiæ ad aliquid amplius dandum, ita quod si non dederit sit injustus; sed potius nos sumus Deo obligati. Et sentire, seu dicere oppositum, est temerarium seu blasphemum. *Ibid. sect. 13. 14.*

b Considerando opera nostra secundum se, vel etiam prout sunt ex gratia cooperante; non sunt opera meritoria vite eterne de condigno. *Marsil. de Iughen, in 2. Sent. quest. 18. art. 4.*

c Si de condigno ex operibus gratia & libero arbitrio etiam quantumlibet magnis operatis deberetur vita aeterna: tunc Deus illi injuriam faceret, si sibi vitam aeternam non tribueret. & sic Deus ex magnis datis bonis congeretur sub iustitia addere ampliora: quod ratio non capit. *Ibid.*

d Huiusmodi opera possunt dici vite eterne meritoria de condigno; ex acceptatione divina ori-

ginaliter procedente ex merito passionis Christi. *Ibid.* e Opera facta ex gratia merentur vitam aeternam de congruo ex liberali Dei dispositione, quam disposuit ea sic premiare. *Ibid.* f Non ex nostra iustitia, sed ex Dei gratia datur vita aeterna: juxta illud ad Rom. 6. Gratia Dei vita aeterna. *Ibid.* g Cum in operibus nostris bonis nihil Deo demus, pro quo per commutationem debeat nobis premium. *Ibid.*

by the good acts or uses which God hath given us, God is not bound to us by any debt of justice to give any thing more, so as if he did not give it he should be unjust; but we are rather bound to God. And to thinke or say the contrary, is rashnesse or blasphemie.

Of the same judgement with *Durand*, was *Iacobus de Everbaco*, as *Marsilius* witnesseth, who delivereth his owne opinion touching this matter in these three conclusions. I. <sup>b</sup> If we consider our workes in themselves, or as they proceed also from cooperating grace, they are not such workes as deserve eternall life of condignitie. for prooffe whereof hee bringeth in many reasons; and that of *Durands* for one. <sup>c</sup> If for the workes wrought by grace and free-will although never so great, eternall life should be due unto any by condignitie: then God should doe him injurie, if he did not give eternall life unto him. and so God by those great good things which he had given, should be constrained in way of justice to adde more great thereunto; which reason doth not comprehend. II. <sup>d</sup> Such workes as these may be said to merit eternall life of condignitie, by divine acceptation, originally proceeding from the merit of the passion of Christ. III. <sup>e</sup> Workes done by grace doe merit eternall life by way of congruitie; in respect of Gods liberall disposition, who hath so purposed to reward them. Afterwards he proveth out of the Apostle, *Rom. 6. 23.* that <sup>f</sup> eternall life is given out of Gods grace, not out of our righteousness, and that God in thus rewarding us, doth neither exercise commutative justice, & because in our good workes we give nothing unto God, for

which



which by way of commutation the reward should be due unto us; nor yet distributive, <sup>h</sup> because no man by working well, in regard of himselfe and in regard of the state wherein he is, doth merit any thing of condignitie, but is bound to God rather by a greater obligation, because he hath received greater good things from him. And <sup>i</sup> thereupon at last concludeth, that God is just in rewarding, because by his just disposition he hath ordained by the grace of acceptation to crowne the lesser merit with the greater reward; not by the justice of debt, but by the grace and disposition of the diuine good pleasure.

But the sentence of the Chancellour and the Theologicall facultie of Paris in the yeere 1354. against one Guido an Austin Fryar, that then defended the merit of condignitie, is not to be overpassed. For by their order, this forme of recantation was prescribed unto him. <sup>k</sup> I said against a Bachelour of the order of the Fryars Preachers in conference with him, that a man doth merit everlasting life of condignitie, that is to say, that in case it were not given, there should injurie be done unto him. I wrote likewise, that God should doe him iniurie: and approved it. This I revoke as FALSE, HERETICALL, and BLASPHEMOVS. Yet now the times are so changed, and men in them, that our new Divines of Rhemes stick not to tell us, that it <sup>l</sup> is most cleare to all not blinded in pride and contention, that good workes be meritorious, and the very cause of salvation, so far that God should be unjust, if he rendred not heaven for the same. Where to the judgement of the indifferent Reader I referre it, whether side in this case is more likely to have beene

Deus faceret sibi injuriam: & hanc probavi. Istam revoco tanquam falsam, hereticam & blasphemam. Guid. Revocat. errorum fact. Paris. an. 1354. tom. 14. Bibliothec. Par. edn. Colom. pag. 347. I Rhem. annotat. in Hebr. 6. 10.

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h Cum nullus bene operando secundum se & secundum statum aliquid de condigno mereatur, sed potius Deo majori obligatione astringitur, quia majora bona recepit. *Ibid.*

i Ex quibus concluditur, quod justus sic in remunerando: quia justam dispositione sua disposuit ex gratia acceptationis minus meritum majori premio coronare; non justitia debiti; sed gratia & dispositione beneplaciti diuini. *Ibid.*

k Dixi contra Bachelarium Prædicatorum conferendo cum ipso; quod homo meretur vitam æternam de condigno; id est, quod si non daretur, esset injuria. Et scripsi quod

hereticam & blasphemam.

m *Ioh. 9. 39.*n *Ioh. 9. 41.*o *Revel. 3. 17.*p *Gloriam cœ-**lestem nullus**de condigno**secundum le-**gem commu-**nem meretur.**unde Aposto-**lus ad Rom. 8.**Non sunt con-**dignæ passio-**nes hujus secu-**li ad futuram**gloriam, quæ**revelabitur in**nobis. & sic ma-**nifestum est,**quod in cœlo**maximè reiu-**cet misericor-**dia Dei in bea-**tis. Paul. Bur-**gens. addit. ad**Lyran. in Ps. 35.*q *Quod homo**ex meritis est**dignus regno**cœlorum, aut**hâc gratiâ vel illâ gloriâ.**quamvis quidam Scholastici invenerunt ad hoc dicendum ter-**minos de condigno & congruo. Waldens. tom. 3. de Sacramentalib. tit. 1. cap. 7.*

*blinded in pride: (we who abase our selves before Gods footstool, and utterly disclaime all our owne merits; or they who have so high a conceit of them, that they dare in this presumptuous manner to challenge God of injustice, if he should judge them to deserve a lesse reward than Heaven it selfe: ) and whether that sentence of our Saviour Christ be not fulfilled in them, as well as in the proud and blinde Pharisees their predecessors. <sup>m</sup> For judgement I am come into this world, that they which see not might see, and that they which see might be made blinde. And so leaving these blinde leaders of the blinde, who say they <sup>n</sup> see (by that meanes making their sinne to remaine) and say they <sup>o</sup> are rich and increased with goods (not knowing that they are wretched, and miserable, and poore, and blinde, and naked: ) I proceed, and out of the fifteenth Century or Hundred of yeeres after Christ produce other two witnesses of this truth. The one is Paulus Burgenfis; who expounding those words of David, Psalm. 36. 5. Thy mercy, O Lord, is in heaven, (or, reacheth unto the heavens) writeth thus: <sup>p</sup> No man according to the common law can merit by condignitie the glory of heaven. whence the Apostle saith in the 8. to the Romans, that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the future glory which shall be revealed in us. and so it is manifest that in heaven most of all the mercy of God shineth forth in the blessed. The other is Thomas Walden, who living in England the same time that the other did in Spaine, professeth plainly his dislike of that saying; <sup>q</sup> that a man by his merits is worthy of the kingdome of heaven, or this grace or that glory: howsoever certaine Schoolemen, that*

they



they might so speake, had invented the tearmes of *Condignitie* and *Congruitie*. But <sup>r</sup> I repute him (saith he) the sounder Divine, the more faithfull Catholicke, and more consonant with the holy Scriptures, who doth simply denie such merit, and with the qualification of the Apostle and of the Scriptures confesseth, that simply no man meriteth the kingdome of heaven, but by the grace of God or will of the giver. <sup>r</sup> as all the former Saints, untill the late Schoolemen, and the universall Church hath written.

Out of which words of his you may further observe both the time when, and the persons by whom this innovation was made in these latter daies of the Church: namely, that the late Schoolemen were they, that corrupted the ancient doctrine of the Church, and to that end devised their new termes of the merit of *congruitie* and *condignitie*. I say, in these latter daies: because if we looke unto higher times, *Walden* himsele in that same place doth affirme that it was a branch of the <sup>r</sup> Pelagian heresie to hold, that according to the measure of meritorious workes God will reward a man so meriting. Neither indeed can this proud generation of *Merit-mongers* be derived from a more proper stocke, than from the old either *Pelagians* or *Catharists*. For as these doe now adales maintaine, that they doe <sup>u</sup> worke by their owne free-will, and thereby deserve their salvation: so was this wont to be a part of *Pelagius* his song; <sup>x</sup> No man shall take away from me the power of free-will: lest if God be my helper in my workes, the reward be not due to me, but to him that did worke in me. And to <sup>y</sup> glory of their merits, was a speciall property noted in the

<sup>r</sup> Reputo igitur saniores Theologum, fideliores Catholicum, & Scripturis sanctis magis concordem; qui tale meritum simpliciter abnegat, & cum modificatione Apostoli & Scripturarum concedit quia simpliciter quis non meretur regnum celorum, sed ex gratia Dei aut voluntate largitoris. *Ibid.*

<sup>r</sup> Sicut omnes sancti priores usque ad recentiores Scholasticos & communis scripsit Ecclesia. *Ibid.*

<sup>r</sup> Pelagiana est haeresis quod Deus secundum mensuram operum meritoriorum praemiabit hominem sic merentem. *Ibid.*

<sup>u</sup> *Rhemists* annot. in Rom. 9. 1.

<sup>x</sup> Mihi nullus auferre poterit

liberi arbitrij potestatem: ne si in operibus meis Deus adiutor extiterit, non mihi debeatur merces, sed ei qui in me operatus. *Pelag. apud Hieronym. in Dialog. advers. Pelag. lib. 1.*

<sup>y</sup> Gloriantes de suis meritis. *Isidor. lib. 8. Origin. cap. 5. de Catharis.*

*I y y*

*Catharists*

z Et memoria  
reconde, quod  
Ecclesia dicit  
pro parte  
membrorum,  
copiosa sua esse  
peccat: ut qui  
se pradicant  
esse mundos  
(sicut Cathari-  
sta) intelligent  
se portione u-  
cum sancta Ec-  
clesia non habe-  
re. Cassin. Ps. 14

a Οὗτοι ἑαυτῶν  
ἐχούσιν καθαρίαν  
ἀπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν  
ὑποκρίσεων ἀκα-  
θάρατος ἑαυτῶν  
δοκίμαστοι. πῶς  
γὰρ ὁ ἑαυτὸν ἀπο-  
κρίνας καθαροὺς,  
ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸν ἑαυτὸν  
τελεῖας κατεκρίνει.

Epiph. haeres 59.  
p. 216, 217.

b Tunc ergo  
iusti sumus,  
quando nos  
peccatores. fa-  
temur: & iusti-  
tia nostra non  
ex proprio me-  
rito, sed ex Dei  
consistit mise-  
ricordia. Hieron.  
Dialog. advers.  
Pelag. lib. 1.

c P. on nullo  
(inquit) salvos  
faciet eos: nullo  
dubium quin  
iusti, qui non  
proprio meri-  
to, sed Dei sal-  
vantur clemen-  
tia. Id. ib. d. lib. 2.

*Catharists or ancient Puritans: who standing thus upon their owne puritie, z doe thereby declare (as Cassiodorus noteth) that they have no portion with the holy Church, which professeth that her sinnes are many. Nay, a while these men call themselves Puritans, (saith Epiphanius) by this very ground they prove themselves to be impure. for whosoever pronounceth himselfe to be pure, doth therein absolutely condemne himselfe to be impure. For, as S. Hierome in this case disputeth against the Pelagians (and so against the Puritan and Pelagian Romanists) b then are we righteous, when we confesse our selves to be sinners; and our righteousness consisteth not in our owne merits, but in Gods mercy. with whose resolution against them, we will now conclude this point against their new off-  
spring; that c the righteous are saved, not by their owne merit, but by Gods clemencie.*

And thus have I gone over all the particular articles propounded by our Challenger: and performed there- in more a great deale, than he required at my hands. That which he desired in the name of his fello ves, was; that we would alleage but any one Text of Scripture, which condemneth any of the above written points. He hath now presented unto him not texts of Scripture only, but testimonies of the Fathers also, justifying our dissent from them not in one but in all those points, wherein he was so confident, that they of our side that had read the Fathers could well testifie, that all antiquitie did in judgement concur with the now Church of Rome. And if he looke into every one of them more neerely; he may perhaps finde, that we are not such strangers to the originall and first breedings of these Romish errors, as he did imagine. It now remaineth on his part, that he make good what he hath under- taken,



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taken: namely, that for the confirmation of all the above mentioned points of his Religion, he produce both good and certaine grounds out of the sacred Scriptures, and the generall consent likewise of the Saints and Fathers of the Primitive Church. Wherein, as I advise him to spare his paines in labouring to prove those things, which he seeth me before hand readily to have yeelded unto: so

I wish him also not to forget his owne motion,

made in the percloase of his Challenge; that

*all may be done with Christian charity*

*and sincerity, to the glory of*

*God, and instruction*

*of them that are*

*astray.*

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FINIS.

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### Faults escaped.


**P**Age 10. line 15. for once reade one. p. 18. l. 8. (as also p. 19. l. 1. and 113. l. 2.) Radbertus. p. 20. l. 9. Canonically. p. 63. l. 28. bread and wine. p. 67. l. 9. or. p. 71. l. 12. for wine reade bloud. ibid l. 21. for second reade third. p. 77. in the margin, at the very beginning, adde x. Lanfranc. lib. de Sacram. Eucharist. contra Berengar. pag. 85. lin. 15. for he read God. p. 103. l. 20. sett. p. 163. lin. 12, 12. crosse out those words: then in any of the rest. pag. 211. in the margin, lin. 16. for Id. put Hieronym. pag. 326. in the margin, lin. 17. Marcellam. pag. 341. lin. 5. Christian. pag. 352. l. 5. crosse out idv. pag. 405. l. 20. put out the word Iesuiste: and in the last line of the margin, after quæst. 12. adde, artic. 10. disput. 7. conclus. 6. pag. 444. lin. ult. Pitfio. pag. 449. in marg. l. 35. Naclantus. pag. 448. at the ast. rise\*. lin. 14. adde in the margin. Ab omnibus deinceps doceatur communiter atque prædicetur, Crucem & Imaginem Crucifixi ceterasque Imagines Sanctorum, in ipsorum memoriam & honorem quos figurant, ac ipsorum loca & reliquias processionibus, gent flexionibus, inclinationibus, thurificationibus, deosculationibus, oblationibus, luminarium accensionibus, & peregrinationibus, nec non alijs quibuscunque modis & formis quibus nostris & predecessorum nostrorum temporibus fieri consuevit, venerari debere. Gu. l. m. Lyndewode Provincial. lib. 5. de Heretic. cap. Nullus quoque. pag. 451. l. 12. Marsilius. pag. 453. in the margin. lin. 12. and 16. and pag. 454. l. 9. for Prophetic. reade Protreptic. pag. 456. marg. lin. 38. manuum. pag. 463. marg. lin. 9. Patres.



# A CATALOGVE OF THE AVTHORS HERE

alleaged; disposed according to  
*the order of the times, wherein they  
are accounted to have lived.*

*Anno Domini.*

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|---|--|
| <p>40. icodemus. The au-<br/>thor of the counter-<br/>feit Gospell, attribu-<br/>ted unto him, lived within<br/>the first 600. yeeres: being ci-<br/>ted by Gregorius Turonensis.</p> <p>43. Thaddæus; vouched by Eu-<br/>sebius.</p> <p>70. Clemens I. Romanusepisc.<br/><i>Counted the author of the<br/>Apostolicall Constitutions.</i></p> <p>70. Dionysius Areopagita. <i>The<br/>bookes that beare his name,<br/>seeme to be written in the<br/>fourth or fifth age after<br/>Christ.</i></p> <p>100. Ignatius Antiochenus.</p> <p>120. Hermes.</p> <p>163. Iustinus Martyr.</p> <p>170. Theophilus Antiochenus.</p> <p>180. Irenæus Lugdunensis.</p> <p>180. Tatianus.</p> | <p>190. Maximus. <i>out of whom the<br/>Dialogues against the Marcio-<br/>nists, attributed to Origen, are<br/>collected: as appeareth by the<br/>large fragment cited out of him<br/>by Eusebius in the end of the se-<br/>venth booke de Preparatione<br/>Euangelicâ.</i></p> <p>200. Clemens Alexandrinus.</p> <p>200. Tertullianus.</p> <p>210. Caius.</p> <p>220. Hippolytus Martyr.</p> <p>230. Origenes.</p> <p>230. Ammonius.</p> <p>230. Minutius Felix.</p> <p>240. Novatianus.</p> <p>250. Gregorius Neocæsareen-<br/>sis.</p> <p>250. Cyprianus.</p> <p>260. Zeno Veronensis.</p> <p>270. Victorinus Pictaviensis.</p> <p>290. Pamphilus Martyr.</p> |
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| 300. Arnobius.  | 370. Gregorius Nazianzenus.   |
| 300. Lactantius.  | 370. Acrius hæreticus.  |
| 303. Concilium Sinuessanum, supposititium.                                | 380. Cæsarius.  |
| 310. Concilium Eliberinum, seu Illiberitanum.                             | 380. Gregorius Nyssenus.  |
| 325. Concilium Romanum sub Silvestro, supposititium.                      | 380. Nectarius.   |
| 325. Concilium Nicænum, universale I.                                     | 380. Pacianus.  |
| 325. Macarius Hierosolymitanus.   | 380. Prudentius.  |
| 330. Eusebius Cæsareensis.  | 380. Philastrius.   |
| 330. Juvenius.  | 380. Euagrius Ponticus.   |
| 340. Eusebius Emesenus.   | 380. Amphilochius.  |
| 340. Athanasius Alexandrinus.   | 381. Concilium Constantinopolitanum, universale II.   |
| 350. Eustathius Antiochenus.  | 390. Hieronymus.  |
| 350. Julius Firmicus Maternus.  | 390. Paula & Eustochium, apud eund.   |
| 350. Acacius Cæsareensis.   | 390. Epiphanius.  |
| 359. Conciliabula Arrianorum, Nicæn. Constantinop. Sirmiens. & Ariminens. | 390. Ruffinus.  |
| 360. Didymus.   | 390. Coelius Sedulius.  |
| 360. Hilarius Pictaviensis.   | 390. Paulinus Mediolanensis.  |
| 360. Titus Bostrensis.  | 400. Io. Chrysostomus. cujus epistolam ad Cæsarium monachum (quam in quæstionem vocant Pontificij) citatam invenio in Collectaneis contra Severianos, quæ ex Fr. Turriani versione habentur in 4. tomo Antiquæ lectionis Henr. Canisij, pag. 238. & in fine libri Io. Damasceni contra Acephalos; ibid. pag. 211. ubi postrema verba testimonij à nobis citati (pag. 64. 65.) Turrianus ita transtulit: <i>Sic etiam hic, divi-</i> |
| 370. Asterius Amasæ episc.  |   |
| 370. Optatus.   |   |
| 370. Ambrosius Mediolanensis episc.                                       |   |
| 370. Basilus Cæsareensis.   |   |



*nâ naturâ in ipso insidente,  
unum Filium, unam Personam  
utrumque constituit.*

400. Marcus eremita.  
400. Polychronius.  
400. Helychius presbyter.  
410. Palladius, Lausiacæ histo-  
riæ author.  
410. Pelagius hæreticus.  
410. Augustinus.  
410. Philo Carpathius.  
410. Synesius.  
414. Theodorus Daphnopatus.  
by *Henr. Olaus* referred to  
this yeere : I know not by  
what warrant.  
418. Concilium Africanum uni-  
versale Carthagine habitum  
contra Pelagium.  
420. Maximus Taurinensis.  
424. Hilarius Arelatensis.  
430. Io. Cassianus.  
430. Vincentius Lirinensis.  
430. Author Operis imperfecti  
in Matthæum.  
430. Cyrillus Alexandrinus.  
430. Synodus Alexandrina, con-  
tra Nestorium.  
430. Theodoretus.  
430. Proclus Cyzicenus.  
431. Concilium Ephesinum, u-  
niversale III.  
440. Prosper Aquitanicus.  
440. Socrates historicus.

440. Sozomenus.  
440. Eucherius Lugdunensis.  
440. Petrus Chrysologus.  
450. Leo. I.  
450. Primasius.  
451. Concilium Chalcedonen-  
se, universale IIII.  
450. Basilus Seleuciensis.  
450. Victor Antiochenus.  
460. Salvianus Massiliensis.  
476. Gelasius Cyzicenus.  
490. Faustus Regiensis, seu Rei-  
ensis.  
490. Gennadius Massiliensis.  
490. Gelasius Papa I.  
494. Concilium Romanum I.  
sub Gelasio.  
500. Paschasius Romanæ eccle-  
siæ diaconus.  
500. Olympiodorus.  
500. Andreas Cæsareensis.  
Stephanus Gobarus hæreticus.  
507. Laurentius Novariensis.  
510. Ennodius Ticinensis.  
520. Aurelius Cassiodorus.  
520. Eusebius Gallicanus.  
520. Cæsarius Arelatensis.  
520. Fulgentius Ruspenis episc.  
520. Iohannes Maxentius.  
527. Ephræm Antiochenus.  
527. Agapetus diaconus.  
529. Concilium Arausican. II.  
530. Fulgentius Ferrandus.  
530. Dionysius Exiguus.

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| 530. Benedictus Monachus.  | 730. Bonifacius Moguntinus.                          |
| 530. Procopius Gazæus.   | 740. Gregorius III.                                  |
| 540. Arator.   | 740. Io. Damascenus.                                 |
| 553. Concilium Constantinopolitanum, universale. V.                        | 740. Antonius author Melissæ.                        |
| 560. Andreas Hierosolymitanus, Cretensis archiepisc.                       | 745. Synodus Romana sub Zachariâ.                    |
| 560. Dracontius.   | 750. Ambrosius Ansbertus.                            |
| 570. Cresconius.   | 754. Constantinopolitanum Concilium contra Imagines. |
| 580. Venantius Fortunatus.   | 773. Hadrianus I.                                    |
| 580. Iohannes Climacus.  | 780. Iohannes Hierosolymitanus.                      |
| 589. Concil. Toletan. III.   | 785. Etherius & Beatus.                              |
| 600. Gregorius I.  | 787. Concilium Nicænū II.                            |
| 600. Iohan. Nestæuta.  | 787. Epiphanius Diaconus.                            |
| Agapius Manichæus.   | 790. Eliás Cretensis.                                |
| 610. Eustratius Constantinopolitanus.                                      | 790. Alcuinus.                                       |
| 630. Isidorus Hispalensis.   | 794. Conciliū Francofurtense.                        |
| 633. Conciliū Toletanū, IIII.  | 800. Carolus Magnus.                                 |
| 640. Maximus Monachus.   | 813. Conciliū Arelatense III.                        |
| 640. Ionas.  | 813. Concil. Cabilonense II.                         |
| 640. Anastasius Sinaita.   | 816. Concil. Aquisgranense sub Ludovico Pio.         |
| 660. Eligius Noviomenensis.  | 824. Synodus Parisiensis, de Imaginibus.             |
| 680. Iulianus Toletanus.   | 830. Christianus Druthmarus.                         |
| 690. Theodorus Cantuar. archiepisc.  | 840. Amalarius Lugdunensis.                          |
| 700. Liber Canonum Ecclesiæ Anglo-Saxonicæ; MS. in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ. | 840. Paschasius Radbertus.                           |
| Nico.  | 840. Rabanus Maurus.                                 |
| 710. Isidorus Mercator.  | 840. Haymo Halberstattenensis.                       |
| 720. Beda.   | 840. Agobardus Lugdun. episc.                        |
| 720. Germanus Constantinop.  | 840. Waiafridus Strabus.                             |
|  | 842. Concil. Aquisgranense sub Pipino.               |



850. Synodus Carisiac.  
 850. Iohannes Scotus.  
 850. Ecclesia Lugdunens. contra eund.  
 850. Grimoldus.  
 850. Hincmarus Rhemenfis.  
 860. Photius.  
 860. Iohannes Diaconus.  
 870. Otfridus Wissenburgensis.  
 876. Ratrann', vulg. Bertramus.  
 890. Leo Imperator.  
 890. Michael Syncellus.  
 890. Ado Viennensis.  
 890. Nicetas Serronius.  
     Gregorius Cerameus.  
 920. Regino Prumiensis.  
 950. Smaragdus.  
 975. Elfrick.  
 1000. Fulbertus Carnotensis.  
 1020. Burchardus.  
 1030. Simeon Metaphrastes.  
 1050. Petrus Damiani.  
 1050. Oecumenius.  
 1050. Berengarius.  
 1058. Hermannus Contractus.  
 1060. Radulphus Ardens.  
 1060. Lanfrancus Cantuariensis archiepisc.  
 1060. Algerus.  
 1070. Osbernus.  
 1070. Theophylactus.  
 1080. Euthymius Zigabenns.  
 1080. Anselmus Cantuariensis archiepisc.

1090. Waltramus Naumbergensis.  
 1100. Sigebertus Gemblacensis.  
 1100. Conradus Bruwilerensis.  
 1100. Zacharias Chrysopolitanus.  
 1100. Ivo Carnotensis.  
 1110. Anselmus Laudunensis.  
 1120. Eadmerus.  
 1120. Michael Glycas.  
 1120. Iohannes Zonaras.  
 1120. Rupertus Tuitiensis.  
 1130. Hugo de S. Victore.  
 1130. Guilielmus Malmesburiensis.  
 1130. Innocentius II.  
 1130. Bernardus Clarævallis.  
 1140. Petrus Lombardus.  
 1140. Gilbertus Porretanus.  
 1146. Otto Frisingensis.  
 1150. Petrus Cluniacensis.  
 1150. Constantinus Harmenopulus.  
 1150. Bernardus Morlanensis.  
 1154. Leo Thuscus.  
 1160. Arnaldus Carnotensis, abbas Bonævallis. *Opus de Cardinalibus Christi operibus. Cypriano perperam adscriptum, huic authori in exemplaribus MSS. tribuitur: quorum duo Oxoni ipsi videmus; in Bodleiana Bibliotheca.*

*A Catalogue of the Authors here alleaged.*

*bibliotheca unum, in Collegij  
Omnium Animarum Bibli-  
oth. alterum.*

- 1160. Petrus Blesensis.
- 1160. Iohannes Tzerzes.
- 1170. Hugo Etherianus.
- 1170. Gratianus.
- 1180. Theodorus Balsamon.
- 1180. Simeon Dunelmensis.
- 1200. Cyrillus Theodorus Pro-  
dromus.
- 1200. Innocentius III.
- 1204. Rogerus Hoveden.
- 1206. Guillelmus Altiffiodo-  
rensis.
- 1210. Nicetas Choniates.
- 1215. Concilium Lateranense.
- 1220. Jacobus de Vitriaco.
- 1230. Guilielmus Aluernus, Pa-  
risiensis episc.
- 1240. Alexand. de Hales.
- 1240. Albertus Magnus.
- 1250. Matthæus Parisiensis.
- 1250. Hugo Cardinalis.
- 1252. Dominicani contra Græ-  
cos.
- 1260. Thomas Aquinas.
- 1260. Bonaventura.
- 1270. Jo. Semeca.
- 1280. Richardus de Media villa.
- 1280. Aegidius Romanus, à Tri-  
themio author fuisse dicitur  
*Compendij Theologica veri-  
tatis, quod pag. 179. Alberti*

*Magni nomine citavimus.*

*Idem opus Bonaventura no-  
mine legitur in Appendice  
septimi tomi operum ejus  
Romæ edit.*

- 1283. Iohan. Peckham Cantuar.  
archiepisc.
- 1300. Iohannes Duns, Scotus.
- 1300. Georgius Pachymeres.
- 1300. Athanasius Constantino-  
politanus.
- 1300. Nicolaus Cabasilas.  
Matthæus Quæstor.
- 1310. Hugo de Prato.
- 1310. Guilielmus Nangiacus.
- 1320. Guilielmus Ockam.
- 1320. Durandus de S. Porciano.
- 1320. Petrus Paludanus.
- 1320. Theodorus Metochita.
- 1320. Nicolaus Lyranus.
- 1327. Andronicus.
- 1330. Alvarus Pelagius.
- 1340. Thomas Bradwardin.
- 1340. Nicephorus Gregoras.
- 1350. Richardus Armachanus.
- 1350. Robertus Holcot.
- 1350. Thomas de Argentina.
- 1354. Guido Augustinianus.  
Germanus Patriarcha  
Constantinop.
- 1370. Matthæus Westmonaste-  
riensis.
- 1370. Henricus de Iota vel  
Huecta.



*A Catalogue of the Authors here allcaged.*

1386. Gregorius Ariminensis.  
 1390. Michael Angrianus de Bononia.  
 1400. Petrus de Alliaco, Cameracensis.  
 Iohannes Herolt, author Sermonum Discipuli.  
 Iacobus de Everbaco.  
 1410. Iohannes Gerson.  
 1414. Constantiense Concilium.  
 1420. Theodoricus de Niem.  
 1430. Paulus Burgensis.  
 1430. Alphonsus Tostatus Abulensis episc.  
 1430. Thomas Walden.  
 1430. Bernardinus Senensis.  
 1438. Græcorum Apologia ad Basileense Concil. de igne Purgatorio.  
 1438. Concilium Ferrariense.  
 1439. Concilium Florentinum.  
 1439. Eugenij IIII. Bulla Unionis.  
 1440. Nicolaus Tudeschius, Abbas Panormitanus.  
 1440. Marcus Eugenicus, Ephesus.  
 1450. Gennadius Scholarius.  
 1460. Aeneas Sylvius.  
 1460. Dionysius Carthusianus.  
 1479. Congregatio Complutensis.  
 1480. Bernardinus de Busti.

1480. Iohannes Capgravius.  
 1480. Gabriel Biel.  
 1490. Marsilius de Inghen.  
 1490. Iacobus Perez de Valentia.  
 1500. Iohannes Major.  
 1500. Raphael Volaterranus.  
 1500. Iohannes de Selva.  
*Erasmus, Adrian the sixth, Cardinall Cajetan, and the other writers of this last age, I passe over; as also the Hebrewes and Heathen writers, cited in the question of the Descent into Hell: because the designing of the precise time wherein they lived, serveth to little use. Only I thinke it not amisse to adde here a list of the Liturgies and Ritvall bookes, which I have had here occasion to make use of.*

	Iacobi. Petri. Marci. Clementis. Basilij. Chrysostomi. Gregorij Romani; à Codino Græcè red- dita. Liturgia Ecclesiæ Constantino- politanæ, Latinè à Leone Thufco edita.
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Græcorum

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| <p>Græcorum { Euchologium.<br/>Menæa.<br/>Octoëchum Ana-<br/>stasimum.<br/>Pentecostarium.<br/>Novum Anthologium Græcè<br/>editum Romæ an. 1598.<br/>Basilij Anaphora Syriaca, ab<br/>Andr. Masio conversa.<br/>Missa Angamallensis, Christia-<br/>norum S. Thomæ, ex Syriaco<br/>conversa, in Itinerario Alexij<br/>Menesij.<br/>Armenorum Liturgia, ab An-<br/>drea Lubelczyck Latine con-<br/>versa.<br/>Liturgiæ Ægyptiacæ<br/>Basilij<br/>Gregorij Na-<br/>zianzeni<br/>Cyrilli Alex-<br/>andrini } à Victorino<br/>Scialach ex<br/>Arabico<br/>conversæ.<br/>Missa Ambrosiana.<br/>Gregorij I. Antiphonarium &amp;<br/>Sacramentarium.<br/>Officium Muzarabum in Hispa-<br/>niâ.<br/>Missale Gotthicū; tomo 6. Bibli-<br/>othec. Patr. edit. Paris. an. 1589<br/>&amp; 15. edit. Colon. an. 1622.<br/>Ordo Romanus antiquus.</p> | <p>Missa Latina antiqua, edit. Ar-<br/>gentinæ an. 1557.<br/>Baptizatorum &amp; Confiuentium<br/>Ceremoniæ antiquæ : unâ<br/>cum præfationibus vetustis,<br/>edit. Colon. an. 1530.<br/>Alcuini Sacramentorum liber;<br/>&amp; Officium per ferias.<br/>Grimoldi Sacramentorū liber.<br/>Preces Ecclesiasticæ veteres, à<br/>Georgio Cassandro editæ.<br/>Pontificale Romanum vetus,<br/>edit. Venet. an. 1572. &amp; rector-<br/>matum, Clementis VIII.<br/>jussu Romæ edit. an. 1595.<br/>Missale Romanum vetus, edit.<br/>Paris. an. 1529. &amp; jussu Pij V.<br/>&amp; Clementis VIII. reforma-<br/>tum, edit. Romæ an. 1604.<br/>Breviarium Romanum.<br/>Sacerdotale Romanum, edit.<br/>Venet. an. 1585.<br/>Cæremoniale Romanum, edit.<br/>Colon. an. 1574.<br/>Ordo Baptizandi, cum modo vi-<br/>sitandi infirmos. Vener. 1575.<br/>Sacra institutio Baptizandi juxta<br/>ritum S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ,<br/>ex decreto Concilij Triden-<br/>tini restituit. Paris. 1575.<br/>Breviarium Præmonstratensium.</p> |
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